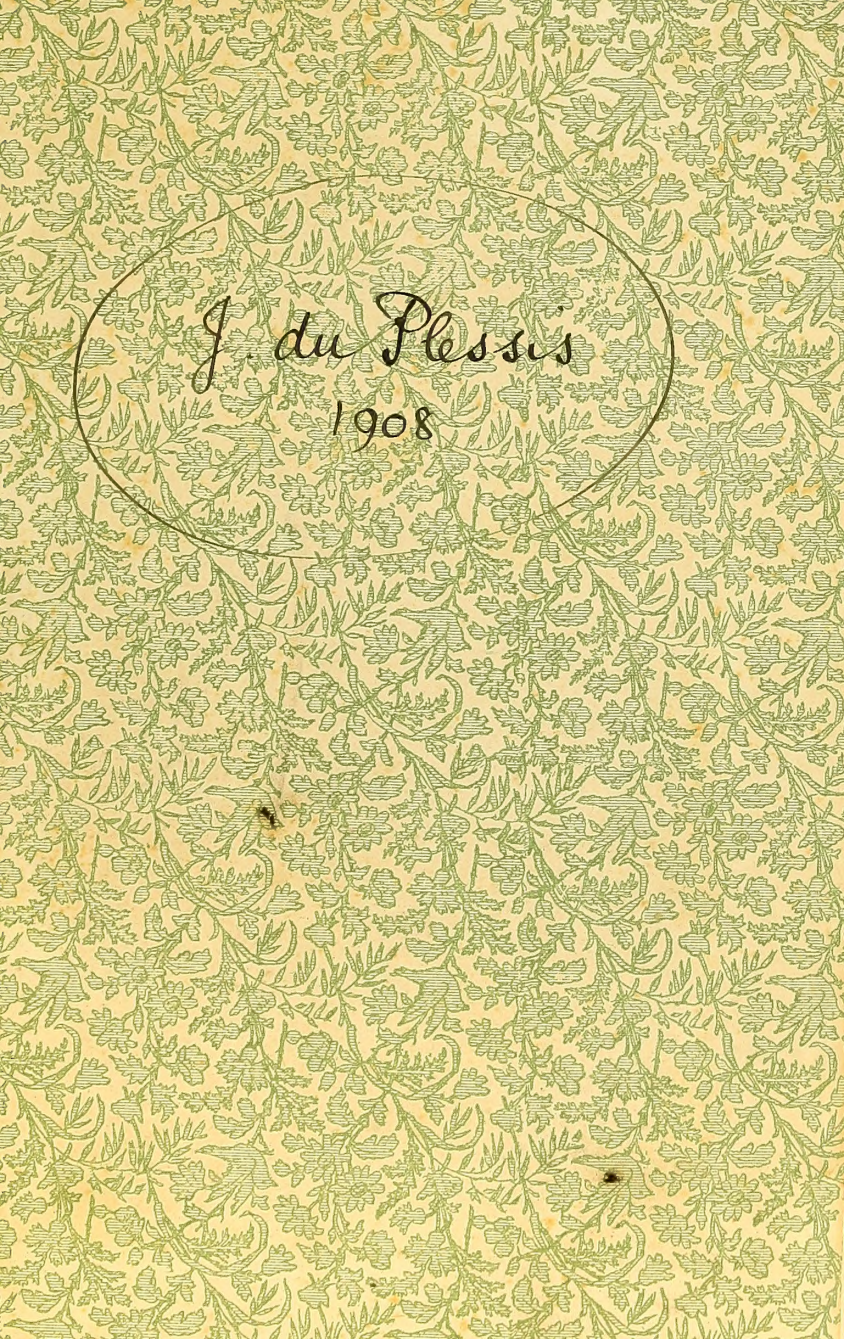


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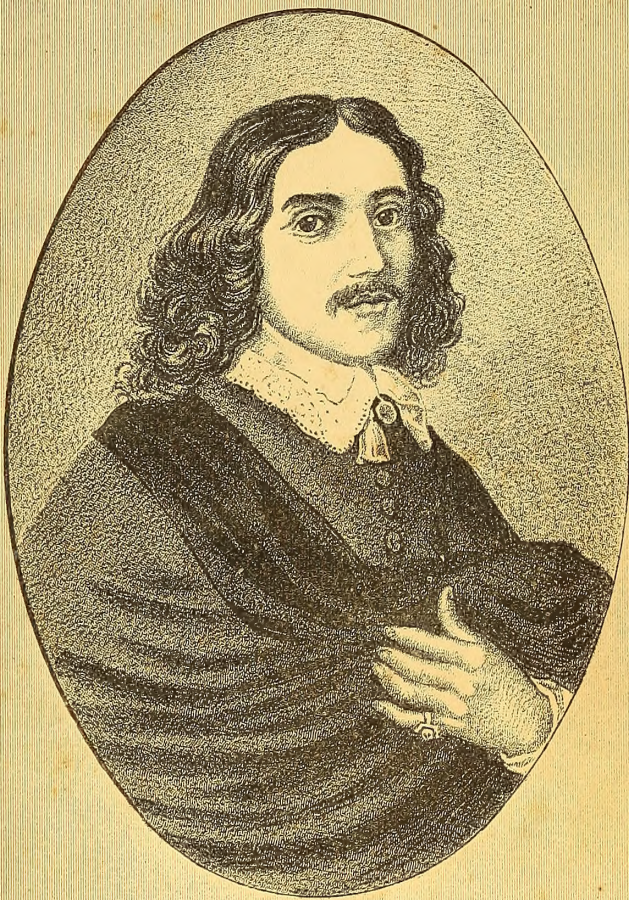
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MURRAY AND ST. LEGER.

CAPE TOWN.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

(First Cape Commander.)

THE HISTORY

OF THE

BATTLES AND ADVENTURES

OF

The British, the Boers, and the Zulus, &c.,

IN

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

FROM THE TIME OF PHARAOH NECHO, TO 1880.

WITH COPIOUS CHRONOLOGY.

VOL. I.

BY

DUNCAN CAMPBELL FRANCIS MOODIE.

*"Oh blood and thunder! and oh blood and wounds!
These are but vulgar oaths, as you may deem,
Too gentle reader! and most shocking sounds;
And so they are—yet thus is Glory's dream.
Unriddled."—BYRON.*

COLOURED MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

CAPE TOWN:

MURRAY & ST. LEGER,

Parliamentary Printers and Government Bookbinders.

1888.

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The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British,
the Boers, and the Zulus, &c., in Southern Africa.

BY D. C. F. MOODIE.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS, LETTERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITIES
ON VOL. I.

D. C. MOODIE, Esq.—“Buckingham Palace, London, September 29, 1882.—Sir,—I am commanded by the Queen to thank you for the Volume on South Africa which you have had the kindness to present to Her Majesty.—I have the honour, &c., (Sig.) HENRY PONSONBY.

The late Sir BARTLE FRERE to D. C. F. MOODIE.—“It is very gratifying to see anyone who really understands South African matters making the truth about them clear, for the ignorance on all such subjects is deplorable, and people utter opinions on matters of which they do not even know the facts.”

South Australian Advertiser, ADELAIDE.—“Mr. Moodie’s work is a goodly volume. Mr. Moodie’s experience in the past has enabled him to intersperse his narrative of events with many curious observations on the customs of the Zulus and other tribes, which are alike original and valuable. An important feature in the work is a chronological table of the principal events connected with South Africa since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, *which will prove most useful to Students*. The illustrations are numerous, some of them being decidedly effective, and the coloured map of South Africa at the beginning of the book is really an excellent one.”

The *Lantern*, ADELAIDE.—“A really valuable history. Exciting incidents and numerous anecdotes are portrayed with a vivid eye. The work redounds to the credit of its author. We cannot close our review of this book without adverting to the large amount of industry and research Mr. Moodie has brought to bear upon it. *Every Institute and Public School* in the Colonies ought to find a place for it,”

Sir THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, K.C.M.G., to D. C. F. MOODIE, Esq.—“I think your book a meritorious publication. *It will be most useful as a reference.* It shows great industry, and does your powers of research and skilful adaptation great credit.”

Chief JOHN DUNN, ZULULAND.—“To D. C. F. MOODIE, Esq.—Dear Moodie, many thanks for your Zulu Book, which I got by last mail, much to my surprise and pleasure, as I had lost sight of you ever since our being boys together in Natal. Your book is very accurate, and gives a very good version of what really did take place in Zululand, &c.”

The Federal Australian, MELBOURNE.—“Mr. Moodie’s volume on South Africa is one of the most creditable contributions to general literature that has ever been issued from the Australian Press. No person will find the work dull. Many readers will devour it with eagerness. On the whole, the author deserves high commendation for his industry and literary ability, and we hope his book will attain a wide circulation.”

Natal Mercury.—“A very attractive and most readable volume. Of all the books written upon the Zulu War, it alone possesses the distinction of having been prepared by one whose acquaintance with his theme is a matter of life-long intimacy, fortified by exceptional facilities of access to historical records. Mr. Moodie follows the history of Cetywayo with absorbing fidelity.”

Times of Natal.—“A book which commanded a large circulation in Australia. Its merits entitle it to a place on the shelves of every local library. Mr. Moodie’s book is a thrilling narrative of adventure, *all the more interesting because it is a record of facts.*”

Natal Mercantile Advertiser.—“Deeds of blood, and the horrors of war, do not occupy all the pages of this very interesting book, but historical accounts, anecdotes, and reflections, will render it a valuable, if not indispensable, assistance to any one who, in the future, attempts to deal with the history of South Africa.”

Cape Times, January 30, 1888.—An advertisement in another column states that the “Battle and Adventure” parts of this rather ambitious work is now being carried through the printing department of this office. We have already given a synopsis of the contents of the two volumes some months ago, and now draw attention to the advertisement, as the numerous subscribers to the work will be interested to know that the volumes will soon see the light of the day (and the heat of criticism). It is ap-

parent that the author's intention is to present history in a striking and inviting form, in fact to base solid history on exciting adventure and thrilling incidents, which are all the more interesting because perfectly true. It is thought that thus presenting substantial instruction in such a taking form will be acceptable to the youth of these colonies as well as to the "older boys." In the various opinions of the press quoted, we notice that amid the general eulogy the fact is frequently emphasised that these "Battles" will be a standard work of reliable reference, and others lay stress upon the assertion that they will be "most useful to students." We notice that an Eastern Province contemporary also views these works from the stand point above indicated. It says :—The battles, &c., when produced, will be large, handsome, and valuable works of reliable reference, and teeming with thrilling narrative and wild adventure, based upon solid history. The advertisement sets forth that they will contain illustrations, coloured map, and a copious chronology, a new feature which will be of *special value to the student*, and it quotes parts of a letter from Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., to the author, saying, "I think your book a meritorious publication. It will be most useful as a reference. It shows great industry, and does your powers of research and skilful adaptation great credit." The Australian press also alludes to the first volume as being the most creditable contribution to their literature that had then (1880) appeared, saying also that the book "*is most useful to students.*"

AFRICANA

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MOODIE

PREFACE.

“OH that mine enemy would write a book!” I hope I have no enemies, but, anyway, here is the book, or books; the last volume being the third that I have inflicted upon an unoffending, good-natured, and long-suffering public. But, joking apart, there is a point where egotism ends, and due and proper self-assertion, based upon favourable antecedent, begins. It will be perceived by the opinions of the general press—pre-annexed—which I leave to speak for me, that I have spent many years (thirty-five) in South Africa, and I speak the Dutch and Kafir languages like a native, and have for a very long time taken a keen interest in the histories and general literature of South Africa. As early as (about) 1855 I began by keeping a very primitive hunting journal, being a record of a trip to the Waterberg Mountains in the Transvaal—almost a *terra incognita* in those days.

I may say, also, that my humble endeavours in “letters” have been necessarily stimulated by the literary antecedents of my relations before me. As far back as 1835, my uncle, John Wedderburn Dunbar Moodie, of the 21st Fusiliers, wrote his two volumes entitled “Ten Years in South Africa,” in England, after his retirement from South Africa. At a literary *coterie* in London, he met Susanna Strickland, one of the three writers of the “Queens of England, &c. &c.” Elizabeth and Susanna however, were brought out by Agnes Strickland, who continued the works in her own name, as before. The Lieutenant wanted his wife to settle in South Africa, but she produced his own book against him, which book set forth how during the absence of the author and his brother (the father of the present writer) an elephant had thrust his tusks through their little hut and walked off with it. So they went to Canada, where the soldier got ruined in Yankee speculations, and Mrs. Moodie then brought out “Roughing it in the Bush” and many other works, to which the Lieutenant contributed, as well as issuing one

himself, entitled "The Adventures of a Soldier and a Settler during a quarter of a century."

My father, Donald Moodie, R.N., after leaving the navy also after the peace of 1815, which caused so many officers, of both branches of the service, to turn their swords into ploughshares, came out to Cape Town, where he eventually entered the Government Civil Service, having in the meantime, in 1838, produced his "Cape Record" a complete copy of which is very scarce and valuable now.

The elder brother, Mr. Benjamin Moodie, "the Laird" as he was called, also came out at the same time and settled at Groot Vader's Bosch in Swellendam, which district his son, Thomas Moodie, represented for many years.

On the 11th July, 1824, Benj. Moodie met Mr. Thos. Pringle, the Rev. Dr. Philip, Mr. W. T. Blair, Mr. H. S. Rutherford, Mr. W. L. Buchenroeder, and C. T. Thornbill, at the house of Messrs. W. Thomson and Mr. Pillans for the purpose of starting a "Literary and Scientific Society," but Lord Charles Somerset declared the meeting to be "illegal," and opposed the project.

The above exhausts the list of the literary endeavours of those of my name before me, unless I might be permitted to mention that my elder brother, W. J. Dunbar Moodie, condensed, compiled, and issued the "Natal Ordinances" some twenty years ago.

As to my own modest experiments in the field indicated, in 1874 I ventured to publish a volume of poems in Adelaide, in South Australia. The newspaper critics were complimentary, but personal friends informed me that the perusal of the Poems entailed serious mental and even physical indisposition in about a quarter of an hour. The first edition was published under the pseudonym of "Austral," the second edition of these Poems was issued in Natal, and the third will accompany the volumes of these "Battles, &c."

However, when the exciting telegrams regarding the disaster of Isandhlwane, in Zululand, reached Adelaide, I was editing a paper of an offensive nature, which I owned, when a printer aware of my South African connection suggested a book on the Zulu War, of which he would take the risk. I accordingly went to work, and in 1879, taking Natal as my standpoint, produced the first volume of "Battles in South Africa," &c. The title was duly

“thought out,” my then intention being to continue the subject as long as I enjoyed good health, and as long as “they” would oblige me by fighting.

The first volume was an unlooked-for success.

The critics were gracious, and I was relieved from a state of starving authorship, in which, like a South African Bosjesman, I vacillated between a famine and a feast.

In the meantime, during my other small avocations, I watered the tender flowers of Hope, and, fancying that I had discovered my “forte,” set to work, with what amount of patience nature has endowed me with, to collect materials for an extension of the “History of the Battles, &c.,” being also encouraged thereto by the South Australian Government ordering 100 copies of the 1st volume for the use of Schools, Institutes, &c., &c., as the said good-natured critics had fortunately reviewed the work as being “Useful to Students, &c.” And a leading literary magazine in London, much to my gratification, alluded to it as “a charming combination of faithful history and stirring incident.” I say, “gratifying,” because, of course, that was exactly the point I was writing up to.

When I reached this ancient town (Cape Town) in 1886, by the kindly courtesy of leading gentlemen, including officials, I was obliged with ready access to all kinds of very old authorities, including the treasures of the “Archives” in the Parliamentary Buildings, the papers of which, I may mention, in justice to the memory of my late patient father, Donald Moodie, were rescued from destruction and first set in due order by him (*vide* correspondence between Sir George Grey and Dr. Bleek, which appears in the appendix attached to vol. II of these works.) And afterwards, in 1838, as I have said, he published his Cape “Record” which chronicled all the journals of the Cape Commanders to 1691, and gave every minute particular of Dutch occupation during that period.

I then perceived that I could, and would have to, recast my works—a labour, it will be conceded by *cognoscenti*, of some difficulty, as from the Natal stand point it would become necessary to go back to the days of Pharoah Necho, when the Phœnician admirals first sailed down (according to Herodotus) the coast of Africa.

However, I have done my “level best” and shall be more than amply repaid if the merciful critics perceive

that my protracted and anxious labours will result in substantial benefit to the general reader and to students of History in particular.

My present endeavour is well set forth in the *Cape Times* of January 30, 1888, which says:—"It is apparent that the author's intention is to present history in a striking and inviting form, in fact to base solid history on exciting adventure and thrilling incidents, which are all the more interesting because perfectly true. It is thought that thus presenting substantial instruction in such a taking form will be acceptable to the youth of these colonies as well as to the 'older boys.' In the various opinions of the press quoted, we notice that amid the general eulogy the fact is frequently emphasised that these 'Battles' will be a standard work of reliable reference, and others lay stress upon the assertion that they will be 'most useful to students.'"

In a, perhaps, too ambitious work of this sort, extending over 1,200 pages, it will be natural that many shortcomings will be apparent, but I respectfully venture to hope that allowance will be made. During my earlier struggles with this work, I was not what might be called offensively wealthy, and I had, perforce, to combat the ridiculous necessities of every day humdrum life, but now, I hope, I have at length laboriously succeeded in producing a complete account, according to my title, of every disturbance in South Africa, from the days of the very early Portuguese heroes to about 1880.

Any interesting matter that may be crowded out will be found in the Appendix attached to the second volume. In that Appendix will also appear what the Australian press noticed as an important feature in the first volume, I mean, a copious and carefully prepared Chronological Table from the best available authorities. That in the first volume was limited. It is now much extended, and will, I need hardly say, be found most useful to the scholar, the man of business, and the general reader. I have not consulted Hall's Chronology. The list of authorities that, with gratitude, I have consulted, appear in the Appendix.

D. C. F. MOODIE.

Valhalla, Cape Town,
March 13, 1888,

ADAMASTOR, OR THE TITAN SHAPE OF THE MIGHTY CAPE.

Of old the Titans, is unholy rage,
Waged impious war against the thunderer Jove ;
And oft we've seen along the classic page
How—lightning armed—the “ Cloud Compeller ” hove
The rebels headlong down to earth, where still they strove
Awhile amongst themselves, and then were doomed
To lone and distant spots, ne'er more to rove,
But stand the sentries grim where breakers boomed,
Where lay life's light, and joy, and Hope itself entombed.

The youngest Titan, Adamastor named,
(So sings in sweetest strain the Lusian bard),
Was banished south to far off country, claimed
In after days, by Diaz, sailor hard—
And here to-day the Giant stands, ill-starred—
His human semblance altered, and his brow,
Tho' princely still, all wild, and fiercely scarred.
But as of yore he stood, so stands he now,
And sadly prays to Jove to change his vengeful vow.

But Jove has other work, and will not hear,
And Adamastor prays in vain, but yet
O'er the wild Ocean doth the Monster rear
His lofty crest of crags, and front of jet
And mark, oh mark ! the noble profile set
In sternest beauty o'er the western wave—
(His forehaad still with sylphlike wreathings wet)
And see the Monarch gaze where Sol doth lave
His crimson head in billow blue—his daily grave.

Yes, o'er that wave did Adamastor scan
Th' intrepid Diaz, and De Gama bold
Pursue their dubious course with tools and plan
Of rudest sort, but still with courage hold
Their way to lands possess'd of fabled gold ;
And from their high and clumsy vessels saw
A lofty land where mists fantastic rolled,
And storms resounding from the “ caverned shore,”
With hollow groan “ repeat the tempest's (horrid) roar

When many years had flown the Giant saw
The coming of Van Riebeeck (and his fleet).
"In culture and refinement" was he raw,
But wisdom he pursued with hasty feet,
And in acquiring knowledge was discreet ;
"A little fiery tempered resolute man,"
With "prime of life and health" and active heat,
He served his masters well in act and plan,
And to the last he wrought as all good servants can

And with him came his burghers quaint, who soon,
Squatted beneath the Giant's brow, and piled
The work, till Bona Dea gave her boon.
And soon where trouble was, all Nature smiled,
And all was bright in jackal-haunted wild.
To "Lion's Head" the "look out" man was sent
To spy the ships that were "the Enemy" styled,
And as to tent the weary "Merchant" went,
The lion's roar was with the boom of billows blent.

Old time rolled on—and Adamastor looked
One day upon the open judgment room,
And trembled at the sight. Old Death had booked
Van Nood, the Governor, with a fearful doom,
That soon the village filled with horrid gloom.
Death's awful sentence he'd just passed on one
Who vainly pled "not guilty" of the tomb ;
"I go to hang ! We meet 'fore God ! I come !"
Some minutes hence pale Death had struck the Governor dumb.

Yes, when the limbs of law straight back repair
To say the sentence has been carried out,
They found him dead, bolt upright in his chair.
The troubled soul had fled—withouten doubt—
Just at the time they hanged the prisoner stout.
The quaint, old-fashioned, straight-back chair is still
On day view to the curious folks about,
And superstitious people stare until
Of deathly fear and gossip they have had their fill.

The Giant guardian Genius of the Cape
Looks forth o'er lovely scenes of wood and wave,
And from the profile of his Titan shape
That eastward looks, the view is fair and "brave,"
For there high peaks the Berg stream waters lave,
While close beneath, and nestling 'mongst the trees,
Enchanting homes o'er which the fir trees wave,
In soft contentment stretch between two seas,
And breathe, in turn, the Mountain and the Ocean breeze.

And here the patriarch* in his old Cape home—
A paradise of creeper, heath, and wood—
Rules in benignant sway ; no more to roam
From ancient halls where lares stand and stood,
And breathed in peace from ventures wildly good.
And lo ! at eve, 'midst generations three
(All humbly kneeling, as 'tis meet they should),
He bows his hoary head, and asks that He
May still their stay, and friend, and help, and guardian be.

I like the Cape—I like the scenery fair,
Its lovely lassies, seashore and its bays,
I like the town, for there I first breathed air,
I like the people, and I like their ways,
I like the Premier, and I like his “stays,”
And, by Jove, I even love taxation,
When well put on, and when the taxed one pays.
I'm in the mood to even hug vexation,
For to congenial theme I owe a slight elation.

And now farewell. I've climbed the Lion's Mount
And seen a tiny flower not seen since youth.†
Oh ! fairy power that wells from Nature's fount
When early scenes recur with tender truth.
O'er Ocean hangs the sun, and now, in sooth,
He's sunk beneath the wave, and as I gaze
Abroad across the land, I think, with truth,
That Huguenots and Dutch can claim proud bays,
For thrashing Gaul and Spaniard in their palmiest days.

D. C. F. MOODIE.

Three Anchor Bay,
Cape Town, Jan. 8th, 1887.

* The late respected patriarch of Westbrook was here in mind. This place is now in the possession of George Pigo' Moodie, May 1888.

† I had been away from the Cape over thirty years.

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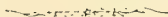
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It is unavoidable that the pictures should be so unevenly divided between the two Volumes. But it will be apparent to the intelligent reader that it would be a matter of much difficulty to illustrate events that transpired many of them before the Nativity. Pharaoh Necho, Herodotus and Henry of Portugal did not leave their portraits, and Diaz and De Gama did not probably find any photograph likeness takers in Adderley-street or D'Urban in Natal. We have, however, secured a few cuts of old times, and produce them in the 1st Vol. The comparatively recent ones will appear in the 2nd Vol.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE BATTLES AND ADVENTURES
OF
THE BRITISH, THE BOERS,
AND
THE ZULUS, &c., IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

INCEPTION OF DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE.

MOST historians, in their opening remarks upon South African History, first begin with, and introduce to notice, the celebrated Portuguese mariner, Bartholomew Diaz, who rounded the Cape in 1486, but if we go back to Herodotus—"the father of History"—whose matter-of-fact style and sterling common sense impart such a material value to his writings—we find that, in the time of Pharoah Necho, a Phœnician admiral sailed with a fleet through the "Pillars of Hercules" now (as is known) the Straits of Gibraltar, and disappeared down the Western Coast of Africa, and did not return for about two years. Herodotus—in the matter-of-fact style alluded to—records how that, for many weary moons, the mariners sailed down the West Coast (which they hugged) with the sun, of course, rising on their left side, and lo! and behold, one morning they found it rising on their right side, thus proving that they had rounded a continent. He also says, in the same book, "Clio," that when the sailors returned they brought back "ivory, feathers and gold,"—the marketable commodities of South Eastern Africa to the present day. The writings of Herodotus—there is little doubt—stimulated the ardour of Maritime Southern discovery in the breasts of the Portuguese.

From fragments of the works of Diodorus Siculus, rescued from the famous Alexandrian library (which to the everlasting disgrace of the sons of Othman they burned) we gather pretty much the same information.

Mauch, Petermann, Baines, and other celebrated men, who also wrote on South Eastern Africa, describe very ancient ruins some 200 miles north-westward of Sofala. They mention extensive ruins, towers, huge blocks of stones, elaborate cornices, tessellated pavements, &c. &c., around which silent oblivion has now thrown her dank and dark embrace.

In connection with the above subject there is one fact, important to scientists, that should be mentioned. Most travellers credit the Portuguese as the architects of these old buildings. But in the case of the ruins of Mazambae, the discovery of Mauch of the Phœnician and Egyptian lozenge shape character carved on some of the stones would seem decisively to subvert this theory.

But although, in my humble opinion (at least) Herodotus is a good man, yet the first positive information we are in possession of regarding the early Cape period is that of the days of Diaz. But we must pause to consider what were the springs that set the movement, in which Diaz was unconsciously involved, in motion.

The "springs" then were intimately connected with a period of vast interests in the destinies of the World—when, finally, the mind of Europe, after a struggle of ages, achieved the victory over the East, and entered on its career of conquest and civilization among the nations. The dawn of the existence of this land of "Good Hope" among the shores within the scope of European genius and enterprise has been obscured by the darkness of its subsequent annals.

The gloom and aspirations of the 15th century scarcely afford, in our minds, a subject of contemplation for the 19th, enveloped in its own busy schemes of to-day. There is in all our education, says the late Judge Watermeyer, an amazing negligence of the enquiry into our share of the philosophy of history. And yet what more glorious, what more worthy to be held forth to the admiration of men, than the spirit of that age, the interpretation of one whose thoughts was the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope?

For eight centuries had continued the conflict of inveterate hatred between the genius of fanaticism, evoked by Mahomet from the Arabian deserts, and the influences of Christianity. From the time—only seventeen years after the flight of the prophet from Mecca—when the aged patriarch of Jerusalem, compelled to be the guide of the Chief of the Unbelievers through the holy city, led the stern Omar over the spots hallowed by the Saviour's footsteps, and, in the depths of humiliation, while the conqueror stood proudly within the sacred precincts of the Church of the Resurrection, uttered the language of despair, "of a truth I have beheld the fulfilment of the words of the prophet—the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place"—the tide of Moslem conquest swept ever onwards, engulfing city and shrine, wealth and civilization.

The Holy Land subdued, towards the north, on the ruins of the seven primitive churches of the Apocalypse, the faith of Islam was established with the rapidity of invincible enthusiasm. In the East the proud monarchy of Persia was rooted up from the face of the earth, and Fire Worshippers and Christians alike were consigned to an equal doom of destruction. Towards the West, in the seats of African Christendom—both where the Alexandrian Pontiffs had haughtily trampled on heathenism, and had beheld the final defeat and submission of the Greek philosophy to the tenets of Christianity, and whence the Augustine had ruled the destinies of the Catholic faith throughout Europe—shrines and temples and monasteries were abandoned to the ruthless zeal of the fanatic sons of the desert, and soon every vestige of the religion planted by the Apostles disappeared from the Red Sea to beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

It had been in vain in Egypt and Syria to resist the torrent that rush from the despised land of Ishmael. After three centuries it seemed to be in vain to attempt successfully to stem the flood, which, more slowly, yet with equally sure fatality, threatened from the victorious East to whelm in destruction alike the nations of Europe and their Christian faith. It was the instinct of self preservation in Europe, awakened to a vague sense of peril, combined with the enthusiastic devotion aroused by the zealous eloquence of Peter the Hermit and the

ambitious plans of Pope Urban, that sent forth to the conquest of the Holy Land, in the first Crusades, the tumultuous crowds from every nation of the West, incited to a wild confidence on their own invincibility, but doomed, despite heroic endurance and occasional triumph, to misery and disaster, without achieving a result worthy of the marvellous preparation. In vain had the truce of God been proclaimed—and in vain the Norman and the Frank, and the Teuton, and the Latin, gave to each other the hand of fellowship, and swore that at the bidding of the Church, which was the Western civilization, all private feuds and minor contests should die, and war be waged—a hallowed war,—against the Anti-Christ alone, the barbarian power, the harbinger of woe and destruction from the East.

The efforts of force seemed futile. The entire Christian world was baffled, the Saracen and the Turk arose from each repeated struggle with new vigour; in each new contest adding to their barbarian energy the advantages of civilization gained in their manifold conquests, after the ninth Crusade and the failure, captivity, and death of St. Louis, and at the end of the 13th century the Mahomedan power, as compared with that of Christianity, divided by factions and jealousies, and wasted by intestine wars, was even more terrible than in the middle of the 11th, when the applauding multitudes echoed the Hermit's words, "It is the will of God," and rushed forth to rid the earth of their foe and the foe of Christ.

Dreadful indeed were the humiliation and losses in which these expeditions of impassioned zeal resulted. But there were effects upon the future civilization of the world beyond this loss and humiliation. The gallant chivalry of the Middle Ages, the warrior hosts from France and Britain and Germany, indeed, knew not thoroughly the true origin of the enthusiasm that impelled them to the banner of the Cross, nor the tendency of the disasters which, with heroic fortitude, they endured.

These disasters were the Education of Europe, to enter worthily on her final successes. The enthusiasm was the uncontrollable instinct Eastwards, to the land of religion, bordering on the land of wealth untold—to the East whence their forefathers and their faith had come, where

all that was deemed precious had its home ; and whence, too, came rushing on the formidable new race and Anti-Christian new faith, to destroy and uproot—if not destroyed and uprooted. This instinct, developed, became the mission of Europe to civilise, govern and regenerate the whole Earth. Its first vast endeavours resulted in apparent utter discomfiture.

When at length, a century and a half after the cessation of the Crusades, the New Rome of Constantine fell a prey to Turkish valour, and Mahomet the Second, the head of the Scythian Moslemism, was installed in the seat of the Eastern Empire—when in like manner as the Churches of Jerusalem, the magnificent dome of St. Sophia had been despoiled of its crosses and sacred ornaments and was degraded to the unhallowed worship of the false prophet—the spirit of Europe and Christianity seemed to quail utterly before the Asiatic fanaticism—the struggle of the faith seemed well nigh approaching its end ; and had the Conqueror survived a few years (in the words of the historian of the Fall of the Roman Empire) “the same Ottoman reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the ancient as well as the new Rome.” In truth, for some years after the conquest of Byzantium, the fairest regions of the South were at the invaders’ mercy. The prayers for succour, reiteratedly sent by the last of the Greek Cæsars to the Latin powers, had been unheeded, and a spiritless consternation among the nearer Western sovereigns succeeded his fall. Some feeble voices were lifted up for a new Crusade against the common foe, but the disunion of Christendom could present no warlike front. And if the future state of the world were dependent on the direct power of Europe to offer successful opposition to the Turkish arms, hitherto resistless, the aspect of modern history would have been utterly changed.

Happily, however, a developement was proceeding in some of the more distant states which had hitherto less influenced the destinies of mankind, silent indeed and unobserved, but which ere long decided for ever the Western superiority. Although an eminent ecclesiastic, who afterwards ascended the Papal throne when a few ardent men endeavoured, on the fall of Constantinople, to awaken the ancient spirit of religious chivalry, in words

of bitter complaint, pictured the deplorable state of Christendom: "It is a body without a head—a republic without laws or magistrates. The Pope and the Emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey. Every state has a separate prince, and every prince a separate interest. What mortal could reconcile the English with the French; Genoa with Arragon; the Germans with the Hungarians and the Bohemians? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the Infidels, if many, by their own weight and confusion"—and these words embodied undeniable truth, *yet* the same spirit which in former ages, in its rash enthusiasm, found expression in the tumultuous array of the Crusaders,—the same spirit of European determination to possess the ancient abodes of the faith, and to claim the wealth of the fabled lands beyond these abodes, now wrought in the studious intellect, and the Western mind was victorious where the Western arms had recoiled in disgrace.

It is evident that the Ottoman power has now gone beyond a rude warlike process. The Italian commercial republics, which sprang into flourishing existence during the Crusades, alone supplied the advancing Northern and Western civilization with the luxuries, soon to become necessities, and the rich products of the Indian markets, of Acre and Alexandria. Guided only by the principles of commercial gain, Venice, the chief of these republican states, felt not strongly the sympathies and antipathies which swayed the general body of Christians. From day to day more dependent for her wealth, which dazzled the nobles and burghers of the North, on the fostering power of Egypt, and of the petty Mahommedan princes on the Asiatic Coast of the Mediterranean—these last again tributary to the great Sultan—the interests of Christendom were manifestly at variance with her commercial supremacy. Her connection with the Saracen Governments was intimate even while the Christian banner still waved over the Bosphorus, and when the Crescent supplemented the Cross, her increasing commercial importance became yet more interwoven with the fortunes of the successors of Mahomet, who soon held sovereignty over the entire East with which Europe had intercourse.

Thus the trade of the West, passing perforce eastwards through this channel, fed the vast military power which steadily advanced its aggressive front; the commercial spirit, then born in the maritime nations which have since been in succession the foremost of the world, ministered to the martial supremacy of the victorious Asiatic; and if, by the mere strength of its vigorous arm, when as yet it knew not the value of its grasp on the high road of European Commerce, Turkey was able, before the century closed, to seize Naples and threaten Rome,—who will venture to limit the natural progress of its indomitable and energetic might, if the commerce of the Christian world had continued, as it soon completely became, tributary to its sway,—a commerce daily increasing and daily more enslaved? It may sound strangely to our ears, accustomed as we are to the known results of history, and loth to accept aught at variance with our foregone conclusions, if it be asserted as a possible, or perhaps even a probable truth, that under such favourable circumstances for the Turkish fortunes the call for the faithful to prayer might, before another century had passed, have been heard from St. Peter's as already from St. Sophia's dome—and that the Eternal City would not then, as in her previous sieges, have succumbed merely to a temporary barbarian assault, but would have fallen a permanent appanage to the new and resistless Empire of the sons of Othman.

To a spectator of the world in the middle of the 15th century, whose eyes were fixed on the regions which, those days, had been the seats of rule and Empire—Greece and Rome and Persia, Assyria and Egypt, in their dazzling glories of bygone time open to his view—his horizon, limited by the boundaries of the world as then known to the learned and the most powerful,—it must have appeared an almost inevitable destiny that the diadem of universal dominion should now grace the brows of the conqueror of Christendom in the East, whose onslaught the champions of Christendom in the West could not elude; and before whose consolidated strength their disunited and convulsive efforts must at length have sunk in powerless defeat. Such a spectator would not have beheld, or if he had beheld, could not have understood *the deep significance of the constant passing and repassing of small barks on the*

North Western African Coasts,—hardly mariners venturing along the desert-shores washed by the Atlantic—now gazing in despair on the currents deemed impassable by the wisest amongst them,—now urged to renewed exertion, as the more adventurous successfully overcame the threatened danger. He could not have imagined those tiny skiffs were guided by the *earliest renewed impulse* of European energy,—the same in its object, but changed in its means, which was *destined to counteract the progress of Ottoman grandeur and Christian downfall*, otherwise presented to his view : in a word, *that in the Atlantic the victory of the West over the East was being won.*

An eminent living writer has beautifully and truthfully remarked of the interest in comparatively obscure and isolated beginnings of great social and historical changes, in words worthy of quotation :—“The traveller willingly dismounts to see the streamlet which is the origin of a great river ; and the man of imagination (who is patient in research because he is imaginative), as in science he labouriously follows with delight the tracks, now hardened in the sandstone, so in history he will often find material to meditate upon and to observe—in the slight notices, which, however, indicate much to him of bygone times and wondrous changes.” From the bygone times of which we speak date wondrous changes that have come over the fortunes of nations and men. Let us trace how eminently these were due to the thoughts, which became works, of one man of that age,—representing a phase of its intellectual advancement,—*Prince Henry of Portugal.*

While the Wars of the Roses, caused by the ambition of one of the sons of John of Lancaster, were desolating England, one of his grandsons (for the mother of the great Portuguese Prince, the wife of John I., was a sister of Henry IV. of England) was earning on the Atlantic shore the meed of fame which posterity has gracefully conceded to the lofty intellect that planned discoveries and conquests for Christianity in the Indies, even before the birth of Columbus.

It is worthy of remark that the ardour for enterprise *which was, ere long, to inflict irreparable injury on the fortunes of the Votaries of the Koran*, to undermine the supports of its Empire, and precipitate to decline in the

apparent vigour of its strength, arose in a part of Europe where, almost alone, Christendom had permanently wrested from Mahommedanism a portion of the territory where the Moorish ascendancy had been established ; where, almost alone, there had been durably successful resistance to its encroachments,—the Western Peninsula. But the destruction on the Field of Ourique, where, according to the heroic legend, the Saviour himself appeared in the Heavens, to encourage the gallant founder of the Portuguese Monarchy to victory over the Infidels, stained as it was on that day with the blood of five Moorish Kings and their countless host, was not so fatal to the dominion of the Crescent as the bloodless victories of Alphonso's more famous descendants,—who, on his rough charts, traced to his adventurous mariners the probable track over unexplored seas *beyond the known extremity of the world* ; the promontory of Nam explained to them how the magic needle ever pointed to the pole ; and enabled them, by the aid of astronomical observation, to regain their perilous course, when driven by the fury of the storm or the current's strength from the Coast, which the skill in navigation of the 15th century would not permit them to avoid with impunity.

Not that the labours of this eminent man were confined to the meditations and conferences of the closet. Even yet the existence of the Portuguese and Spanish Kingdoms depended on the expulsion and restraint of the Moors within the African limits. Portuguese patriotism was synonymous with Moorish defeat and extirpation, and the wars of the Iberian States were, to some extent, of the same nature as the Crusades of the East.

But, though he was second to none on the field against the hereditary foes of his country and his religion, and foremost in the councils of his Sovereign, *the object of Henry's toil and ambition throughout life was the extension of the true faith, the possession of the Holy East, the exaltation of the power of Christianity, by means of successful maritime discovery.*

Derided, but not discouraged, when his earliest enterprises met with failure, through the terror of his captains on rugged shores in unknown waters, he exhibited what was decried by the popular clamour of his contemporaries

as an insane obstinacy, but what appeared to them not many years after to have been a large-souled perseverance under divine inspiration. The wisdom of the theorists, the experience of practical seamen, alike contemned the thought of the man in advance of themselves. Twelve years of zealous enterprise had secured the discovery of only seven leagues of barren coast, and a promontory had been reached, to use the words of the mariners "beyond which there could live no people whatever; the land as bare as Lybia, the sea so shallow that at a league from the land it was only a fathom deep, the currents so fierce that the ship that passes that Cape will never return."

But these invincible currents were again overcome; Cape Bojador was passed: plants from the Gambian coast borne to the Prince were hailed by him as fruits from the promised land, and he besought the Virgin "that she would guide and set forth the doings in this discovery to the praise and glory of God and to the increase of his holy faith."

The unswerving earnestness and sustained purpose in a gigantic labour misunderstood, which indicate the hero more truly than immediate success and uninterrupted triumph, at length conquered the popular prejudice and derision.

On Henry's death, after he had, for nearly forty years devoted his wealth, intellect and influence to the holy cause of *discovering for his nation and his religion the maritime route to the Orient*,—although no further fruit of the enterprise could yet be shown than that the poisoned coast of Sierra Leone had been reached—the great wish of his heart was not suffered to die. *The thought of the man had become the living ambition of the nation.* In a few decades it was the moving power of the most wonderful age since the birth of Christianity. *A third of a century more, and the Southern point of the continent was gained.* Three score and ten years of unremitting energy, heroism, and perseverance had been completed from 1413, when Henry bade his first explorers God-speed, to the year when Bartholomew Diaz passed the "Cape of Storms" and planted the *symbol of the faith* on the island of Santa Cruz in Algoa Bay.

The erection of the cross by the Portuguese navigators

points out the true nature of their enterprises. The religious element in these discoveries, as well as those which, in imitation of them, were undertaken by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, is a *remarkable feature*, which presents a forcible contrast to the maritime expeditions in the following century, of the English and Dutch navigators. *The conversion to the faith of the infidels* who might people the wide tracks between Portugal and the Indies, *was the stipulation on which Pope Martin V. granted to the Portuguese Crown all that it should conquer in these lands* with a plenary indulgence to those who should die while engaged in the conquests. The wealth of the East, the subjection of the East under the banners of the Cross, the seizure of the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels who profaned its sanctity,—these were, in the 15th century, the hopes which animated all in whom Prince Henry had lit up the enthusiasm for discovery, as they had been the hopes of Godfrey of Bonillon and the hearers of St. Bernard.

The religious motive was indeed predominant in the great minds which led the spirit of discovery in both nations of the Peninsula. Every act of the father of modern navigation shows that he was urged by such influences. The memorial of Henry's disciple, possibly his superior in merit as in fame—Columbus, to the Catholic Sovereigns, who had enabled him to seek Japan, Cathay, and the Indies, by braving the Atlantic—(this was immediately after the Spanish conquest of Grenada, and before the great Genoese knew that his bold endeavours would bestow richer Spain in a new world on his protectors)—was, in words which plainly speak the feeling in which the zeal for the discovery of new lands was then rooted. "Your Highnesses," he says, "as Catholic Christians and Princes, lovers and furtherers of the Christian faith, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, have thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the provinces of India to see the princes thereof, their cities and lands, and the disposition, of them, and of everything about them, and the way that should be taken to convert them to the holy faith." Indeed, as to Columbus—both before and after he had added the new world to the possession of Castile—his heart bounded with the thought that he might be fated to

wrest the Holy Land, for the Faith, from its Infidel possessors, and his dreams were of a triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

In truth a similar tone runs through all the enterprises of this nature throughout the century. The Portuguese historian felt the true origin of these labours, which were the glory of his nation, and soon their shame, and felt, too, how quickly his countrymen had fallen from their noble aim when he said, "I do not imagine that I shall persuade the world that our intent was only to be preachers of faith ; but, on the other hand, the world must not fancy that it was merely to be traders"* They could not long serve both God and Mammon. The temptations could not be overcome, and they fell, worshippers of gold, perpetrators of fearful atrocities, and traffickers in human flesh ! But in spite of the swift desertion of the worthiest impulses of action with which they set out in their career, justice requires it to be admitted that the principal objects of the leaders in this new path of glorious adventure were *the exaltation of the faith and the service of God*.

But to return from this digression. John II of Portugal, the politician, understood what Diaz, the navigator, had failed to apprehend,—the value of the triumph which had been gained over the "Stormy Cape" afterwards, as we all know, the Cape of Good Hope. The voyage of Vasco de Gama verified the omen. India was reached. Wealth streamed into the uttermost limit of Europe. Honour and power crowned the brows of a nation which, not long since, had battled for very existence. A petty province was, for a time, Mistress of the Seas. But the temporary national riches and importance were not the principal achievement of the men who were worthily carrying out Prince Henry's schemes. De Gama's diplomatic parleying with the wily Zamorin of Calicut, his successful avoidance of the treachery of the Moorish nobles and merchants who sought the intruders' destruction, his commercial alliances with the various potentates on the African and Indian Coasts, despite the Moorish opposition,—all these secured the entry of his nation into the portals of glory and wealth, but secured

* Farley Sonza—quoted in "Spanish Conquests."

greater treasure far, and fairer fame, for the European world of Christianity and civilization. The paltry skiffs which a few years since had laboured from the lately doubled Cape Nam under disheartening failure, to conquer the irresistible current of Cape Bojador, were now proudly manned fleets under Cabral or Albuquerque, prepared to cope victoriously with the largest force the Infidels could venture to oppose to them in their own waters. The battle of Christianity and Moslemism, lost ages past in thy Holy Land, lost in the fall of the Empire of Constantine, lost more recently in Southern Italy and the Mediterranean—everywhere lost where there had been a conflict, save in Portugal and Spain,—was renewed in the Red Sea, and in the Persian Gulf and in the Indian Ocean, *and was at length decisively won. The change of the route of the traffic wrought this victory.*

Egypt and Syria instinctively knew their impending ruin if the ocean commerce were substituted for the trade by which their revenues were upheld. Terrible threats were denounced if the Christians did not immediately desert their new discoveries. Ambassadors were sent to Rome and to Lisbon to picture the sufferings which Christianity would be made to endure throughout the East unless the sole occupation of the Indian Seas were yielded to its ancient possessors. But Rome, ruled by Julius II. did not fear, and Emanuel of Portugal was resolute.

At length a vast armament, built at Suez, manned with Turkish seamen, flushed with constant victory in the Mediterranean, and supplied with Venetian cannon and engineers, was fitted out to destroy, ere it took strong root, the new commerce, and to save the trade of the Levant and the fortunes of Venice.

Over this last endeavour for the old supremacy the two Almeidas triumphed by their naval skill and chivalrous valour, and from 1508 to this day no Mahommedan fleet, worthy of the name, has been seen in the Indian waters, and there, too, the proud republic of the Adriatic received the blow more deadly than that aimed by a coalition of the Pope and the Sovereigns at Cambray.

But the destruction of the Egyptian, Syrian and Venetian trade resulted in yet more important effects. The question at stake never was in truth, although in

appearance, the supremacy of one commercial nation and the depression of others. It was, in effect, the struggle, for life or death, of civilization with barbarism. If we follow history in the supposition that Venice had remained Queen of the Waters, and that the victory of Portuguese commerce over the Red Sea and the Levant had not been obtained, the prospect is appalling indeed. Egypt, which, though, heretofore politically allied with the Ottoman power for an onslaught on the Christians, yet formed no portion of that Empire, after not many years became a province in subjection to Stamboul. Then European and Asiatic Turkey, Greece, Syria and Egypt were one, the most powerful military organization in the world, vigorous and victorious, supported by the entire trade of the earth. The bigoted fanaticism of the Turks at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries was not less than in the previous period of their career. Irresistible by land, and with unequalled resources for naval strength, in command of all the commerce of Asia and of Europe, the Ottoman Empire held the key, and had the means to enforce the claim, of universal dominion.

The state of Christendom has been sketched. No reflecting mind can doubt that, but for unforeseen events, a crushing retribution of the Crusades was imminent. Some years, possibly a considerable portion of a century, might elapse ere the warlike barbarian race, now firmly planted in the strongest position in Europe, would thoroughly comprehend and apply the vast engine of its commercial monopoly in aid of its martial energy, to the utter annihilation of the Christian rule. But the impression certainly cannot be driven from our conviction that the revenge for the deeds of Godfrey, and of Cœur de León, of the Templars and the Knights of St. John, of the attempts of Louis IX, was to burst in a storm over Europe, and with fatal effect.

The gigantic prowess of the powers which seemed destined to inflict the blow had become then more threatening than that of the Northern Empire,—the aversion of whose menaced preponderance in Europe has aroused the imperilled Western liberties to a defensive warfare. And, as resistance would have been seemingly vain, escape was impossible. There existed then no great republic beyond the Atlantic where the ruined freedom of the Old

World might receive a refuge and a welcome, there were no lands in the Indian seas whither, as the sturdy Dutch projected when their destruction was threatened by another candidate for universal Empire, they might carry their independence and the national character—and live at least beyond the yoke of a slavish submission.

But the impending tempest did not break over devoted Europe. It was dissipated suddenly, noiselessly. The men who were the instruments believed that they were chiefly exalting their own land in the scale of nations, while they were saving Europe.

The success of De Gama's expedition was the salvation of the world from the curse of the Mahommedan domination. It was a miraculous prevention of a yet darker repetition of the Dark Ages. *It was the great end of the Crusades gained*—the victory of Christian freedom over the gloomy despotism of the false prophet's faith,—even though the physical possession of the Saviour's tomb was not changed.

From the 15th century dates the modern history of the world. The age which, on the final decay and ruin of the remnant of the Empire of the Cæsars, *beheld the first printed book*—which witnessed the birth of European literature as distinguished from that of Greece and Rome—which was adorned with the divine art of Michael Angelo, of Rafaele, and of Titian,—which fostered the germ of the grand conflict of the Latin and Teutonic Christianity, a conflict to endure for all time as a living test of the grandeur and weakness of the human intellect,—which saw the earliest essays of navigation fitly so-called, and wherein a new world sprang into existence, while the political labyrinth of modern statecraft was planted in the old—is *the beginning of the history of the time in which we live.*

All the former nations seem equally ancient in their thoughts, actions, and aspirations—habitants more of an imaginary world of beings similar to ourselves than of the actual world in which we live and breathe. From that time, in our limited comprehension, we can, in some degree, understand the poet's words, that

“Thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process
of the suns.”

for from that time the progress has been large, visible, in one uniform direction.

Perhaps the most remarkable event of this wonderful age in its effects on the world *was the discovery of Diaz, perfected by De Gama; the preservation of the liberties of mankind from the sceptre of Islamism; of the intellect from the fanaticism of the Koran; and of their infant printing-press from the censorship of an Omar or an Amarith.*

Such, then, is the connection of the discovery of the Cape with historical Europe.





Murray & St. Ledger.

RAISING OF THE CROSS BY DIAZ AT ALGOA BAY IN 1487.

Cape Town.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY CAPE HEROES AND THEIR ADVENTURES.

ANYONE casually glancing at the title of this book may say "What has this serious exordium (however useful) to do with ' Battles, Adventures, &c.?' " but a further glance will discover the word " History " at the commencement of the title. It is necessary, however, (especially as my humble endeavour and object is to make these volumes practically useful to the students of South African History) to give a synopsis of the important events which lead up to the " Battles, &c.," but which have not been touched upon so deeply by any writer, with the exception of the late Judge Watermeyer, whose excellent remarks, I have said, I have gladly availed myself of. To those who would like to dash at once into " Battles and Adventures " I can promise enough thrilling adventure and stirring incident to satisfy the most ardent lovers of that sort of thing. The incidents, however, will be based on the certainty of fact, and the frequent and useful landmarks of faithful history.

Before beginning, therefore, with the narration of the particulars of the first battle between the Dutch (or Boers) and the British, *videlicet*, that of Muizenberg, I must, perforce, make a few more leading remarks.

The discovery of the extreme point of the African Continent by Diaz took place 166 years before the Dutch first established themselves at the Cape. The Portuguese had but half a century before commenced to colonize, or to establish a colonial trade. They had founded Madeira in 1120, the Azores in 1433, and, shortly after, the settlements on the Gold Coast of Guinea. In 1486 Diaz was sent out by King John II of Portugal, on the voyage in which he made his great discovery. The change of the name of the Cape from the stormy one of " De todos los tormentos," which he gave it to that it now bears is known to all, and

the object of Portugal to find a route to India in order to compete in commercial rivalry with Venice is also known.

The fate of the gallant Francis d'Almeida, who, with his brother, beat the Moslem fleet, and thus changed the fate of the world, and poor Diaz* is rather sad. Both lost their lives at or near the "Stormy Cape." Diaz was drowned off the coast seven years after his famous discovery, and Almeida was ingloriously killed by the Hottentots in Table Bay. Mr. Theal, in his "Chronicles of the Cape Commanders" gives an account of his death. He says that in returning homewards with the fleet which left India at the close of 1509 the Viceroy D'Almeida put into Table Bay (Saldanha, as it was then called by some) for the purpose of obtaining water and refreshing his people. When the ships came to anchor, some natives appeared on the beach, and permission was given to a party of Portuguese to go ashore and endeavour to barter cattle from them. This traffic was successful, bits of iron and pieces of calico being employed in the trade, and it was carried on in such a friendly manner that several of the Portuguese did not fear to accompany the natives to a village at no great distance. But on the way some daggers and other small articles were missed, and it was ascertained that they had been pilfered, which so enraged one Gonsalo, that he determined upon taking revenge. His violence, however, cost him dear, for in a scuffle with two natives he received some severe wounds. He, and another who had also been badly beaten, made their appearance before the Viceroy, who was at the time surrounded by his principal officers. There was at once a clamour for vengeance, and D'Almeida was reluctantly persuaded to give his consent to an attack upon the native village.

Next morning (March 1, 1510) the Viceroy landed with 150 men, the best of all his people, armed with swords and lances. They marched to the village and seized the cattle, which they were driving away when the Hottentots, supposed to be about 170 in number, attacked them. The weapons of the Portuguese were found to be useless against

* Ungrateful Portugal gave the next important maritime command to South Africa and the East to De Gama.

the fleet footed natives, who poured in upon the invaders a shower of missiles (assegais no doubt) and a panic followed.

Most fled towards the boats as the only means of safety. A few, who were too proud to retreat before savages, attempted in vain to defend themselves. The Viceroy committed the ensign to Jorge de Mello, with orders to save it, and immediately afterwards was struck down with knobbed sticks, and stabbed in the throat with an assegai. Sixty-five of the best men in the fleet, including twelve captains (several of them of noble blood) perished on that disastrous day, and hardly any of those who reached the boats escaped without wounds.

It was in the year 1595 that the first ships bearing the flag of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, four in numbers, touched at the Cape of Good Hope—the fore-runners of Dutch commerce to the East, while for a century the wealth of the Indies had been the exclusive possession of the Portuguese.

The Dutch, after the Spanish had acknowledged their independence, and the former had thus lost their commerce with the latter, turned their attention to the north in order to endeavour to discover a North-East passage by which they could reach the northern ports of China and Japan, but foiled in this they then turned their eyes to the Cape of Good Hope, and determined to rival the Portuguese (who, as the subjects of Philip the Second of Spain, were inimical to them) in their own seas.

The success of the Dutch Expedition of 1595 to the Cape, consisting of four ships, was much talked of at the time. These vessels were fitted out under the auspices of the "Association of Distant Lands" and they were put under the command of Jan de Molenaer, who had been a prisoner in Portugal, but promised to let the Dutch authorities into the rich secrets of Eastern trade if they paid his debts and thus released him, and released he was accordingly. The *Commercial* management of the Expedition was entrusted to Houtman. These were the very first Dutch ships that anchored in Table Bay, and the fruit of the voyage was most important. It resulted in an alliance with the King of Bantam, in Java, where the Portuguese had no settlement, and this step was, of course, the foundation of the Dutch power in the East.

The success, then, of this Expedition caused the start of several associations in the Netherlands for the purpose of Eastern trade, but to avoid the dangers of competition, and to secure a monopoly of the anticipated commercial prosperity, the several companies coalesced, and a charter was obtained for the United Company from the States-General of the Netherlands.

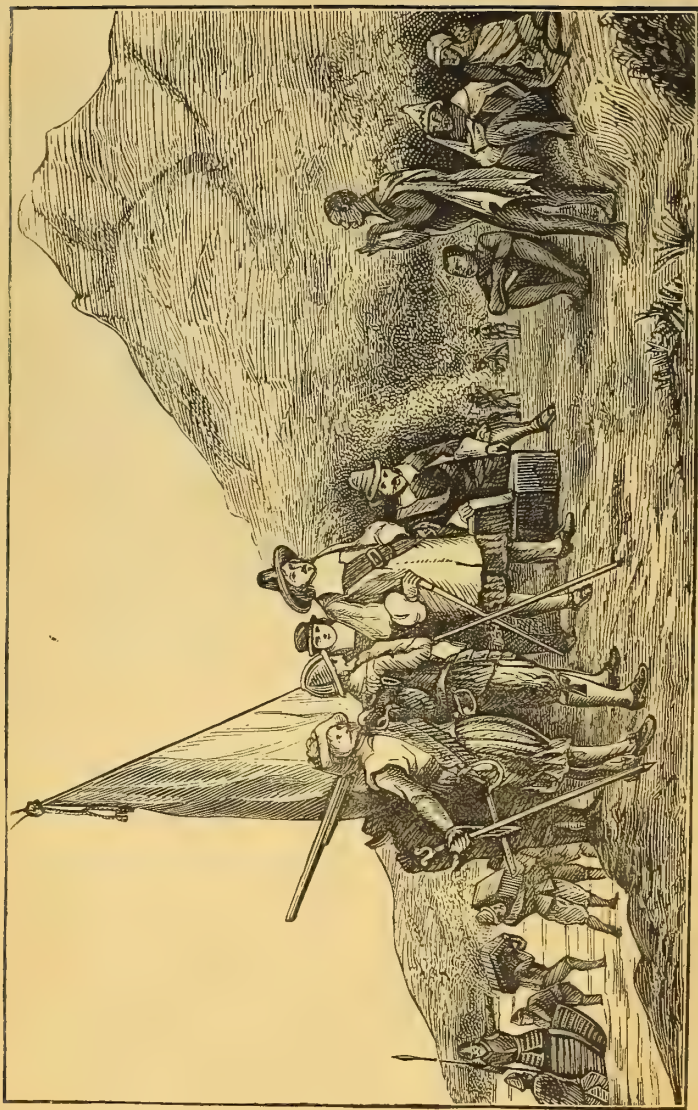
The Dutch Eastern trade flourished apace, beneath the fulminations, however, of the jealous Spaniards and Portuguese, but no notice was taken of them, and no occupation of the Cape was made until years had flown by.

At length, however, on July 26, 1649, a move was made in the matter by Messieurs Leendert Janz and N. Proot, who addressed to the Chamber of Directors in Amsterdam, a memorial or "Remonstrance," in which, to use their own words, they "briefly set forth and explained the service and advantage and profit which will accrue to the United Chartered East India Company from making a fort and garden at the Cabo de Bon Esperance."

Judge Watermeyer in this matter, as in many others, quotes from the Cape "Record" published by A. S. Robertson, in Cape Town, in 1838, and compiled and translated by my late father, Donald Moodie, R.N. The "Record" opens with the letter of Janz and Proot, which was then first translated, and from the "Inkomende Brieven."

With what shortly afterwards followed most South Africans are acquainted. Jan van Riebeeck, a Dutch surgeon, or "Sick attendant" and who had previously been at the Cape in 1649 with the fleet of Wollebrandt Gelijnsen, repeated the suggestions made by Janz and Proot, and so the Directors determined to build a fort at the Cape. "A place of call for refreshments, and for recruiting the sick." It thus appears that there was no intention whatever to establish an ordinary Colony.

There seems to be some doubt as to the spelling of the celebrated Dutch surgeon's name, but if any one likes to go to the "Archives" in the Cape Parliamentary Buildings, and examine the first volume of old documents, he will see the letter of the first "Commander" (not "Governor" as some have it) in reply to the "Remonstrance" of Janz, plainly signed "Jan van Riebeeck." This was in June,



Murray & St. Leger.

LANDING OF GOVERNOR VAN RIEBEECK IN 1652.—(FROM PAINTING BY C. D. BELL).

Cape Town.

1651. before the Commander indulged—as he afterwards did, in his signature—in a maze of flourishes, which I fancy have led some to suppose that his christian name was “Johan” or “Joan” as some have it. As an additional proof I may say that I am in possession of an autograph letter of his of the 7th of November, 1659, also plainly signed “Jan van Riebeeck.”

Any way, Van Riebeeck arrived in Table Bay, with his fleet, on the 7th of April, 1652, and set to work to carry out the orders of his masters in Holland.

Three years after the landing of Van Riebeeck he let out to several Dutch soldiers and sailors tracts of land between the Fresh River and Liesbeek. These were the first “free burghers” of the Cape, and, it is interesting to note, this very origin of the Boers of South Africa, as according to Cape authorities, these first free burghers, kept ever retreating to the interior parts of the Colony as the “Company’s” repressing measures became more and more galling, and “thus,” says the judge, “the Trekking System, with its attendant evils, the bane of South Africa, was born.”

And a few years later, in 1659, several native tribes in the close vicinity of the Cape, perceiving that the whites evidently intended to remain on the soil permanently, became alarmed, and a combination was formed between them to compel the departure of the Europeans, and the *first Frontier War* was thus commenced in 1659 by the sweep of the Colonists’ cattle from the Colonial side of the Liesbeek River.

Looking at Cape Town now (1887) is very interesting in connection with the writings of the old Cape authorities. To think that where the Civil Service Club now stands was a huge swamp fed by the Fresh River, in which herds of hippopotami daily disported, and that as to Antonio de Saldanha, *the first European to enter Table Bay* (1503) appeared the huge adjacent mountains, just exactly so do they appear in their frowning grandeur more than three centuries afterwards!

I submit that it will now be acceptable to give a kind of *alla podrida* of interesting Cape items up to the first battle between the Dutch and the British, after which my course—descriptive of all the other battles—will be straight plain sailing.

In 1684, the Governor, Simon van der Stell, founded Stellenbosch; and shortly after, the country about the Paarl, Drakenstein, &c., was parcelled out to the French Huguenot refugees. We all know that some time before the flight of the Huguenots from France they were debarred from holding any military or civil employment, therefore they were obliged to resort to mechanical trades. To the traveller in some parts of the Cape Colony, and in the Free State and the Transvaal, it is to this day interesting to notice how many of the descendants of these Huguenots still stick to the enforced trades of their great-grandfathers. In a remote part of the Transvaal some years ago I came upon a rough but jolly old Boer, with a French name, turning, with a turning lathe, the most elaborate articles out of ivory and giraffe leg bones.

As to the first child born of European parents at the Cape, we find that a "Sick Visitor," Willem Barents Wylant by name, came to South Africa in the *Dromedaris* with Mr. van Riebeeck. His family was the first to whom quarters were assigned within the walls of the fort, when on the 6th of June, 1652, his wife gave birth to a son. It is a matter of regret that the child's name is not recorded.

In glancing over the old records I find the information to strangers, although not to old Cape hands, that Robben Island is named after "Waterrob" the Dutch for "Seal."

On the 18th of October, 1653, the second child of European parentage was born in the fort Good Hope. The infant was the son of Commander Van Riebeeck, and was destined to become a man of distinction. In 1709, when he was fifty-six years of age, he attained the rank of Governor-General of Netherlands India, which he held until his death in 1713.

In July, 1654, the yacht *Haas* arrived from Batavia with rice. With her came the first of a class of persons afterwards numerous in South Africa, and whose descendants form at the present day an important element in the population of Cape Town. Four Asiatics had been sentenced by the High Court of Justice of Batavia to banishment and hard labour for life, of whom three were sent in the *Haas* to Mauritius, which was then in the Company's possession, and one was brought to the fort Good Hope. In this year the vine was also introduced from the Rhine and Persia.

The second lot of free burghers (Boers) who took up ground beyond the Liesbeek in February, 1657, were five men named Herman Remajenne, Jan de Wacht, Jan van Passel, Warnar Cornelissen and Roelof Janssen. To the tract of land they selected they gave the name of Groeneveldt, or, the Green Country, and as Remajenne was the principal person among them, they called their location "Herman's Colony."

It is interesting to read of a party who started to find Ophir and the fabled city of Monomotapa. The description of scenery about the Paarl is good. "To the West there lay a long isolated mountain, its face covered with verdure, and here and there furrowed by little streamlets which ran down to the River below. Its tops were crowned with domes of bare grey granite, and as the rising sun poured a flood of light upon them, they sparkled like gigantic gems, so that the travellers named them the "Paarl" and the "Diamont." In the evening, when the valley lay in deepening shadow, the range on the East was lit up with tints more charming than pen or pencil can describe, for nowhere is the glow of light upon rock more varied or more beautiful. Between the mountains the surface of the ground was dotted over with trees, and in the month of October it was carpeted with waving grass and gorgeous flowers. Wild animals shared with man the possession of this lovely domain. In the river great numbers of hippopotami were seen; on the mountain sides herds of zebra were grazing, and trampling down the grass, which in places was so tall that Abraham Gabbema (the leader of the expedition) described it as fit to make hay of, were many rhinoceroses."

Previous to the year 1658, the only slaves in the Cape settlement were some ten or twelve individuals brought from Batavia and Madagascar, but during this year the Dutch took 250 picked slaves of big boys and girls from a captured Portuguese vessel which had brought the poor wretches from Angola on the West Coast of Africa. Eighty of them died before they reached the Cape, and the rest were landed at the Cape in a miserable condition.

The *Hasselt* having brought a cargo of slaves—many of whom died at sea—from Popo (wherever that is) the authorities found they had too many slaves, and therefore

shipped a lot to Batavia and sold the residue, on credit to the burghers for from £4 to £8, and these, it seems, with the Mozambique and Madagascar slaves, were the progenitors of the present Cape blacks, with their congenitor the Cape half-caste.

In this year—1658—the culture of the vine was extended beyond Table Valley, and the cuttings were now so plentiful that the Commanders had a large lot planted at a farm beyond Rondebosch, and so called Wynberg.

Now, also was the first maize brought in the *Hasselt* from the coast of Guinea.

From the vintage of the 1659 season a small quantity of wine was made, *for the* first time in South Africa. The fruit used was Muscadell, and other round white grapes, and the manufacturer was the Commander himself, who was the only person in the settlement with any knowledge of the manner in which the work should be performed.

At this time, too, the ever vital question in South Africa—the Native one—began to crop up unpleasantly. Theal says that early in 1659, when the Kaapmans moved with their herds to the Cape Peninsula, they found large tracts of ground at Wynberg and Rondebosch dotted over with the houses of the settlers. They could no longer graze their cattle in the rich herbage at the foot of the mountains, as they had been wont to do in days gone by, or, owing to crops, drive their cattle to the water; and their hearts swelled with bitter hostility towards the strangers. The white men, though few in number, possessed weapons so destructive that the Hottentots feared to attack them, but there was a possibility of driving them from the country by systematic plunder, and so it came to pass that one Simon Janssen was murdered whilst endeavouring to prevent some cattle that he was in charge of being taken away, and the usual reprisal was of course the result. The watch houses “Turn the Bull,” and “Hold the Cow” were also built at this time for defence purposes.

The first Huguenots that came to the Cape were wrecked on the 9th of May, 1660, in the French ship *Marichal* near the mouth of the Salt River. Thirty-five of the Frenchmen entered the Company’s service at the Cape, and the remainder of the crew did the same as soon as they reached Batavia.

On the 2nd of April, 1662, Mr. Wagenaar—the successor of Van Riebeeck—arrived at the Cape as Commodore of two ships. He was warmly welcomed on landing, and the reins of Government were handed over to him on the 6th.

On the 7th of April, 1662, Mr. Van Riebeeck and his family embarked in the *Mars*, and early on the following morning he sailed for Batavia. Having landed at the Cape in the evening of the 7th April, 1652, he had governed the Cape Settlement exactly ten years within a few hours.



CHAPTER III.

ADVENTURES CONCERNING THE VESSELS "STAVENISSE," "BONA VENTURA" AND THEIR CREWS.

HAVING now devoted some chapters to solid, and, I hope, useful history, I must bear in mind for a while that part of the title of these books called "Adventures" which will, however, it is hoped, serve as useful and yet interesting landmarks, and which will always be based upon the instructive history alluded to.

The next interesting South African event, the description of which next comes within the scope of this work, is "The wreck of the *Stavennisse*" and the scene lies in Natal.

On the night of the 16th of February, 1686, the East India Company's third class ship *Stavennisse*, on her return voyage from India to Europe, was wrecked upon the African coast about 70 English miles south of the Bay of Natal.

The weather had been overcast, and Skipper Willem Kuyf, and his officers, believed themselves far from land. In those days longitude at sea was always uncertain, but in this instance the latitude had also been miscalculated. When the look-out reported that he saw land, the chief mate, who was the officer of the watch, sharply replied that it could only be a bank of mist. He would not even take the trouble to go forward and look for himself, so confident was he of being well out to sea.

Presently the look-out reported again that land was close under the bow, and almost at the same moment breakers were seen, and the roar of the surf was heard. It was very dark, and the light breeze was dying away into a perfect calm. The alarm was given, when all hands sprang on deck, and, as fast as possible, the two bower anchors were put out.

The *Stavennisse* was drifting slowly in shore. The port

bower held, and she swung to it, but by this time she was among the breakers. In this condition she lay for a couple of hours, when the cable parted and she struck. As the ship immediately filled with water, the crew tried to save themselves by getting to land, in which effort sixty succeeded, and eleven were drowned.

When day dawned it was seen that one side of the wreck was stove in, the masts had gone, and the cargo of pepper was washing out. Fortunately the main and fore yards, with the sails attached to them, had been thrown up on the beach. The sails when stretched over a rough frame made a very tolerable tent. On the 17th and 18th the compasses, charts and instruments for measuring altitudes, a couple of casks of pork, a small quantity of biscuit, and some clothing were recovered from the wreck. On the 19th a general consultation was held, when it was considered advisable to start at once, and attempt to travel overland to the Cape.

The resolution was acted upon without delay. There were three officers who had been severely bruised in getting ashore, and these, being unable to travel, were left behind in the tent. The others, *fifty-seven* in number, set out that same morning. But, within a couple of days, the skipper, the three mates, the sailmaker, the boatswain, and four sailors, finding themselves unequal to the effort of walking over such a rough country, abandoned their companions, and returned to the wreck. The remaining *forty-seven* men continued their journey along the coast.

Those who were now at the wreck resolved to repair a broken boat and endeavour to reach the Cape in her. The work occupied a fortnight, and when it was completed, the compasses and charts, with a small quantity of stores and clothing that had been recovered, were placed in her and she was launched. But in trying to get through the surf the boat was overturned, and everything was lost, the voyagers barely escaping with their lives.

Meantime the natives in great numbers flocked to the scene of the wreck. At times there were as many as a thousand armed men present. The Europeans managed to purchase a little bread and millet from them for nails and bolts, but they soon set to work to burn and cut them out for themselves.

Having now nothing to buy food with, the wrecked seamen were in great distress, when, one day, two Englishmen made their appearance. These strangers stated that on the *17th May* of the preceding year they had lost their vessel at the Bay of Natal. For nine months they had been living with the natives at that place, and upon hearing the report of a wreck of a ship to the southward, they had come to offer assistance. They understood the native language sufficiently well to make themselves understood, and had plenty of beads and copper rings to trade with. At the Bay of Natal they stated that they and their three companions had sufficient merchandize to purchase bread and meat for them all for fifty years, and Skipper Kuyf, and his party were very welcome to share it with them.

The wrecked men gratefully accepted the timely aid thus offered. Three of them were unable to walk, and the natives could not be induced to carry them, so they were left in the tent with one of the Englishmen as their protector. *Ten* of them, guided by the other Englishmen, immediately set out for the Bay of Natal. After a while one of the sick men died, and the remaining two recovered and joined the main party. In the meantime a petty officer had been trampled to death by an elephant, so that the little European community, when united, consisted of eleven Dutchmen and five Englishmen.

The Englishmen were part of a crew of a ketch named the *Good Hope*, of fifty tons burden and manned by twenty-four hands, which had gone to the East Coast of Africa to trade in ivory and slaves. In warping over the Bay of Natal she was struck by a squall and driven on the Point, where she remained immovable. Her crew then proceeded to put together a large decked boat, the materials for which were on board, and, when this was finished, the master and nine men left for Mozambique.

Another English ketch, about this time, put into the Bay of Natal to procure a supply of beef, and four more of the crew of the *Good Hope* got away in her. Five had previously died of dysentery, and the remaining five were those who welcomed the people of the *Starenisse*. They had a good supply of beads and copper rings with which to purchase food, and they had even got in barter about 3 tons of ivory. Some of them, being anxious to

examine the country, had gone far inland, and had everywhere found the natives friendly and hospitable.

After about four months spent in idleness, the Dutch and English unitedly resolved to build a vessel in which to make their escape. There was plenty of timber at hand, and the wreck of the *Good Hope* would furnish some of the other necessary materials, but there was not a sufficient supply of bolts or tools. A large party of natives was therefore hired to proceed to the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, where a quantity of iron was collected, which they carried back. For a single copper arm ring each one bore a burden ranging from fifty to a hundred pounds in weight over the intervening seventy miles.

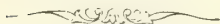
Among the Europeans there was one Englishman from Bristol, John Kingston by name, who was fertile in expedients for overcoming difficulties. They had no saw, and without one it would be in vain to attempt to build a vessel. Kingston set to work, and with only the shank of an anchor for an anvil, he turned a stout iron ring into a tool that answered for one. Then they had the keel of a vessel fifty feet long, and fourteen feet beam. They employed natives to carry the timbers from the forest, and to do the rough work in hewing planks. But it was an arduous undertaking with the limited means at their disposal, so that nearly eight months elapsed before their craft was completed.

Early in 1687 another party of shipwrecked men arrived at the Bay of Natal. On the *25th of December, 1686*, the *Bona Ventura*, of London, a ketch of twenty tons burden, was lost at St. Lucia Bay. One of her crew was drowned, and the remaining eight men, and a boy, set out with the intention of walking overland to the Cape of Good Hope, but to their great joy they found at Natal a party of Europeans and a vessel ready for sea. The new comers were welcomed to a share of whatever the others had, and in return joined them in the labour on hand.

Soon after this the little vessel was launched and named the *Centaurus*. A supply of provisions was purchased from the natives, consisting of about six thousand pounds of millet, a thousand pounds of salted and smoked meat, a quantity of millet ground into meal, twenty goats, a couple of hundred (or so) of fowls, and one hundred and fifty

pumpkins. Seventeen small casks of water were put on board, and the ivory which the English had obtained in barter was shipped.

The difficult task which they had undertaken was at length finished, and on the 17th of February, a year and a day after the wreck of the *Starenisse*, the *Centaurus* was ready for sea. But, at the last moment, three of the Englishmen who had been wrecked in the *Good Hope* changed their minds and resolved to remain behind. They had formed connections with the natives, and contrasting the ease of life at Natal with the hardships endured at sea, they clung to the former. And who would blame these humble philosophers? An Englishman and a Frenchman of the crew of the *Bona Ventura* also preferred to stay where they were. There sailed, then, in the *Centaurus* the eleven men of the *Starenisse*, seven of the *Bona Ventura*, and John Kingston and William Christian of the *Good Hope*. They had neither chart nor compass, so they kept in sight of the coast all the way to Table Bay, where they arrived safely on the 1st of March, 1687.



CHAPTER IV

THE VOYAGE OF THE "CENTAURUS."

WHEN reporting themselves at the Cape, Skipper Kuyf and his party expressed great surprise that nothing had been heard of the forty-seven men who left the wreck of the *Stavenisse* on the 19th of February, 1686. The Council, after taking a number of depositions, considered that they ought to be searched for, and, with this object, the *Centaurus* was purchased from her builders. Her hull was found to need only a little finishing off, and, after she was rigged afresh, she proved to be a staunch sea boat and an excellent sailer. Kingston and Christian was paid £33 6s. 8d., in cash for their share in her, and were then engaged as quarter-masters in the Company's service, on the understanding that they were to be employed in any expedition sent to Natal. The crew of the *Bona Ventura* worked their passages to Batavia in the next eastward bound ship that called.

After the *Centaurus* was fitted, she was used at the Cape for a few months, and it was not until the 10th of November that she was sent to look for the missing men. Eastwards of St. Blaise she encountered a succession of head winds, so that on the 6th of February, 1688, she was only as far as the mouth of the Kei. It was then a calm, and the current setting south-westward, carried her back with it. On the afternoon of the 7th she was off the Coffin, or, as now called, Cove Rock, which she had previously passed and repassed several times. Being close in shore, an anchor was dropped, and a boat was sent off to see if a landing place could be found. During the time the boat was away some persons on shore were noticed making signals, but whether they were Europeans or Hottentots waving karosses was uncertain. The boat returned with an unfavourable report, and as a light breeze was then rising, sail was again made in the *Centaurus*. But next morning the officers began to reflect that the signals they had seen were probably made by Europeans, and they therefore determined to go back and make sure.

On the afternoon of the 8th it was nearly calm and the sea was quite smooth. Something, which could not at first be clearly made out, was noticed on the water at a distance. but, as it came nearer, it was seen to be small raft with three naked white men upon it, paddling towards the vessel. When the strangers reached the *Centaurus*, they announced themselves as part of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, and stated that there were on shore eighteen others, besides a French boy who was the sole survivor of a boat's crew left behind by a passing ship. Upon hearing this, every effort was made to get close in to the land, and at sunset the anchor was dropped in sixteen fathoms of water and the national flag was hoisted. That evening another of the crew of the *Stavenisse* was got on board.

On the 9th of February, 1688, the sea was so smooth that communication with the shore was easy. Fourteen men of the *Stavenisse* and the French boy were brought off, as also the flesh of a fat ox which was bartered from the Native Chief for an arm ring of the value of four shillings. The following day a present of five pounds of beads, a neck ring, and two arm rings was sent to the Chief in the name of the Honourable Company as an acknowledgment of the kindness with which he had treated the Dutch sailors.

The Chief was highly pleased with this present, which was to him of considerable value. Two more oxen were purchased with an arm ring each, but before they could be slaughtered, and the meat got on board, a stiff south-easterly breeze sprang up, and it was necessary to get the *Centaurus* away from her dangerous position. She accordingly made sail for the mouth of a river, which was distant about six or seven English miles to the eastward, and there dropped her anchor again. This is the river known to us as the Buffalo, and it was called the *Eerste* by the Dutch sailors. The surf at its mouth was so high that it was found not possible to enter it with a boat. There were still three men of the *Stavenisse* on shore, but as it was believed they preferred to remain with the natives, and were therefore purposely keeping out of the way, the officers of the *Centaurus* determined to wait no longer for them. On the 11th sail was set for Table Bay, where the little vessel arrived safely on the 19th.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE "NOORD."

A FEW months after the above time (February, 1688) it was resolved to send another search expedition along the east coast. For this purpose the galiot *Noord* was made ready, and was despatched on the 19th of October, 1688, with a crew of nineteen men, including the quartermaster, William Christian. Her instructions were to proceed, first to Delagoa Bay, and carefully examine that harbour and the country around it, and then, in returning, search along the coast for the still missing men.

The *Noord* arrived in Delagoa Bay on the 15th of November, 1688; and found there two vessels, one of them English, the other Portuguese. On one of the islands the crew of the English vessel had put up a tent, where they were trading with the natives in a friendly manner. On the mainland the Portuguese had a small fort, but the natives were not subject to them. The Portuguese were known at this time to be in the habit of sending out trading parties to procure ivory as far south as St. Lucia Bay. The Dutch found the natives friendly in the whole, but inclined to be thievish. They remained in the Bay, surveying it roughly and making a chart of it, until the 29th of December, when they sailed with four men down with fever.

On the 4th of January, 1689, the *Noord* came to anchor off the Bluff at Natal. People were seen making signals on shore, and when a boat was sent in two white men came running into the water to meet her, thanking God that they once more saw Christian faces. They proved to be two of the crew of the *Stavenisse* who had returned from the main party through Kafirland. It was two days only before full moon, and on the shallowest part of the bar there was sixteen feet of water. On the following day the *Noord* went inside. The sick men were taken on shore,

where two of them died of the fever which they had contracted in Delagoa Bay. The natives were friendly as before. Supplies of food were brought by them for sale, and were purchased at very cheap rates. A hen could be bought for three beads, three pumpkins for four beads—milk, millet, bread, &c., on the same scale. The water casks were emptied and sent ashore in the boat, and the women filled them with fresh water, which they carried in large earthenware jars poised on their heads. A party of men, with whom were Willam Christian and an experienced miner, went inland searching for indications of ore, and were away for eight days, but discovered nothing of consequence.

Twenty three months before this, when the *Centaurus* sailed from Natal, four Englishmen and one Frenchman were left behind. They were not there now, and not a word is said of their fate by the journalist of the *Noord*. But when the galiot was ready to sail, William Christian gave three letters into the custody of a native, a faithful friend of his in bygone days. It may, therefore, be presumed that his old companions were still in the country, and that they had probably gone on an inland journey.

On the 23rd of January (1689) the galiot left Natal. On the 26th she was off the mouth of a river in latitude $33^{\circ} 2' S$, according to the skipper's reckoning. The great rock, where the men of the *Stavenisse* were picked up the year before, was visible to the westward at a distance of about a Dutch mile and a half, or seven English miles—fifteen Dutch miles being equal to a degree of latitude. There a storm from the north was encountered, which drove the galiot out to sea. On the morning of the 28th she was again at the mouth of the Buffalo, where she dropped anchor and a boat was sent in. The surf was too high for the boat to pass, but a strong swimmer made his way through it to land, taking with him a letter for any Europeans who might be there. He returned safely after delivering the letter to some natives, and ascertaining that two Dutchmen were living close by.

That afternoon the boat was sent in again, but the bar was still too rough to be crossed, though an old man, one of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, swam out through it and was got on board. He stated that two white men had recently

left that part of the country with the intention of proceeding to Natal. The European who was still on shore was an indifferent swimmer. On the 30th an effort was made to get him off at Cove Rock, but the surf was too high for him to reach a line that was sent in towards him. He then made signals to the boat's crew that they were to desist from attempting to rescue him. The galiot thereupon set sail for the westward, and that evening, shortly after sunset, she passed the Bird Islands. Between Cove Rock and these islands her officers observed the mouths of the four rivers now named the Keiskama, Fish, Kowie, and Bushman, none of which could be entered. Heavy weather followed, and prevented her from examining the coast between the Bird Islands and Mossel Bay, now (then) the only portion of the Southern seaboard not well known. On the 6th of February, 1689, she arrived in Table Bay.

In October, 1689, the Council of Policy resolved to send the galiot *Noord*, for the second time, along the coast as far as Natal. The objects in view were, first, to rescue the *nine* missing men of the *Stavenisse*, who were believed to be still living with the natives, second, to endeavour to purchase for the Honourable Company the Bay of Natal and the land around it, and, third, to survey Algoa Bay, and purchase it, and the country about it, from the native proprietors.

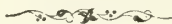
The galiot sailed from Table Bay on the 28th of October, 1689, but, owing to contrary winds, did not arrive at the Bay of Natal until the 9th of December. There three men of the *Stavenisse* were found and taken on board, and the desired purchase of territory was effected.

On the 11th of January, 1690, the *Noord* sailed from Natal, and on the 15th arrived at Algoa Bay.

On the evening of the 16th the galiot was believed to be well off the land, when, about half past nine o'clock, she struck suddenly, and, with the next wave, was washed high up on the reef called Klippen Point, about 15 English miles west of Cape St. Francis. Her officers were afterwards severely blamed for her loss, but they appear to have used due precaution. The night was dark, and it is now known that the Agulhas current at this place often sets dead inshore.

At low water the crew found that they could walk to land without wetting their feet. They numbered eighteen men, all strong and hearty. The wreck was full of water at high tide, but they had no difficulty in getting what they wanted out of her. No natives whatever were to be seen in the neighbourhood. On the 23rd, they started from the scene of disaster to make their way, as best they could, overland to Cape Town. Each man took with him a matchlock and ammunition, and as much food as he could carry. For several days they kept together, but at length they broke up into parties, the sturdiest pushing ahead.

On the 27th of March, 1690, the mate, Theunis van Schelling with three companions, arrived at the Cape, and reported the loss of the *Noord*. These men had suffered much from hunger until they reached the kraal of Capt. Klaas, by whom they had been entertained and cared for in the most generous manner. Indeed, they attributed their preservation to his kindness. Klaas immediately sent some of his people to search for the other men, but most of them perished before aid could reach them. The few that were rescued told piteous tales of the misery they had gone through and the cruel treatment they had received at the hands of Bushmen.



CHAPTER VI.

THE HUGUENOTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE history of the Huguenots must, naturally, be a most interesting one, and peculiarly absorbing to South Africans, who are everywhere surrounded by people of Huguenot descent, such as the De Villiers, Jouberts, Du Plessis, La Blanchés, Labuschagnes, Delportés, and many other well known to South Africans, and especially to Cape people.

The Huguenots (whose name is derived—according to some—from the German Eidgenossen, *i.e.*, Confederates, and according to others, from Hugues, a Genevese Calvinist), were, of course, first known as the followers of Calvin, who was born at Noyon in Picardy, in 1509.

Calvin, adopting the Reformed doctrines, fled to Angoulême. A formal separation between the Calvinists and Lutherans took place after the conference of Poissy in 1561, where the former expressly rejected the tenth and other articles of the Confession of Augsburg, and took the name of Calvinists. Calvin was likewise called Chauvin and Cauvin, many of which latter name, it is known, are at present in South Africa. In France, as we know, the Calvinists took up arms against their persecutors. Henry the Fourth, originally a Calvinist, on becoming king, secured their liberty by the famous Edict of Nantes in 1598.

Long before—on the 24th of August, 1572—on the evening of the festival of St. Bartholomew, had occurred the frightful massacre of the unfortunate Huguenots. According to Sully, 70,000 of these poor people, including women and children, were murdered in cold blood throughout the Kingdom, by secret orders from Charles the Ninth, at the instigation of his mother, Catherine de Medicis. Another author estimates the number slain at 100,000. Any way, above five hundred persons of rank, and ten thousand of inferior position, perished in Paris alone, besides those slaughtered in the Provinces.

During the above butchery, Pope Gregory the Thirteenth ordered a Te Deum to be performed with other rejoicings. Another branch of the French Protestants—Calvinists or Huguenots—were to be found formerly in the Cévennes mountain chains in the South of France. They were called Camisards, from *Chémise*, or the Latin *Camisá*, shirt, which the unfortunate people frequently wore over their dress during the night attacks that they were so often subjected to. The Camisards also suffered severe persecution in consequence of the withdrawal of the Edict, and, in July, 1702, they flew to arms to rescue some imprisoned brethren.

The Camisards amply revenged the cruelty of their enemies, and maintained an obstinate resistance against the royal armies commanded by Marshal Montrevel, and other distinguished generals, till 1705, when the Insurrection was suppressed by Marshal Villars. After futile conciliatory efforts, several of the heroic leaders of the Camisards suffered death rather than surrender.

Cavalier, an able Camisard General, unable to carry out a treaty made with Villars, seceded in 1704, entered the British Service, and died Governor of Jersey in 1740. The Edict of Nantes, which, we have seen, was granted to the Huguenots by Henry the Fourth in 1598, was furthermore confirmed by Louis the Thirteenth in 1610, and by Louis the Fourteenth in 1652.

Another interesting author states how the revocation of this Act cost France fifty thousand Protestant families, many of them of her best blood. The Revocation gave to England, Germany and Holland thousands of industrious artizans. It caused a fierce insurrection in Languedoc. Some of the refugees settled in Spitalfields in England, so named from the priory of St. Mary Spittle, which was dissolved in 1534. At Spitalfields their descendants yet remain. Others settled in Soho and St. Giles, and pursued the art of making crystal glasses, and carried on the manufacture of silk and jewellery, then little understood in England. Long afterwards, in 1829, the silk weavers of Spitalfields endured much distress in consequence of commercial changes.

Such then is the essence of the History of the Huguenots. Having taken up arms against their perse-

cutors in 1561, they were, after a delusive Edict of toleration, massacred in large numbers at Vassy on the 1st of March, 1562, when the civil wars began, which lasted, with some intermission, till the promulgation of the Edict above mentioned. Then came the St. Bartholomew massacre in 1572. To make the matter worse, this slaughter occurred during a truce between the religious combatants. By the way, the Crypt in Canterbury Cathedral, assigned to the French Protestants in 1550, is still used by them for divine worship.

The Huguenot persecution was indeed a remarkable episode in the history of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, being withal, according to most historians, a principal cause of the subsequent French Revolution. The revocation of the "Edict" was, we know, brought about by the licentious Madame de Maintenon, and her confessor, the Père la Chaise, who were thus the cause of the deaths and the expatriation of over a million Frenchmen, and those who left the French shores carried with them their virtue, piety, industry, and valour, which proved the source of wealth, spirit, freedom, and character in all those countries—Holland, Prussia, England, America, and the Cape of Good Hope—in which these noble exiles took refuge. At the risk of being somewhat disconnected, I must mention the incidents in the history of these people as I find the landmarks.

Owing to the influence of Madame de Maintenon, the Mistress of Louis the XIV—a woman of abandoned character—the French monarch imposed very rigorous laws upon the Huguenots, one being published in December, 1685, ordering that every child of five years old, and upwards, was to be taken possession of by the authorities, and removed from its Protestant parents. Even where Protestants were about to take refuge in death their troubles were not over. The priests had the power of forcing their way into the dying man's house, and offering him conversion and the viaticum. If the dying man refused these, he was liable to be seized after death, pulled along the streets naked, and buried in a ditch, or thrown on a dung hill. In spite of great vigilance on the French borders, large numbers of refugees fled in various disguises. Sometimes as bodies of armed men, at other times in

solitary parties, travelling by night, and sleeping in the woods by day. They went as beggars, travelling merchants, sellers of beads and chaplets, gipsies, soldiers, shepherds, women with their faces dyed, and sometimes dressed in men's clothes, and in all manner of disguises.

When all this became known, Royal orders were given that before any ship was allowed to set sail for foreign port the hold should be fumigated with deadly gas, so that any hidden Huguenot, who could not otherwise be detected, might thus be suffocated. They were often surprised at open air prayer meetings, and cut to pieces by the dragoons, who hung part of the prisoners upon the nearest trees, and took the others to prison, whence they were sent to the galleys for life, or hung upon the nearest public gibbet.

I venture to submit that it was a remarkable thing that this gross persecution went on for two complete centuries, from 1562 to 1762, when about a tenth of the victims perished by sword, gibbet, fire, or the wheel, and yet, without either money or arms, they persevered, and even fought hard until they had secured their hearts' desires. There seems to be little doubt that the Jesuits, during the long period that they had the exclusive education of the country in their hands, did thus fashion France for diabolical cruelty, for in 1793 the people educated by them treated king, priests and aristocracy in precisely the same manner that they had treated the Huguenots about a century before. Thus does the whirligig of time bring about its revenges.

The "Revocation" was disastrous to many a town, Sedan had been the seat of great woollen manufactures, originally founded by great Protestant families, and for the manufacture of arms, implements of husbandry, and all kinds of steel and iron articles. Sedan was ruined, and remained so to our day, for the Protestant mechanics fled bag and baggage into the Low Countries, and mostly into Holland and England.

Many noble martyrs went about among the Huguenots, preaching, subject to famine, and the severest hardships, and carrying their lives in their hands. Amongst these was Claude Brousson, who, however, was at last caught and executed in 1698. On mounting the platform he stood

forward to say a few words to the people, and give to many of his friends, whom he saw in the crowd, his parting benediction. But his voice was instantly stilled by the roll of twenty drums, which continued to beat a quick march until the hideous ceremony was over, and he ceased to live. Strange are the vicissitudes of human affairs ! Not a hundred years passed after this event before the great-grandson of the monarch at whose instance Brousson had laid down his life, appeared upon the scaffold in the Place Louis XIV in Paris, and implored permission to say his last words to the people. In vain ! His voice was drowned by the drums of Santerre !

The insurrection of the Camisards was also a remarkable event, and of a piece with other religious struggles, like that of a comparative handful of people in the Low Countries who had banded themselves together to resist the armies of Spain, then the most powerful monarchy of the world.

The cases of these two poor peoples was, I say, very much the same, and very singular. The despised Dutch beating mighty Spain, whilst the simple Camisards frequently, in the Cevennes, crushed beneath their feet the flower of the Imperial and magnificent armies of Louis XIV, and frustrated the tactics of his most experienced and valiant Generals. It is therefore interesting to us here, in South Africa, to see around us every day the blended descendants of those two peoples, whose indomitable courage, given birth to by justice and truth, carried all before it.

The struggle had also been in progress in England and Scotland, where it culminated in the revolution of 1688, and it was still raging in the Vudois Vallies of Piedmont. The object contended for in all these cases was the same. It was the vindication of human freedom against royal and Sacerdotal despotisms. It could only have been the direct necessity that drove a poor, scattered unarmed peasantry, such as the people of the Cevennes, to take up arms against so powerful a sovereign as Louis XIV.

The passive resistance of these people had lasted for fifteen long years, during which many of them had seen their kindred racked, hanged, or sent to the galleys, and at length their patience was exhausted, and the inevitable

outburst, which defied the power of Louis for years, took place. In Scotland as in the Cevennes, the resisters were Calvinists. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the same in both countries. In one case it was cruelty of the Archpriest Chayla, the inventor of a new machine of torture called the "Squeezers." This inhuman man caused a beam to be split in two with vices at each end. Every morning he would send for victims, and if they refused to say what he wished, he caused their legs to be put into the slit of the beam, and then squeezed them until their bones cracked. And, in the other case the cruelty of Archbishop Sharpe, the inventor of that horrible instrument called "the iron boot" that excited the fury of the people.

The descriptions of the sufferings of the Huguenot prisoners, both from the Cevennes and elsewhere in France, are shocking. The chain which bound each rower of the galleys to his bench was fastened to his leg, and was of such a length as to enable his feet to come and go whilst rowing. At night the galley slave slept where he sat—on the bench on which he had been rowing all day. There was no room for him to lie down. He never quitted his bench except for the Hospital or the grave. Yet some of the Huguenot rowers contrived to live upon their benches for thirty or forty years. Religion had no effect, crime abounded, and cruelty upon Huguenots was not even investigated. The seizure and violation of young ladies was common.

The daughter of a Huguenot was violated at Uzes in 1733, when the father immediately died of grief. Two sisters were seized at the same place, to be "converted," and their protectors thrown into gaol meanwhile. This was a common proceeding. The Tour de Constance was always filling and kept full.

One day, in a Languedoc village, a soldier seized a young and beautiful Huguenot lady with an infamous intention. She cried aloud, and people ran to her protection, but the King's Dragoons turned out and fired upon them. An old man was shot dead, and a number taken prisoners, and, with their hands tied to the horses' tails, were taken away for punishment. The soldiers had quartered themselves upon the people, and were most of

them drunk after robbing the cellars. The populace were always wild for an exhibition of cruelty. In Provence, a Protestant named Montague died, and was secretly interred. The Catholics, having discovered the place, disinterred him. A cord was attached to his neck, and the body was hauled through the village to the music of a tambourine and flageolet. At every step it was kicked and mauled by the crowd who accompanied it. Under the kicks the corpse burst. The furious brutes then took out the entrails, and attached them to poles, going through the village crying. "Who wants preaching—who wants preaching?"

All these abominations grew up in France because the people were deprived of individual liberty by profligate Kings. Louis the XIV and XV were not Kings of the slightest virtue or religion, but were both men of exceedingly immoral habits. Madame de Pompadour, when she ceased to be the mistress of the latter, became his procuress. This infamous woman had command of the State purse, and she contrived to build for the Sovereign a harem which cost the country at least a hundred millions of francs. The number of young girls taken from Paris to this place excited great public discontent; and though morals were not very high at that time, the debauchery and intemperance of the King (for he was almost constantly drunk) contrived to alienate the nation, and foster those feelings of hatred which broke forth without restraint in the ensuing reign.

The last executions of Huguenots in France because of their Protestantism occurred in 1762, the trouble, as I have pointed out, having begun as far back as 1561. At this stage Voltaire appears upon the scene. Indeed it appears that the Huguenots owed their respite to him, for he powerfully advocated the cause of one Calas, whose sentence he got reversed, and, at the same time published the iniquitous proceedings that were going on to the world at large, but in the meantime, however, poor Calas—old and paralytic—had been broken on the wheel.

This latter was a horrible instrument of torture, a bequest from ages of violence and barbarism. The victim was stretched upon a St. Andrew's cross, with eight notches cut upon it—one below each arm, between the elbow and

the wrist—another between each elbow and the shoulders, one under each thigh, and one under each leg. The executioner, armed with a heavy triangular bar of iron, gave a heavy blow on each of these eight places, and broke the bone. Another blow was given in the pit of the stomach. The mangled victim was then lifted from the cross, and stretched on a small wheel placed vertically at one of the ends of the cross, his back on the upper part of the wheel, his head and feet hanging down. There the tortured creature hung until he died ; some lingered five or six hours, some much longer.

A visitor described the place I mentioned before—the Tour de Constance, where Huguenot women—no longer young—were kept. He says “ Words fail to describe the horror with which we regarded a scene to which we were so unaccustomed. A frightful and affecting picture, in which the interest was heightened by disgust. We beheld a large circular apartment, deprived of air and light, in which were fourteen females still languishing in misery. It was with difficulty that the Prince (his companion) smothered his emotion, and doubtless it was the first time that these unfortunate creatures had there witnessed compassion depicted upon a human countenance. I still seem to behold the affecting apparition. They fell at our feet, bathed in tears and speechless, until, emboldened by our expressions of sympathy, they recounted to us their sufferings. Alas ! all their crime consisted in having been attached to the same religion of Henry IV. The youngest of these martyrs was more than fifty years old. She was but eight when first imprisoned for having accompanied her mother to hear a religious service, and her punishment had continued until now ! ”



CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOTS.

REGARDING the Emigration of the Huguenots, Mr. Theal, in his "Chronicles of the Cape Commanders," wherein he quotes a venerable phalanx of South African authorities, says that during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century the population of Holland and Zeeland was largely increased by immigrants of the Protestant faith from the Southern Netherland Provinces. Many of these immigrants spoke no other language than French, and whenever they settled in sufficient numbers, clergymen using that language were appointed to conduct religious services for them. In this manner numerous French and Walloon congregations were established throughout the Free Netherlands.

These congregations did not, however, form separate churches, but only new branches of churches which previously existed in towns where they settled. To each ecclesiastical fabric several clergymen were usually attached, and when a French congregation was formed, one of these clergymen was selected to attend it. In the same building where the ordinary Dutch services were held French services were conducted at different hours, the whole body of worshippers being united in one church with its deacons, elders, and other officers.

During the century following the pacification of Ghent these congregations were constantly being augmented in size and in number of immigrants from France and Belgium, though gradually the settlers became undistinguishable except by name, from other Nederlanders. Strong sympathy in religious matters, and facility of obtaining employment, were the attractions which drew French Protestants in numbers that more than compensated for the loss of those who by long residence became thoroughly Dutch.

When, therefore, about the year 1670, the larger stream of emigration which was the result of the cruelties inflicted by Louis XIV upon his Protestant subjects, commenced to set out of France, there was no country to which the refugees looked more hopefully than towards the United Provinces. Numerous Protestant French families had branches already long settled there, so that when the immigrants arrived they found men of their own tongue and blood, and very often their own name, ready to welcome them. The world-wide commerce, also, which had its centre in the Free Netherlands had created such a demand for labour of all kinds that many thousands of them found no difficulty in making new homes. But owing to this very cause, the Republic, though it had vast foreign possessions, could not become a great colonizing country.

A few refugees who left France between 1670, and 1685 entered into the service of the East India Company, and some of these were stationed in South Africa. Dominique de Chavonnes, the officer in command of the garrison at this time, was one.

On the 3rd of October, 1685, the Chamber of Seventeen passed a resolution to send out French refugees, with other emigrants, but so few were found willing to leave Europe that in the course of two years only three or four were obtained. These were persons of irreproachable character, who gave no trouble to the Government or employment to the courts of law.

The ordinances which annulled the Edict of Nantes—*issued by Louis XIV in October, 1685*,—though they forbade the emigration of the Protestants, gave a tremendous impetus to the movement. But now, as it was not possible to leave the Kingdom openly, every kind of property, except money and jewels, was of necessity abandoned. The fugitives, escaping in various disguises, were glad to cross the frontier in utter destitution as far as worldly wealth was concerned. One of the saddest features in this sad chapter in the history of human woe was the small number of women and children who escaped, compared with that of young and strong men. Very often a single youth found himself in safety after every other member of his family had perished, or had been lost to sight for ever in prisons and convents,

During the two years that followed the revocation, the towns of the Free Netherlands were filled with refugees, still those suited to make good colonists managed to find employment. At the same time the Protestants were migrating in great numbers from the valleys of Piedmont, and though most of these found homes in Switzerland and Germany, a few made their way to the United Provinces. When the Directors of the East India Company met in the autumn of 1687, it seemed possible to obtain some Piedmontese and French families, and they therefore resolved to make an attempt.

With this view they promised, in addition to the advantage previously held out, that a clergyman speaking the French language should be engaged to accompany the emigrants, and that they should be at liberty to return to Europe after the expiration of five years if they should desire to do so. On the 29th of October they engaged the Revd. Pierre Simond, Minister of the refugee congregation at Zierickzee, at a salary of seven pounds ten shillings a month, to proceed to the Cape, and on the 5th of November they resolved, as a further inducement, to offer a gratuity of from five pounds to eight pounds six shillings and eightpence, according to circumstances, to every head of a family, and from two pounds ten shillings to four pounds three shillings and four pence to every young unmarried man or woman, to assist in procuring an outfit.

Several small parties then consented to emigrate, and, on the 10th of the last named month, the Directors wrote to the Commander and Council that these would be sent out at once. The conditions under which the Huguenots agreed to come here as colonists were, with the exception already named, the same as those previously offered to natural subjects of the Netherlands. They were to be provided with free passages, and with farms in full property without payment. They were to be supplied with all requisite farming stock at cost price on credit. They were to subscribe to the same oaths of allegiance as those taken by persons born in the United Provinces, and were to be in all respects treated in the same manner and to enjoy the same privileges.

While making such efforts to procure Huguenot emigrants, however, the Directors had no intention of

making the Cape a French Colony. Owing to the competition arising from the influx of such numbers of refugees, it was now less difficult than it had hitherto been, to obtain emigrants of Dutch blood, of whom more families than of French origin were being sent out at the same time, so that these, with the settlers already in South Africa, would absorb the foreign element without undergoing any change. At no time did the French exceed in number one-sixth of the Colonists, or one-eighth of the whole European population, the Company's servants included.

The Directors hoped that the Huguenots would supply the knowledge which the Dutch colonists lacked in some particular kinds of industry believed to be suited to South Africa, such as the manufacture of wine and brandy and the cultivation of olives. The vine bore grapes in the Cape equal in flavour to any in the world, yet the wine and brandy hitherto made were greatly inferior to those of Europe. The olive tree was found wild, and the varieties introduced flourished as well, apparently, as in France or Spain, but the production of fruit had, so far, been a failure. Some of the Huguenots sent out were men who had been reared among the vineyards and olive groves of France, and who were acquainted, not only with the best methods of cultivating the vine trees, but with the manufacture of brandy, wine, and oil. At the same time, the Directors were careful to lay down the rule that such occupations were not to be pursued to the neglect of the more important industries of growing wheat and rearing cattle.

Arrangements were made by the different chambers of the East India Company for the passages of the Huguenot emigrants to the Cape Colony, as they had been engaged in different provinces, and could not all embark at the same port. As much as was possible, families and friends were kept together.

The list of the names of the emigrants thus sent out will be found in the Appendix.

The Huguenots landed in South Africa without any property in goods and money. The East India Company sent out a quantity of ships' biscuits, peas, and salt meat, to be served out to them as provisions for a few months, and deal planks to make the woodwork of temporary

houses. Whatever else they needed was to be supplied on credit from the Company's stores. From Europe they had no assistance to expect, for the demand on the purses of the benevolent there were excessive. A fund for their benefit was raised in the Colony, to which individuals contributed in cattle, grain, or money, according to his circumstances. The amount subscribed is not mentioned, but Commander Van der Stell reported that it was very creditable to the old Colonists and very serviceable to the refugees. It was given to the Rev. Mr. Simond and the deacon of Stellenbosch for distribution.

The Burgher Council furnished six wagons free of charge to convey the immigrants to their destination. The Heemraad of Stellenbosch supplied six more to be used until the immigrants were all settled. Some of the Huguenots were located in and about Stellenbosch, but the larger amount at Drakenstein, and Fransche Hoek. Particular care was taken not to locate them by themselves, but to mix them as much as possible with the Dutch colonists who were already in the Colony, or who were arriving at the same time. This was, almost from the day of their landing, a point of disagreement between them and the Commander, for they expressed a strong desire not to be separated. Several even refused to accept the allotments of ground which were offered to them, and, in preference, engaged themselves as servants to some of the others.

With regard to church services an arrangement was made that the Rev. Mr. Simond should preach in French on alternate Sundays at Stellenbosch, and at the house of a burgher at Drakenstein. The sick comforter Mankadan was to read a sermon and prayers in Dutch at Stellenbosch when the minister was at Drakenstein, and at Drakenstein when the minister was at Stellenbosch. Once in three months the Rev. Mr. Simond was to preach at the Cape, and then the Rev. Mr. Van Andel was to hold service in Dutch and administer the Sacraments at Stellenbosch.

This was in accordance with the custom of the Netherlands, or as closely as circumstances would permit. There, the refugees, as they arrived, formed branch congregations and established churches, here, they formed a branch congregation of the Church of Stellenbosch. That church, though without, as yet, a resident Dutch clergyman, had a

fully organized consistory, which was presided over by the minister of the Cape acting as consulent. It was an arrangement which was designed to meet the wants of both sections of the community, but it did not satisfy the French, who desired to have a Church entirely of their own.

The refugees commenced the work of building and planting with alacrity. Those who had been accustomed to manual labour soon erected rough dwellings of clay walls and thatched roofs, and laid out vegetable gardens, but there were men among them who had been bred in the lap of ease, and to whom such toil was exceptionally severe. These fared badly at first, but with some assistance in labour from their countrymen, they were also able to make a good commencement in farming. The Company had promised to supply them with slaves as soon as possible, but was at this time unable to procure any.

Those who were located at Drakenstein had hardly got roofs above their heads when they addressed the Commander upon the subject of a school for the education of their children. He approved of their request, and on the 8th of November, 1688, Paul Roux, of Orange, in France, who understood both languages, was appointed schoolmaster of Drakenstein. He was to receive a salary of twenty-five shillings and a ration allowance of twelve shillings and sixpence a month, and in addition to his duties as a teacher he was to act as church clerk.

A few months after the first party of Huguenots left the Netherlands, a number of others were engaged to come out as colonists. The first vessel brought out forty immigrants, and the second, which arrived at the Cape on the 6th of May 1689, brought out three brothers named Abraham, Pierre, and Jacob de Villiers, who were vine dressers from the neighbourhood of La Rochelle.

Shortly after the refugees arrived in South Africa, the board of Deacons in Batavia sent a sum of money equal to twelve hundred and fifty English sovereigns to be distributed among them according to their needs. Now-a-days £1,250 may not seem a very large amount, but if its purchasing power at that time be considered it will be found to have been a generous and noble gift, and it was appreciated as such by those whose wants it was intended to relieve. It was decided that all the

Huguenots should share in this present, except a very few who were otherwise provided for. A copy of the names of those to whom the money was distributed will be found in the appendix, as taken by Mr. Theal from the archives of the Hague.

The list of names gives a total of 177 souls, while in despatches of nearly the same date from the Cape Government the number of Huguenots of all ages in the Colony is stated to be 155. But in the last case, those in the service of the Company were certainly not included, and possibly those who were married into Dutch families would not be reckoned. It is more than likely also that out of these 177 souls there must have been several who, from long residence in the Netherlands, would not be considered refugees by Commander Van der Stell. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that many names in the list had been familiar in the Low Countries for two or three generations. Thus, a branch of the family Le Têbre had been settled at Middelburg since 1574—there had been Lanoys at Leiden since 1648—Nels at Utrecht since 1644, Du Toits at Leiden since 1605, Cordiers at Haarlem since 1627—Jouberts at Leiden since 1645—Malans at Leiden since 1625—Malherbes at Dordrecht since 1618, and Mesnards at Leiden since 1638.

Before January 1689 the Directors had it in contemplation to send out a party of six or seven hundred Vaudois, all of the labouring class, and most of them understanding some handiwork as well as agriculture. This party had taken refuge in Moremberg, where they were in such distress that they sent deputies to beg assistance from the states provincial of Holland and West Friesland, and offered to emigrate in a body to any colony of the Netherlands. Their wretched condition excited the warmest compassion of the States, who, after providing for their temporary relief, addressed the Directors of the East and West India Companies, asking whether either of those Associations would be willing to receive the applicants as colonists. But at this juncture the Vaudois obtained employment elsewhere (in Europe) and the matter collapsed.

With most of the Huguenots the first difficulties of settling in a new country were speedily overcome. Houses were built, very small and rough it is true, but still giving

shelter from sun and storms, gardens were placed under cultivation, and, as the crops of the first season were particularly good, there was no want of the necessities of life. A few, however, who declined to accept farms at Stellenbosch, were in very poor circumstances. The manner in which they had been located was by all felt as a grievance, though as each one gradually improved his property, it was a grievance which, naturally, would soon disappear. But there was another cause of discontent, which was that they were considered by the Government as part of the congregation of Stellenbosch, whereas they understood the promise of the Directors, that they should have a clergyman of their own, as implying that they should form a congregation by themselves. The Commander declined to take any notice of individual representations on this subject, and the Huguenots therefore resolved to proceed in a more formal manner, and at last, under certain conditions, received permission from the Chamber at Holland to establish a church at Drakenstein. But their request to be located together was refused, and the Cape Government was instructed, when granting ground, to mix the nationalities together so that they might speedily amalgamate.

The despatch in which these resolutions were embodied reached the Cape in June, 1691, after which date the parishes of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch were separated. Before this time most of the Huguenots, who had been located elsewhere, had managed to purchase ground at Drakenstein, and, when the next census was taken, only three French families were found residing in Stellenbosch. Already there had been several intermarriages, and henceforth the blending of the two nationalities proceeded so rapidly that in the course of two generations, the descendants of the Huguenot refugees were not to be distinguished from other colonists, except by their names.

CHAPTER VIII.

My indulgent readers will, at this stage of this History, perhaps be asking when they will arrive at the descriptions of the "Battles" which, in the title page, are promised, but I must remind them of my former remark to the effect that they, as well as the "Adventures," will be based on the solid facts of History, and it therefore becomes necessary to indicate the sources from which the more stirring subsequent events have arisen. But these sources having been sufficiently touched upon, I must now skip nearly two centuries, and so conclude the subject of the Huguenots by giving a Cape newspaper (the *Argus*, Oct. 31st 1885) report of the laying of the foundation stone of a public building at Wellington.

HUGUENOT MEMORIAL DAY.

Thursday was a red-letter day in the history of Wellington. The celebrations which had lately taken place in Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Paarl, in connection with the day commemorating the arrival of the Huguenots in South Africa, were brought to a fitting conclusion in the place where most—in fact nearly all—the inhabitants are their descendants. The proceedings were conducted in the grounds of the Huguenot Seminary, were largely attended, and were enlivened by the presence of His Honour the Chief Justice (Sir Henry de Villiers), the Revs. A. I. Steytler, M. C. Botha, J. F. Stegmann, J. du Plessis, J. H. Neethling, G. W. Stegmann, A. Murray, Professor Marais, Wm. Murray, P. D. Russouw (Fraserburg), A. D. Luckhoff, Professor Hofmeyr, J. C. Paauw, Messrs. H. E. Bright (Resident Magistrate of Stellenbosch), Leibbrandt (Librarian), and many others.

On the wall of the building, in front of which the platform was erected from which the different speakers held forth, were pasted a large number of tablets or

emblems, which were explained in turn by each speaker. These emblems were arranged in columns as follows:—

The Column of France.—At the top was a shield, covered with the fleur-de-lis, the floral emblem of France. In the shield was the seal of the Reformed Church of France. The design is a burning bush, with the motto, “Flagror non consumo: I burn but do not consume.” Beneath this shield was an open Bible, with the words on the one side, “Verbum Dei Sufficit: God’s Word is enough,” and on the other, Lefevre, 1512. Under this were the name and seal of Calvin. Then followed the medal struck by the Pope of Rome, in approbation of the St. Bartholomew massacre, in which 50,000 Huguenots were martyred. Then followed a Maltese Cross, with the dates of the Edict of Nantes, 1598, and its revocation, 1685, and the number of the martyrs and exiles, at the lowest computation 600,000. Above was the martyr’s crown.

The Column of Holland.—On the upper shield was a medal commemorative of the Synod of Dort. It showed a temple upon the top of a rock. Then followed the motto of the United States of the Netherlands, “Eendracht Maakt Macht: Union is Strength.” And under it the name of the Father of the Fatherland, William of Orange, with his arms and motto. Under this is a Maltese cross, with the words often used by the Dutch Church in her time of tribulation: “As a Lily among Thorns,” and the number of martyrs, 100,000, in her time of persecution, from 1517-1563. Beneath are two oval medals. The one on the left is a copy of the Beggars’ medal worn by the famous Beggar Warriors, under Brederode. The other oval tablet bears one of the devices and mottoes of William. It is a pelican feeding her young with the blood drawn from her own breast. Between the medals was a tablet to the Sea Beggars, with the histories, names and dates, Briel, 1572, Leydon, 1574. And below this a tablet with the name and date of the Synod of Dort, when the Confession of the Dutch Church was finally confirmed, and the body appointed that gave the translation of the Dutch Bible still in use. At the foot of the column was Delftshaven, 1620-1688. It was in 1620 that the Pilgrim Fathers sailed thence in the *Mayflower* to found the New England States. It was in 1688 that the larger part of the French refugees

embarked for the Cape. In the Huguenot Seminary the descendants of these two parties of refugees have, in God's Providence, been brought together again—the daughters of the Pilgrim Fathers, the teachers from Mt. Holyoke in New England, and the daughters of the Huguenots as their pupils.

The Column of Scotland.—On the centre of the shield was the seal of the Established and Free Churches of Scotland. It is a burning bush with the motto "*Nec Taman Consumebatur*—And yet it was not consumed." Upon the shield, just above the seal of the Scotch Kirk, is a dove with outspread wings, representing the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, whose symbol is a dove with an olive branch in its mouth. Beneath this name was a tablet to John Knox, the eminent Scotch Reformer. His name is printed on either side of an oval, upon which, in gilt letters, is his motto:—"The truth I speak, impugn it whoso lists."

At the top of the column of Africa was the seal of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. In the centre is a female figure, representing the Church, holding a cross, and with the right hand on an open Bible. On the altar at her side is a heart with the flame burning upward, and on the altar the text *Rom. 5:5*. In the back ground is Table Mountain. The inscription is from the text "*Hope maketh not ashamed.*" Below this was a scroll with the dates of the Portuguese discovery of the Cape by Diaz and Vasco de Gama, and the Dutch settlement by Van Riebeeck. Then follows a Dutch ship of 200 years ago, with 1688 on the stern, the year in which the refugees were brought here by Dutch vessels. Underneath was an anchor, the symbol of hope, and so of the colony and the Church of Good Hope. Round it are three folds of a flag, the first referring to the Church, the second to Missions, the third to Schools, a threefold cord that cannot be broken. The African Column closes with the seven-branched Lamp of the Sanctuary, type of the Seven Churches. On the one side is the motto, "*Multae Lampades una Lux : Many Lamps, one Light.*" It is the Symbol of Unity in Diversity, the various churches holding forth in different ways the one light of God and the Word.

Several old documents and papers, which are still in the

hands of descendants of the Huguenots, were read. One was a deed of transfer of the farm Sandwyk, which was ceded in 1693 to a Mr. Van Wyk, and which bore the signature of Governor Van der Stell. On the wall was also exhibited by Mr. B. Malherbe a handkerchief which was brought out by a Mrs. Du Toit in 1688. It has a map of Spain and France traced on it. The spectacle of such a vast concourse under the grand old oak trees, singing together the old, old hymns of the Dutch Reformed Church, was a spectacle never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. It may be mentioned that Mr. Bright, Resident Magistrate of Stellenbosch, addressed those present during the afternoon in the French language.

The proceedings were commenced by the Rev. Andrew Murray asking those present to sing the 10th verse of Ps. 68. He said that this Psalm was always the war song of the Huguenots in France. Often when they went to war for the cause of their religion, they did so singing, "De Heer zal opstaan tot den stryd."

The Rev. Mr. Murray said that nothing was treasured more by a nation than the recollection of its past glory. Our nation was small and insignificant at present; but there was so much more reason to be proud of the glory of our forefathers. It was of great necessity to remember the strength of mind which they exhibited, and the determination which they expressed to serve their God according to their convictions. Such a remembrance should be an incentive to education; we should be educated until we became a noble nation, a nation which could hold its own amongst the nations. The idea had been started to erect a place where the Word of God could be spread, and the foundation-stone of such a place would be laid to-day. They thought that the most fit place where this festival could take place was in the grounds of the Huguenot Seminary, which had been built twelve years ago.

The Rev. D. P. Russouw said that he had to speak about the emblem of the French Church, "The Burning Bush." This bush, as would be seen, burnt, but was not consumed. The reason for this was that in the centre of the bush was found the name of Jehovah. He said that those present should see the absolute necessity of not undertaking anything except it was in the name of the Lord. The God,

who was with Jacob and with the Huguenots was the same God, and was with those present. They should try their best to become worthy followers of the Huguenots.

The Rev. J. H. Neethling spoke on the second subject, an open Bible, on the one page the motto, "Verbum dei Sufficit," on the other page the name of Lefevre, 1512. He deprecated at length the foolhardiness of a number of people who did not believe that God had made Balaam's female ass speak, but he was sure that the Lord had made a large number of male asses also speak. He then referred to "mos" Christians, to the fact that Huguenots of old and even their descendants of the present day, would rather die than give up their Bible. After at length discoursing on the many persecutions the Huguenots had suffered, he said that he could not find a drop of Huguenot blood in his veins. He was a "mos," but the Chairman had said that he would point out that he had Huguenot blood in his veins. He concluded by referring those present to the necessity of valuing their Bible at its true worth.

The Rev. J. du Plessis spoke on Calvin and his coat of arms, a hand with a heart in it, and with the motto, "Cor meum tibi offero, Domine." He said that Calvin was a well educated man; he had come to the conclusion that the best treasure he possessed—the seat of his love and his life—he had to offer to God's service. He impressed upon his hearers, like Calvin, to say, "My heart I offer thee, O Lord." It ought to become the motto of everyone.

The Rev. Andrew Murray pointed out that in the last two speeches special reference had been made to the question "What constitutes a Huguenot?" He trusted that all would see that the answer to that question was: the Word of God.

The Rev. Dr. Hofmeyr spoke on the medal which had been struck in commemoration of St. Bartholomew's night, with the inscription, "Ugonottorum Stranges." The Roman Catholic Church, its teachings and principle, were referred to and criticised. His speech had special reference to the troubles the Huguenots had gone through. In pointing to the vast difference between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformed Church, he said that it behoved no one to condemn the former too harshly. He had no doubt that there were many Roman Catholics who meant really

well ; and who were not aware that the teachings of their Church were wrong.

Professor Marais spoke on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He said that an English writer, Spenser, had said, "It chanced eternal God that chance did guide." Had it not been for the Revocation, the Church would not, perhaps, have been purified as it had. In an able speech he referred to Luther, Calvin, and other Reformers, and gave a general *résumé* of the events which followed the Revocation.

The Rev. Andrew Murray said that a Hollander would address a few words on the Church of Holland.

The Rev. J. C. Paauw said that the "penwortel" of the South African Church was in Holland (cheers). There were many roots from which the Church derived moisture, but the main root was in Holland. Much had been said about the sufferings of the Huguenots ; 100,000 martyrs were killed before the Dutch Church could peaceably preach the lily-white truth of religion. He referred to the eighty years' war, to persecutions of the bloody Alva, and other historical epochs. Holland, he said, was a veritable ark to the flying Huguenots. Continuing his narrative until the time when the Huguenots had arrived in Africa, and to the present day, he said that they had been brought here for a certain object. Africa was in several places yet a valley of the shadow of death. It was the duty of everyone to do what he could to forward mission work in the colony.

The Rev. Andrew Murray said the next thing to be done was to lay the foundation-stone of the new hall which was to be erected. He explained that Mr. Goodnow, of the United States of America, had provided the funds for this institution. Miss Mary Elizabeth Cummings, who is a teacher at the Ladies' Seminary, had written to Mr. Goodnow, who was her uncle and a bachelor, and had told him that a building was required in which large meetings could be held. Mr. Goodnow had then forwarded £2,000 as a present, but when it was represented to him that £2,000 would not pay for the construction of the building, he had written that he would send over all the woodwork for the building complete, which would cost another £1,000. He read a letter from Mr. Goodnow, in which that gentleman

stated that the reason which had moved him to make the gift was because he believed that when the education of the women in South Africa was well looked after, the general tone of society would be vastly improved. He stipulated that the hall should be built so as to be suitable for a hall where large meetings could be held; that the name of Goodnow Hall should be given to it, as his niece had specially made this request; that the Board of Curators should give ten purses each of £12 sterling a year to be applied towards the education of ten deserving girls, which movement must be begun in February, 1886; that the Board of Directors should take a formal resolution that they accepted his gift on the terms he had mentioned.

The procession was then formed as follows:—Seven curators, with Sir Henry de Villiers; ministers; teachers and pupils of the schools; the public.

Arrived at the site of the new building, where the foundation-stone was swinging from the davits, a hymn was sung by the ladies of the Seminary, and a bottle, containing papers referring to the day's proceedings, a copy of the act of donation, a photograph of the building and other papers, was deposited in the cavity under the stone; the stone itself was lowered into its place, and declared "well and truly laid" by

Sir Henry de Villiers, who said that it had been a happy thought on the part of the Rev. Mr. Murray to call the building opposite them the Huguenot Seminary, as there already he began to celebrate in name the meeting of to-day. He pointed out the great influence that the Huguenots had exercised not only in Holland, France, and this and other countries, but also in England. One of the permanent marks of their work in England was the manufacture of silk. He considered it a happy circumstance that this celebration should have been held at the same time as the commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and that the foundation-stone should also be laid at the same time. He would have liked to have addressed those present from a social, political and moral point of view, but when he thought that he would have to keep them all in the sun, it would have been unfair. There was one lesson which we must learn from the Huguenots, and that was.

their truthfulness, as the men who came out here came out for the sake of truth, and they had established a reputation for their truth. Another lesson to be learned from them was charity, as they did not seem to have cherished any feeling of revenge against their tormentors ; their simple desire was that they might see the error of their ways. He then referred to the munificent gift of Mr. Goodnow, to whom they all owed a deep debt of gratitude. They ought not, however, to forget that it was Miss Cumming who was the one who deserved their thanks principally, for, if it were not for her, this idea would never have entered Mr. Goodnow's head. In referring to the different nationalities in the colonies—Dutch, French and English—the Chief Justice said that he had always considered the term American as synonymous with that of Englishman. It might be that 200 years hence we should have a history written, and he trusted that then a fusion of all the different nationalities in this colony would have taken place—that Dutch, French, and English had joined together and formed one great united South African nationality.

The Rev. J. du Plessis then offered up prayer, after which those present adjourned for luncheon.

The building is to face the present Huguenot Seminary block. The plans and specifications have been prepared in America, and sent out by Mr. Goodnow. The block will occupy a space of 46 feet by 48 ; on the ground floor there will be ten rooms, with an observatorium at the back ; on the second floor there will be four rooms in front, a large hall, 30 by 42 feet, supplied with a stage, to which will be attached two dressing-rooms and a gallery about 20 feet deep. The ground floor will be 13 feet in height, and the second floor 25 feet, the whole building attaining to a height of 50 feet. The frontage will be 60 feet in width ; while the main building will be 46 feet ; above the door, which will be placed on the east side of the building, will be the words "Goodnow Hall," and the date 1885. The woodwork to be sent out is of the best American wood, and highly finished, and would cost fully £2,000 in this colony. In addition to Mr. Goodnow's magnificent gift, the Board of Curators think another £1,000 will complete the building

On the grounds luncheon was served at the very moderate price of 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d., the proceeds of which were applied towards the funds of the Institution.

A bazaar by the ladies of the Seminary, for the purpose of furnishing Goodnow Hall, was then commenced, and the selling was brisk, and a goodly sum was realised. A fair amount was also got together by means of selling small souvenirs of the Huguenot Bicentenary, explaining the object of the meeting that day.

At three o'clock the crowd again assembled, when the Chief Justice again addressed those present in Dutch, giving an explanation of the speech of the morning. Several speakers followed, and shortly after five o'clock a pleasant day's proceedings were brought to a close.



CHAPTER IX.

THE WRECK OF THE "GROSVENOR."

WITH a view of keeping the concurrent events, and their dates, as nearly together as possible, we must now mention the "Wreck of the *Grosvenor*," of which I shall give three accounts as also Van Reenen's Journal. At the risk of apparently unnecessary repetition, I submit that in many cases of battle and other adventures it is advisable to give different accounts, if only on the principle that in the mouths of many councillors there is wisdom.

Of the many wrecks which have conferred so mournful a celebrity on the Southern coast of Africa, from the shipwreck of the discoverer of the Cape of Storms to the destruction of the last vessel on this coast, none has attracted more notice or excited more painful interest than the wreck of the above East Indiaman.

This vessel, says a writer in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* of 1859, sailed from Trincomalee on the 13th of June, 1782, homeward bound, with a large crew and a number of passengers, and was wrecked early in the morning of the 4th of August following, on the south-eastern coast, above the Umzimvubu, near St. John's River. The greater portion of the crew, and apparently all passengers, amongst whom were some officers of rank, several ladies, and a number of children, succeeding in reaching the shore, only to encounter misery and destruction in worse shape than they had just escaped. Nine of the European crew, and some of the Lascars, ultimately reached Cape Town. The rest of the crew, the officers, the passengers, men, women and children all perished. The adventures and fate of one of the latter, a young gentleman named Law, of the tender age of only eight or nine years, constitute one of the most affecting portions of the sad narrative.

The boy seems to have been a great favourite, and when the shipwrecked people divided themselves into several



Murray & St. Leger.

Cape Town.

MONUMENT ERECTED BY BARON VAN PLETTENBERG, 1778.

(Reproduced from S.A. Illustrated News.)

bands, in the hope that one, at least, might escape, he was taken charge of by the pioneer party, and especially entrusted to the custody of the ship's steward, who devoted himself to his little charge.

The gallant child shared all the toils and privations of the party, bearing stoutly "ineffable toils" until they reached a locality, calculated by Mr. George Thompson in his well known travels to be somewhere south of Sunday River. Here, alongside the fire, where the horny hands of the tender-hearted seamen had laid him, the poor child breathed his last, only two days before the survivors met the first party of friendly Boers. The narrative says "the witnesses to this affecting assistance (of the seamen to young Law) bestowed a last sigh on the departed innocent, and leaving him in the place, where the cold hand of death had arrested him, moved on. The steward, who still continued ill, did not find his illness or his sorrows alleviated by this fresh affliction; on the contrary, the loss of a young person he so much valued, and who so long had been the object of his tenderest care, nearly overwhelmed him, and it was with the utmost difficulty his companions got him along."

The next day the steward himself, "whose benevolence ought to immortalize his memory," followed his little favourite into another world. Henry Lillburne was the name of this affectionate attendant. Upon the arrival of the first party of survivors in the Cape Colony, the Dutch governor humanely despatched an expedition in search of those left behind. They were fortunate enough to save seven Lascars, two native women, and three of the white crew; the rest, it was concluded, had all perished. For some years, however, the feelings of relatives in England were harrowed at the mere possibility of some of the crew or passengers, especially the women, surviving amongst the savages.

The Colonial Government again moved in the matter, and in the year 1790 fitted out an Expedition under Mr. Jacob van Reenen, with instructions to proceed to the locality of the wreck and ascertain whether any of the *Grosvenor* people still survived. None were found, and it may now be assumed that all met the fate that overtook their little fellow passenger, Law. A belief is, however,

still prevalent in England—indeed it has very lately been asserted in one of Chambers's publications to be a fact—that three young ladies, daughters of General Campbell, and passengers in the *Grosvenor*, survived the perils of sea and land only to meet the worse fate of being compelled to become the wives of one of the Kafir Chiefs. Faku is commonly supposed to be a grandson of one of the Misses Campbell. Van Reenen's journal, only eight years after the wreck, however, establishes the fact of the death of *all* the European women who landed from the *Grosvenor*. The two aged white women (from one of whom Faku may have been descended) who were wrecked in their infancy, and had forgot their native names and language, could not have formed part of the *Grosvenor* passengers.

But what puts the question effectually at rest is the passengers list of the *Grosvenor*, which seems to be very carefully drawn up, and which does not give the name, even, of Campbell. This seems decisive.

The following re-publication is a translation from the Dutch M. S. Journal of Van Reenen, made by Capt. Riou, R.N., "the good, the gallant Rion," the author of the "Battle of the Baltic." He was killed in command of the *Amazon*, at the battle of Copenhagen, under Nelson.

The original is a thin quarto, of which only 100 copies were published. It is now very scarce; the writer has only met with two copies, one his own, the other in the possession of Mr. Geo. Thompson. It is not to be found in the public library. From its rarity it is worthy of a full reprint:—

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, undertaken in 1790 and 1791, by JACOB VAN REENEN, and others of his countrymen in search of the WRECK of the HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIP the "GROSVENOR;" to discover if there remained alive any of the UNFORTUNATE SUFFERERS.

Tuesday, August 24th, 1790.—Jan Andries Holtshausen, Hilgert Mulder, Ledewyk August Prins, and myself, Jacob van Reenen, set out from Kaffir's Kuyls river with four wagons, and in seven hours arrived at the little valley near the Gous River.

Wednesday, 25.—We proceeded from the before men-

tioned Valley to the Lange Touw, and passed the Gous River. At nine o'clock at night, one of our baggage wagons was overturned, which obliged us to unharness. Had travelled seven hours this day.

Thursday, 26.—By break of day, the wagon having been put to rights, we travelled on to the Klyne Paerde Kraal which was again a seven hours' journey.

Friday, 27.—We were now at the beginning of the Hattequa's Kloof, and had travelled only three hours towards the Groote Paerde Kraal, when one of the hindmost fastenings of one of the baggage wagons broke, which was repaired at the house of Jacob Ruyter.

Saturday, 28.—Thence we proceeded five hours, to Savrana Kraal.

Sunday, 29.—From which place we journeyed on to the Was River, where Mulder and Prins, taking the road through the Lange Kloof, left us, and having agreed to meet at the Assegaye Wood on the other side of the Bosjesman's River, Holtshausen and myself took the route thro' the Caroo as the nearest way. At ten o'clock this night one of the baggage wagons was again overturned, which accident happened between the Camnassie and Doorn Rivers. We had this day travelled eight hours, and, having put the wagon in order, proceeded.

Monday, 30.—At eight o'clock in the morning we forded the river Camnassie; and by the time it was dark, in a journey of eight hours, the Elephant River was passed. The Camnassie falls into the Elephant River.

Tuesday, 31.—We this day travelled seven hours, in the course of which we crossed the Elephant River six different times.

Note.—As our route was to proceed along the banks of the Elephant River, we were frequently under the necessity of crossing and recrossing it, in order to preserve the best track.

The Cangoos River discharges itself into the Elephant River.

Wednesday, September 1.—We this day crossed the Elephant River five times, when Holtshausen and myself left the wagons, and mounting our horses, proceeded to the warm bath at Tjaart Van der Walddt's, situated above the Elephant River. Here we saw the bath, which is very

powerful and salutary for several diseases. Van der Waldt promised to meet us at Stephanus Scheeper's house in the Winterhock, where we agreed to wait for him.

We had this day travelled eleven hours.

Thursday, 2.—Returned to our wagons. Passed the river eight times to its source, and arrived at the dwelling of Anthony Nortie Lyd, which we left and proceeded 8 hours to the Capok Kraal.

Note.—The Elephant River discharges itself into the Gous River, and the Gous River into the sea in or about St. Catherine's Bay.

Friday, 3.—Departing from the Ganna Kloof, and leaving the black rocks on our left, we took the way to Winterhoek ; and having travelled seven hours, arrived at the deserted dwelling called Dieniedouw.

Saw several Terra Natal fowls.

Saturday, 4.—Thence proceeded 5 hours further, to a deserted dwelling called Koeyefonteyn.

Sunday, 5.—We were obliged to remain the whole of the day at this place owing to a very heavy fall of rain.

Monday, 6.—Travelled forward again, and in 6 hours arrived at the beginning of Winterhoek.

Saw several tracks of Springbucks.

Tuesday, 7.—This day, in 5 hours, we arrived at the place of Stephanus Scheepers in Winterhoek.

Wednesday, 8.—Remained here all day.

Thursday, 9.—Tjaart van der Waldt and his son Peter came to us.

Friday, 10.—Preparing to depart on the next day.

Saturday, 11.—Left this place in company with Holts-hausen, the two Van der Waldts and Scheepers, and in 7 hours arrived at the Groote River, which falls into the Cantours.

Sunday, 12.—Thence for 8 hours through a fine meadow country to the Wolvesfonteyn.

Monday, 13.—From which place, in ten hours, we arrived at the Sunday River, which keeps its name until it falls into the saa, and is in this spot (the Caroo Veld) quite dry.

Tuesday, 14.—We were obliged to halt this day as the river was too deep to pass.

Wednesday, 15.—Forded the river to a little brook over-

grown with thorns, and in five hours travelled over the Bruynjies heights in the Caroo Veld.

Thursday, 16.—Thence onwards, seven hours to Bosjesmans River through a country of fine long broken grass and small shrubs.

Friday, 17.—Forded the Bosjesman's River, and having travelled ten hours, arrived at the house of Hendrik Janssen Van Rensburg.

Saturday, 18.—Here we rested, Holtshausen and I, mounting our horses, rode to the Assagaye Wood, the place of our general rendezvous, to see if the rest of our party were arrived.

Sunday, 19.—It being very rainy weather, and none of our companions having yet joined us, we remained at the Wood all day.

Monday, 20.—Three wagons of Cornelis Mulder, the wagon with the boat, and one belonging to Hilgert Mulder arrived; and, with them, Ignatius Mulder and Philip Holtshausen, who told us that the rest of our companions, purposing to return the next day, had gone on horseback to the mouth of the Bosjesman's River, in order, if possible, to persuade Solomon Ferreira to accompany us. We immediately rode back to our wagons, to prepare everything for the journey, having appointed the next rendezvous at the Brakke River.

Tuesday, 21.—The whole of this day was employed in making preparations for our journey.

Wednesday, 22.—Proceeded three hours to the Brakke River.

Thursday, 23.—Here we rested, all our party being assembled, except Jacob Joubert.

Friday, 24.—Left the Brakke River with the wagons each provided with double teams; fifty six horses and forty armed Hottentots; and in four hours travelling arrived at the Little Fish River.

Saturday, 25.—Four hours elapsed in getting the baggage, boat and wagons over the river, whence we proceeded three hours to the Great Fish River.

Sunday, 26.—It was with great danger we crossed this last mentioned river, after which we arrived in 4 hours at the spring called Kruger's Kraal, the *boundary of the Christians and Kafirs*.

Monday, 27.—We this day got in 5 hours to a little brook to which we gave the name of Punch, as the weather being exceedingly cold, our punch for that reason was made rather strong.

Saw a great quantity of game and shot two male elands (the largest species of antelope.)

Tuesday, 28.—We travelled hence 8 hours further, and passing over a small brook called Caaga, came to a vast plain, extending as far as a river called Caapua, or fine meadows, which name it highly merits from its delightful situation. The whole country is intersected with rivers capable of overflowing the adjacent meadows, and possesses every requisite for becoming a most convenient and charming settlement. It is well adapted for cattle, as it is covered with abundance of long broken-down grass. We here met with a great quantity of different sorts of game. Shot two buffaloes.

Wednesday, 29.—Proceeded 6 hours further, but we were under the necessity of halting to unharness, as old Holtshausen was taken exceedingly ill with the gravel.

Thursday, 30.—This day we travelled 7 hours to the Kat River, or Kafirs, or Hottentots' Hunca River, *and arrived at the first Kafirs' kraal*, where we were visited by several of these people.

In the evening we posted a night watch.

Friday, October 1 (1790).—Passed another brook at the beginning of the Keiskama where several Kafirs came to us from their Chief Sambee. We sent two of our Kafirs to speak to him, and ask permission to travel thro' his country, and that he would supply us with interpreters. Passed another small brook and arrived at the Keiskama, where we shot two birds unknown to us, the Kafir name for which was Heemoe, which signifies "I see something." It is a bird about the size of a large blue heron, but perches in trees, has a tuft of hair on its head, in the shape of a paint brush of yellowish colour, with black stripes; the head or crown like black velvet, with blue neck like a heron, black and white wings, and long feet.*

We had travelled this day eight hours.

* A good description of the bird called in Natal and elsewhere in South Africa "Ihemu."

Saturday, 2.—Travelled, and this day proceeded seven hours, during which we saw several Kafirs. We came to the determination of leaving this country and getting over the Kafir mountains as soon as possible, dreading otherwise the encountering delays, or worse consequences, as those people were at war with each other, Sambee being opposed to Capt. Jacca, who with considerable loss had already been twice beaten.

The two Kafirs that we had sent to Sambee returned to us with a message from the Captain expressing his sorrow that he could not come himself, owing to his being unwell, and wishing us a good journey; above all, recommending us particular caution regarding the nation with which he was then at war, informing us likewise that the country to which we were destined was dangerous and difficult to pass.

After having procured two Kafirs as guides, we crossed river Keysana.

Sunday, 3.—Ascended the mountain, and having got on five hours, were under the necessity of stopping and unharnessing on account of the rain.

Monday, 4.—We this day proceeded five hours, but in order to effect a passage over the mountain, were obliged to cut our way through a large wood.

Three Kafirs came to us with an intention to accompany us on our journey.

Tuesday, 5.—Having got over the mountain, and passed through a branch of the Black Key river called "Hoomon-poefoege," we arrived in the *Bosjesmansland*, at a small brook where the Bosjesmans had painted, in the cavities of the rocks, very natural resemblances of several wild beasts. Amongst them was that of a soldier with a grenadier's cap.

We had this day travelled the distance of ten hours, and had seen Bonteboks, two lions, and other wild beasts.

Wednesday, 6.—Travelling on, we proceeded this day 8 hours, to a great river called the White Key.

Van der Waldt descried three Bosjesmans that were hunting, and, pursuing them, laid hold of one, to whom he gave a bunch of beads, and a piece of tobacco, and then, letting him go, he promised to return to us to show us our way.

Thursday, 7.—Here we rested, some of the party

making excursions on horseback with an intention to shoot hippopotami, but none were seen.

Friday, 8.—Crossing the last mentioned river, and pursuing our journey 4 hours, we came into a plain country.

Saturday, 9.—Rode five hours over a fine plain, interspersed with thorny bushes, and passed a river, which keeps the same name as the one before mentioned.

We this day shot an eland.

Sunday, 10.—Proceeded 5 hours further and passed another river of the same name as the last mentioned.

Monday, 11.—Travelled again the distance of 5 hours and passed another river. In the meanwhile we shot two elands and a male buffalo. Saw three tigers and met with a great quantity of game.

Tuesday, 12.—In $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours' travelling we came to the river Somoe. This is the last that discharges itself into the Key, which is the largest river running through the Kafirland, and has (with the exception of the *Grosvenor* search party of 1783) always checked the progress of former travellers.

Wednesday, 13.—Passed the river Somoe, situated in a beautiful country, and in 5 hours *came into the country of the Tamboekies*.

Thursday, 14.—Arrived at the Dae or Mud River in a journey of 7 hours.

Pursued and shot three male elephants.

Friday, 15.—Cut out the teeth of these animals, and proceeded the distance of 4 hours.

Saturday, 16.—This day we travelled 9 hours, and in the meanwhile rode out in search of more elephants, but found none. However, we saw and came up with a lion and a lioness, which had killed a buffalo. Waldt shot the lioness.

Sunday, 17.—We had only proceeded 3 hours from our last resting place when we were obliged to halt and unharness, owing to heavy rain.

Monday, 18.—During our stay at this spot several of the Tamboekies visited us. Amongst them was the Chier Joobie, and subject to him Louve. We gave them presents and secured from them three Tamboekies as guides.

Tuesday, 19.—We still remained here in order to shoot sea cows, of which we shot two, shown to us by the Tamboekies. We were this day astonished at the arrival of Jacob Joubert, who came up to us with a wagon, attended only by 8 Hottentots. Great as our joy was in having another Christian of our party, our astonishment was not the less at the boldness of the enterprise, in following us through such unfrequented deserts, merely because he had promised to join us.

Wednesday, 20.—We now harnessed again, and proceeded 5 hours, passing a river called Nabagana. In the course of the journey we saw a lion, which was the largest that the most experienced amongst us had ever seen. We pursued it, but it escaped into the bushes, and we saw no more of it.

Thursday, 21.—Travelling on 5 hours further, and ascending a great height, we saw a large river called the Bosjie, about the distance of two hours from us, but to which we could not descend, owing to the steepness of the approach.

Friday, 22.—Here we halted, and whilst some of us were employed in exploring the best route to take, others went in quest of sea cows (hippopotami) and shot five.

Saturday, 23.—Harnessed and proceeded five hours again, but were obliged to go a good way round about, in order to avoid precipices. It was by far the worst travelling we had, owing to rocky hills and underwood.

Sunday, 24.—Rode 5 hours on to this river Bosjie, which comes from far inland.

We this day shot 12 sea cows.

Monday, 25.—Forded the river and proceeded 3 hours.

Tuesday, 26.—We thence crossed over a very steep mountain, and in seven hours came to a river called Nooga, having in the course of that distance shot four buffaloes and six elephants.

Wednesday, 27.—Rested this day, and in the meantime some of the party shot a male elephant.

Thursday, 28.—Forded the last mentioned river, when we saw the sea about 2 hours off. Here we met with a horse that had escaped from a party which had, seven years ago, gone on a similar expedition in search of the unfortunate Englishmen. It belonged to one Daniel Pot-

gieter, was quite wild, and, on our approach, ran into a herd of elands. But we pursued him, and at length caught him. He was the next day quite docile, and was mounted.

We now passed the river Noddee, and had this day travelled the distance of 6 hours.

Friday, 29.—Saw several elephants, of which we shot seven. After travelling 7 hours we arrived at the river Tathad, where we shot a sea cow, and were visited by two of the Tamboekies, which was something extraordinary, as, ever since the 18th inst, when we parted with Capt. Joobie, we had seen no natives; this part of the country having been depopulated by the father of Capt. Sambre, called Gagabe Camboosa, who drove them and all their cattle into his own territory. Such few that are at present remaining, hide themselves in the woods and caves, and live solely on seaweed, and whatever they can procure by hunting.

Saturday, 30.—Having passed the last-mentioned river which is a very large one, we came in six hours to the Dombie* or young maiden river. It was from this part of the country that formerly, before Gagabee had laid it waste, the Kafirs and other nations got their women, in trading with the parents.

Sunday, 31.—We travelled the distance of four hours, when we were under the necessity of stopping and unharnessing near the river Tasana, in order to explore a way. Several persons, seven years ago, got as far as this river in search of the crew of the *Grosvenor*, whence they returned back.

Monday, Nov. 1, 1790.—Lodewyk Prins shot a sea cow in the nose, which afterwards came to the shore and was killed. Passed the river and advanced only four hours, as we were obliged, in order to proceed, to cut through two woods.

Tuesday, 2.—Thence we rode two hours to a wood where we shot an elephant, but were obliged to unharness, as I was taken ill with violent pains in my limbs, and a lameness in my right arm, which prevented my being any longer able to endure the motion of the wagon.

The weather was very unsettled, suddenly changing

* Intombi.

during the day, and for two hours we had a very severe thunderstorm.

Wednesday, 3.—We left this spot and arrived on a height, when we saw several villages of the Hambonas, a nation quite different from the Kafirs, are of a yellowish complexion, and have long coarse hair frized on their heads like a turban. We sent four of our men to the chief, whose name is Camboosa, with a present of beads and a sheet of copper. Five of them came to us, to whom we gave small presents of beads. They told us that subject to them was a village of Bastard Christians, who were descended from people shipwrecked on that coast, and of which three old women were still living, whom Oemtonone, the Hambonas captain, had taken as wives.

Thursday, 4.—Proceeded an hour when we were stopped by heavy rain, but mounted our horses and rode to the beforementioned village, where we found that the people were descended from whites, some too from slaves of mixed colour, and the natives of the East Indies, and had, when children, been shipwrecked on this coast, but could not say of what nation they were, being too young to know at the time the accident hapt. We offered to take them and their children back with us on our return; at which they seemed very much pleased.

Friday, 5.—We now travelled on seven hours, in which distance we passed the Little Moyasie river on the banks of which is situated the Bastard village, where they have very extensive handsome gardens planted with kafir-corn, maize, sugar canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other things. They had also some cattle.

We crossed also the Great Moyasie River, where is the residence of the Hambona Captain, Camboosa.

During this day we shot 7 sea cows.

Saturday, 6.—Proceeded seven hours, near to a very large river, called Sinwoewoc, or Sea Cow River,* where we understood from the natives that there was still an Englishman remaining alive of the crew of the unfortunate ship the *Grosvenor*.

Sunday, 7.—Arrived at the river after 2 hours travel-

* Alluding evidently to the St. John's River, *i.e.*, the Umzimvubu, meaning in Zulu "the abode of the sea cow."

ling, but were obliged to unharness, as it was too deep to pass, on account of the flood. We, therefore, waited for the ebbing of the tide, and, in the meanwhile, saw on the opposite bank the before-mentioned Englishman, to whom we immediately called. He spoke the Dutch language; but for the width of the river, we could not hear what he said.

Monday, 8.—We forded the river, when this, so called, Englishman came to us, and told us that he was a free man, and had sailed in an English ship from Malacca. He promised to conduct us to the place where the *Grosvenor* had been wrecked; adding that there was nothing to be seen, excepting some cannon, iron ballast, and lead. He likewise said that all the unfortunate crew of that ship had perished. Some by the hands of the natives, and the rest by hunger.

The natives here brought us some gold and silver, to exchange for red beads and copper articles, of which they seemed excessively fond.

This day we only proceeded two hours.

Tuesday, 9.—We now rode on four hours to a river called Woewanpoevoe, where we shot a sea cow.

Wednesday, 10.—Passed this river and proceeded five hours farther to the river Tanwoota. We now concluded—as this so-called Englishman did not make his appearance—that he was a runaway slave from the Cape: in which conjecture we were confirmed by one of our bastaard Hottentots called Moses, whom this man had asked who his master was, and being answered by Moses that his master's name was Jacob van Reenen, he then asked if it was a son of old Jacob van Reenen or Cootje, as my father was commonly called. The Hottentot answered "Yes." He then told him that he was well known at the Cape, and had a wife there and two children. The fear that we should lay hold of him and carry him with us most probably prevented his ever returning to us again.*

Thursday, 11.—We remained the whole of this day by the side of the river, it being too high to pass.

* It will be seen in Hynes account that he alludes to this fellow as "Trout." Price and his companions called him a "Malay."

Friday, 12.—Having passed the river and travelled 3 hours, we arrived at a wood, through which we were to cut our way.

Saturday, 13.—We got through this last mentioned wood, and were soon obliged to cut through another, having only proceeded two hours.

Sunday, 14.—We this day proceeded three hours, and crossed a river called Bogasie, at the mouth of which, in the sea, we shot two sea cows.

Here the natives brought us potatoes, sugar canes, corn, and beans—and likewise gold and silver, for which we exchanged with them beads.

Monday, 15.—Travelling on, passed a little brook near the sea side.

Here J. A. Holtshausen had the misfortune to fall into a pit of burnt stakes,* by which he was terribly wounded in the palm of the left hand.

We now came to a height we could not pass without great danger and difficulty ; and where we learnt that the wreck was not far off. We therefore determined to halt, and to go on horseback to the spot, to see what could be discovered. J. A. Holtshausen, Waldt, Mulder and Hilgert Mulder and myself with J. Mulder, mounted our horses and rode the distance of one hour and a half, when Holtshausen and myself were obliged to return to our wagons, owing to the necessity there of dismounting and leading our horses through a river, in order to proceed, the bed of which was full of holes and rocks, and I was exceedingly troubled with a great pain all over my limbs, and old Holtshausen, who had regarded his wound as a trifle—not having even applied a bandage to it, found his hand very painful ; we neither of us dared to venture on such an undertaking.

At our return to the wagons, we administered sweet oil to Holtshausen's wound, and made use of every other means in our power to assuage the pain ; but in vain.

At night our companions returned to us, and told us they had been at the spot where the ship was wrecked, but

* The natives make a pit in which are stakes placed sharp points upwards, and often poisoned. In this manner they catch large game.

had then found nothing of it remaining, except some cannon, iron ballast and lead. They brought with them two pieces of spermaceti candle, and some fragments of English China.

The wreck lay four hours from this spot, in which distance there were seven rivers to pass, for which we had no name.

We this day shot a sea cow.

Tuesday, 16.—Some of our companions went again to the spot where the wreck lay, but saw nothing more than what has already been mentioned. H. Mulder brought a piece of red "Sapana" wood. Shot two sea cows.

Wednesday, 17.—On this day, with some others of the party, I rode to the above mentioned spot, but saw nothing but five cannons, and a great quantity of iron ballast. It was plainly perceived on a spot of ground, between two woods, that the people had made fires and sheltered themselves. Likewise, in the rising ground between the two woods, was a pit, where things has been buried and dug out again, this confirming to us what the runaway slave had told us, that everything had been dug up and dispersed very far into the country. We also understood from the natives that the greater part of the goods had been conveyed to Rio De la Goa, there to be sold. Which place, as well as we could learn, was from this spot a journey of four days.

Thursday, 18.—Waldt, H. Mulder and Joubert rode along the sea side, about two hours further to the northward, but could find nothing.

It was now determined that we should return home, as, in the first place, several of our draft oxen had died, and many others were in a sickly condition; besides, old Holtshausen from the excessive pain that he suffered from his wound, was very impatient to get back.

From the place where the wagons halted we travelled the distance of 12 hours inland on horseback, during which we crossed 7 rivers; the wagons at the same time proceeding homewards, a journey of seven hours to the river Bogasie, where we caught some delicious fish and oysters.

* By this name the Dutch call a wood they bring from Japan, used in dying. Resembles Brazilwood. Called by French "Sapan."

Friday, November 19, 1790.—We this day continued our journey 5 hours further.

Saturday, 20.—Passing the rivers Tamvoeta and Woe-wanpoevoe in 8 hours we arrived at the Sinwoewoe, or Sea Cow River.

Sunday, 21.—We this day were under the necessity of halting on account of the alarming indisposition of old Holtshausen, who was attacked with a locked jaw and violent convulsive fits, so that we expected his death every moment. At night our outposts gave an alarm of being watched by the natives, upon which we fired several times in the air and heard no more of them. That same day about 200 of them had been with us, with gold and silver to barter, but we were now inclined to think that they came with that pretext in order to discover our force, and, if possible, to take an opportunity of surprising us when we were off our guard.

During the day we shot 4 sea cows.

Monday, 22.—Poor old Holtshausen's illness was now increasing so rapidly that we were obliged to sit up and attend to him the whole night.

Tuesday, 23.—This afternoon, at half past four o'clock, he expired. We immediately, with some of the plank of the wagons that was most convenient for the purpose, set about preparing a coffin.

Wednesday, 24.—About half past eight this morning we interred the body of our friend under a large Kafir tree standing alone, on which we cut our names, and departing, passed the river Sinwoewoe. In an eight hours' journey arrived at the Great Mogasie River.

Thursday, 25.—Here we were obliged to halt on account of a heavy fall of rain.

Friday, 26.—Hence we passed the Great and Little *Mogasie Rivers, and after travelling 8 hours, arrived at the Bastaard Christian village. I would now have taken the three old women with us, to which they seemed well inclined, as appearing much to wish to live among Christians, but mentioned their desire, before they could accomplish such a plan, of waiting till their harvest to gather in their crops; adding that for this reason they would at present rather remain with their children and grandchildren; after which, with their whole race, to the

amount of 400, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement. I concluded by promising that I would give a full account of them to the Government, in order that they might be removed from their present situation. It is to be observed that on our visit to the women they appeared to be exceedingly agitated at seeing people of their own complexion and description.

Saturday, 27.—We left this village and travelled three hours to a wood where we shot three elephants, the teeth of which we cut out.

Sunday, 28.—Proceeded five hours in the course of which we passed the river Tasana, and shot four elephants. We also caught a young one, and tied it to one of the wagons, but were in a very short time under the necessity of killing it, as its cries brought about us such a number that we were fearful of being trodden to death, and during the night a very large herd of them passed quite close to us.

Monday, 29.—We this day halted on account of the rain, during which several of our oxen died.

Tuesday, 30.—We now crossed the river Dombie and travelled eight hours.

Lost many more of our oxen. Passed the river Tathaa, in which we shot five sea cows.

Wednesday, December 1.—We employed ourselves this day in cutting up and salting the meat of the sea cows that we had shot the preceding evening. By the time we had accomplished this a large male elephant came up to the wagons. We instantly pursued and attacked him; when, after having received several shots, and that he had twice fallen, he crept into a very thick thorny underwood. Thinking that we had fully done for him, Waldt, Lodewyk Prins, and J. Mulder advanced to the spot where he was hid, when he rushed out in a furious manner from the thicket, and, with his trunk, catching hold of Prins—who was then on horseback—trod him to death, and driving one of his tusks thro' his body, threw him thirty feet into the air. The others, perceiving that there was no possibility of escaping on horseback, dismounted and crept into the thicket to hide themselves, the elephant, having now nothing in view but the horse of Waldt, followed it for some time, and when he turned about came to the spot near

where the dead body lay, looking about for it. At this instant our whole party renewed the attack, in order to drive him from the spot, when after he had received several shots, he again escaped into the thickest of the wood. We now thought that he was far enough off, and had already begun to dig a grave for our unfortunate companion, at which we were busily employed, when the elephant rushed out again, and driving us all away remained by himself then on the spot. Van de Waldt got another shot at him, at the distance of 100 paces. We, every one of us then made another attack upon him; and having now received several more bullets, he began to stagger, then falling with a shot or two more, killed him as he lay upon the ground.

The fury of this animal is indescribable. Those of our party who knew anything of elephant hunting declared it was the fleetest and most furious they had ever beheld.

We now set about finishing the grave, and at half past six o'clock in the afternoon interred the body of poor Lodewyk Prins.

Thursday, 2.—We now proceeded, and during this day got on eight hours and a half, in the course of which we passed the river Nodei, and shot a buffalo.

Friday, 5.—Travelled on six hours and passed the river Nooga. Shot two elephants and one sea cow.

Saturday, 4.—This day we arrived in a journey of eight hours, with very great difficulty, at river Bosjie, and which we should not have accomplished had I not harnessed four of my saddle horses to one of the wagons, to enable us, tho' slowly, to move on. We were likewise under the necessity of throwing away many of our elephant teeth. One of the wagons had but eight oxen, another six. Not one that had a tolerable team to draw it. So that, with the distress of not being able to proceed for want of cattle, and the melancholy reflection of having lost two of our companions in a very unfortunate manner, we were in a very lamentable situation.

Sunday, 5.—This day was spent in getting all our baggage over the river in the boat. We shot two sea cows.

Monday, 6.—Having passed the river we proceeded three hours further.

Tuesday, 7.—We got on this day seven hours, and were

obliged to travel very gently, as the oxen were continually failing and some dying. And as it was with the utmost difficulty that we moved, it was determined that Jacob Joubert should be immediately despatched into the country of Joobie, the Tambookie, to endeavour to obtain some oxen.

Wednesday, 8.—We this day saw several elephants.

Jacob Joubert came back to us bringing three oxen, which he had purchased. Unaccustomed as they were to the yoke, having never yet drawn, we were under the necessity of immediately harnessing them.

Travelled six and a half hours to-day.

Thursday, 9.—We thence proceeded by a different road, three hours higher up country than that by which we had come, being much more even, shorter, and in every respect better travelling, and, after a journey of eight hours, crossed the river Nabagana.

Friday, 10.—Thence got on eight hours further.

Saturday, 11.—Travelled six hours. Passed the river Somoe.

Sunday, 12.—We this day shot four elands. Could only proceed three hours, and as we found it was no longer possible to get on for want of oxen, in order to avoid leaving our wagons behind us—having already thrown away a great part of our baggage—it was agreed that Hendrik Van Rensburg, with some Hottentots on horseback, should proceed as fast as possible to the Bosjesman's River, and procure a number of draught oxen.

Monday, 13.—Travelling three hours. We now found the weather exceedingly cold; full as much as if it had been in the depth of winter; which I can only suppose to be occasioned by the height of the mountains we were in.

Tuesday, 14.—We balted this day in order to refresh.

Wednesday, 15.—Finding it necessary to make this another resting day, some of our party rode on horseback to White Keys River, where they shot fourteen sea cows.

Thursday, 16.—We were employed the whole of the day in cutting up the abovementioned animals. The half of the best part of the meat we left behind, as it was necessary to load ourselves as little as possible, the oxen we had now remaining being so miserably weak.

Friday, 17.—This day we passed the White Keys River and proceeded five hours.

Saturday, 18.—Thence seven hours, in which distance we shot two elands.

Sunday, 19.—We now passed the Black Key River, having travelled in the course of the day eight hours.

Monday, 20.—Pursuing our journey we arrived at the Bontebok Plain, and shot several Bonteboks.* Getting on eight and a half hours, we passed two more rivers, which discharge themselves into the Black Key, and have the same name—which name that river has acquired from the treks about it being of that colour.

Proceeded nine and a half hours, and crossing the Kafir Mountain, came into the country of the great kafirs of Captain Laambee. Here we had the satisfaction of meeting with Jan Vioen, and Pieter Van de Voorn, who had brought with them the draught oxen we had sent for.

Wednesday, 22.—Travelling seven hours further, we passed the River Keys Kama, and another small river running into it.

Thursday, 23.—We this day passed the Kat or Hunca River, and in seven hours the Little Doorn River.

Friday, 24.—Hence we proceeded eight hours further to the river Caapna.

Saturday, 25.—Crossed the river Caaja, which runs into the Caapna that falls into the Great Fish River, and arrived, after a day's journey of eleven hours, to our no small joy, once more at a Christian habitation, the dwelling of Willem Bota.

Sunday, 26.—Thence we passed the Great and Little Fish Rivers, and the Kama Dagga, the dwelling of Andries Dryer ; and in seven hours and a half we came to the place of Hendrik Janssen van Rensburg, on the banks of the Bosjesman's River.

Monday, 27.—Here we stayed all night ; when Honoratus Meynier, the secretary of the district of Rynet, arrived.

Tuesday, 28.—We now took leave of each other, and at two o'clock in the morning Tjart Van der Walddt, and his son Pieter, Hilgert Mulder and myself, leaving our oxen, and putting our horses to the wagon, rode the distance of twenty-two hours to the Sunday's River.

* A handsome piebald Antelope.

Wednesday, 29.—Thence we proceeded fourteen hours to the river Naraa.

Thursday, 30.—Then travelling twenty-six hours, we passed the Groote River as far as under the mountain Ernkroon.

Friday, 31.—After which we went six hours further to the dwelling of Antonie Nortier above the Elephant River.

Saturday, January 1, 1791.—We now rode to the Bath near the Elephant River, where we arrived after a journey of eight hours at the house of Tjaart Van der Walt.

At this place we remained the two following days.

Tuesday, 4.—The next day—after we had taken leave of each other—Hendrik Mulder and myself proceeded ten hours to the place of Frederick Boota, on the banks of the Elephant River.

Wednesday, 5.—This day we travelled twenty hours to a deserted dwelling near the Hattaquas Kloof.

Thursday, 6.—And passing the kloof, arrived by a journey of twenty hours at the Haagel Kraal, the place of John Marx.

Friday, 7.—Thence we departed and passing the Gous, the Walvis, and Kaffer Knyl Rivers, safely arrived, after a journey of twenty-six hours, to my great satisfaction, at my place on the Kruys River.

Jacob Van Reenen concludes by saying : “ This expedition was planned by me, with the previous knowledge of the Governor Van de Graaff, in pursuance of whose command it met with the approbation of the Landdrost of the district of the country of Rynet. It was undertaken with the view of discovering if there still remained alive any of the English women as had been reported were shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*, on that part of the coast, in the year 1782 ; that we might have relieved them from a miserable situation ; which was the only motive for undertaking the journey, But, to our sorrow, we could find no soul remaining, and we are fully persuaded that not one of the unfortunate crew is now alive. I was informed by a Malay, or Bojanese slave, who spoke Dutch, and had some years before run away from the Cape, that two years ago the cook of that ship was alive ; but catching small-pox, he then died.

CHAPTER X.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE "GROSVENOR," INDIAMAN, ON THE 4TH AUGUST, 1782 ; WITH A RELATION OF THE EVENTS WHICH BEFEL THOSE SURVIVORS WHO HAVE REACHED ENGLAND, VIZ.: ROBERT PRICE, THOMAS LEWIS, JOHN WARMINGTON, AND BARNEY LAREY*

On the 13th June the ship left Trincomale.

They saw no land after leaving Ceylon till the ship was lost.

At 8 p.m. on the 4th of August, by sea reckoning, when Thomas Lewis left the helm, the course was W.N.W. with a fair wind. The ship was then under double reefed topsails and foretop-gallant sail, maintop gallant-mast being down ; their mainmast having been fished. The mast was faulty before they left Trincomale, and they met a hard gale of wind after leaving that port. It was fished about six days before they ran ashore, and the same day they fished their mast they saw a small brig, which was the only vessel they saw.

T.L.

In the middle of the watch ; the wind having come to the S.W., the second mate had laid the ship on the starboard tack, but the captain came out and put the ship about again. He heard the captain say they were 300 miles from land.

T. L.

The wind having freshened in the S.W., and blowing hard in squalls, the ship was under fore sail, fore stay sail and mizen stay sail, and standing about N.W. by N.

About half-past three a.m. Lewis was sent aloft to get down the foretop gallant yard. He thought he saw land and came down to tell. But he was sent up again, as they would not believe him. After the watch was relieved at four a.m. having been detained in getting down the yard,

* Their evidence was taken by Alex. Dalrymple, Esq., for the East India Co. in August, 1783.

when he came from aloft about half-past four he saw the land plainly from deck, but the third mate, who had relieved the second mate—the chief mate being ill—would not believe it, saying it was only the reflection of the sky, and would not put the ship's head off to sea.

William Mixon, quartermaster, however, went in and told the captain, who came out and wore ship immediately, and in wearing she struck. They had just time to call all hands once. The wind very soon shifted and came off shore, when they hoisted up the fore topsail and tried to back off, but they only twisted the ship's head off shore and her stern upon the rocks; the water gaining upon them fast, the ship was soon full of it. They cut away the masts, and the mainmast went presently and drove ashore. The Coffrees clambered upon it to get the iron and copper. The foremast was a pretty while before it went, and they could not clear of the ship's side. She remained with her head off shore till she went to pieces, the sea breaking over her.

They hoisted out the yawl, but she was stove immediately. They made a raft, but the seven inch hawser, by which it was fast, broke, and the raft drove ashore with four men on it. Three were drowned, viz.: George Wellborn, midshipman, Simon Griffiths, boatswain's first mate, and Christopher Shear, poulterer. The fourth, Lawrance Jonisqua got ashore.

As soon as the ship was lost, two Lascars swam ashore with the lead line, and made a hawser fast on a large rock on the shore, and hauled it taut. Many of the sailors got ashore by this hawser, and some were drowned in the attempt by the hawser* slackening, viz. :

John Woodward, Quartermaster.

Thomas Gentilo,

Val Payers,

John Higgins,

Andrew Nowland,

John Morrison,

Bartholomew West,

Thomas Mayo,

Francis Dogherty.

} Seamen.

* Hawser and many other words are quaintly spelt, but for time sake, I have used the spelling of to-day.

Joseph Barkini was drowned in swimming ashore with Paudolpho, a lad who came on board with Captain Talbot was never seen after the ship struck. And a black man, assistant to the Captain's cook, was drowned in the ship. All of the rest of the crew but these 15 got ashore. The boy Robert Price was forced off the hawser, and his head dashed against a rock by a violent sea. The cut he received—of which the mark remains—was so bad that he was not able to help himself, and would have been drowned if Francis de Larso had not taken hold of his hair, and pulled him out of the sea, and then others assisted to draw him up by the arms. This wound made him take less notice of what passed while they kept by the wreck.

About noon the ship parted by the forechains, and, about 1 p.m. by the mainchains. Almost 100 persons were aboard when the ship parted. The ship lay down very much. They got the ladies out of the starboard quarter gallery, the people standing on the starboard side of the ship, and when she parted, the side sank down into the sea with them all upon it, and floated into shallow water, when the sailors helped the ladies and children ashore, the body of the wreck breaking off the swell. Captain Talbot, of the Navy, who was a passenger, and some others, came ashore on the fore part of the ship.

They made a tent of a new mizen topsail for the ladies, &c., on the flattish part of the rock, where they found plenty of fresh water gushing out amongst the rocks.

The ship was lost just to the northward of a rocky point, where there was a high surf. The coast was rocky, slanting up, and a top flat with grass, in some places very high, which the natives are there accustomed to burn. Beyond, the country was hilly and woody. A little to the southward of where the ship was cast away, the cliffs were steep, right up and down, so that there is no passing along the sea side. A little to the northward was a sandy bight—where most of the things were cast ashore—ending in a low blackish point. In the sandy bight there was a creek, into which many things drove; particularly a cask of wine, and one of their sows, which was killed against the rocks. The creek was full of large rocks which they passed over at low water.

Plenty of timber from the wreck, and the booms and sails

were cast ashore, sufficient to have built and fitted several vessels. Nor were tools, as adzes, &c., wanting.

Plenty of beef and pork came ashore, but all in pieces. There was one cask of flour also came ashore, and some of their hogs, which the natives killed—particularly one old boar, who thought himself the king of the place, rutting up the ground, &c. The natives coming to catch him, he turned up his snout and grunted at them, so that they were afraid to seize him, but killed him with a lance, and the women and men cut him up.

Provision was taken sufficient for eight or nine days, which was as much as they could carry. The ship's steward made a distribution of that and what clothes they could pick up.

It was on Sunday morning the ship was lost, and on Wednesday morning they set out to travel for the Cape, the Captain saying they would get there in 16 or 17 days at the farthest, but he hoped, in 10 days. All their arms were 5 or 6 cutlasses. Plenty of firearms were cast ashore, but no gunpowder.

T. L.

After the ship struck, the natives pointed *the other way*—not the way they travelled afterwards—and said something, which they imagined was to tell them there was a bay that way. He was told by the Dutch that the ship was lost near Rio la Goa, and that there was a great river between; by the distance the party went without reaching the wreck, the Dutch said the ship was lost nearer La Goa than any Dutch from the Cape had ever gone by land.*

As soon as the ship was lost the natives, who are all woolly headed, came down to pick up any iron or metal they could; but they did not seem to regard the bales which were thrown ashore, only slitting them with their lances as they past.

W. & L.

The natives dress their heads high, with a hollow in the middle, and stuck into their hair the brass nails picked up from the trunks cast ashore. They had very little clothing.

* It will be seen that this passage is rather obscure.

Whilst they remained by the wreck the natives did not offer any violence, but stole what they liked and ran away.

At the end of the 3 days they staid by the wreck, the chief part of it remaining together was the head and cut water.

W. & L.

When they set out the chief mate was carried, being sick. The second mate led the van, the Captain in the rear, and the ladies in the middle. They kept regular watch in their journey.

T. L.

John Bryan being lame and unable to walk, and Joshua Glover, a fool, staid by the wreck.

As soon as they marched the natives threw stones and hove lances at them. They could not go along the sea side on account of the steep cliffs to the southward, but they travelled along the top of these cliffs, never far from the coast and always in sight of the sea, except in passing the hollows. They sometimes passed the paths of the Kafirs in which they travelled along, and in some places was grass, and along the shore some parts were rocky, some sandy.

The day of leaving the wreck from whence the natives followed them they fell in with a man lighter coloured than the natives, with straight hair; they supposed him Malay man (but the Dutch suppose it was a Dutchman named Trout.) He came up to them, clapping his hands, and calling out "Engels, Engels." He talked Dutch with John Suffman, Mr. William's servant, and told them the Cape was a great way off, and being desired to guide them, said he could not, as he was afraid of being killed if he went into the Christian country. They offered him any money if he would conduct them. He said he did not want any money, but copper. They said they would load him with copper, but he would not go. He advised them to go along the coast, for that inland they would meet the Bosjesman Hottentots who would kill them all. This man was with the natives, but he thinks they were not the same kind of people as those where the ship was lost, because they were taller and not so black, and had their cheeks painted red, with feathers in their heads—he thinks ostrich feathers.

He (Lewis) believes the Malay was a rogne, as he showed the natives where their pockets were. The Captain had a stick with a bayonet on it, which the natives snatched away out of his hand, but the Malay persuaded them to give it back. The natives, with whom the Malay was, came and cut off their buttons.

The natives always left them at night. They have but one shoe, made of Buffalo hide, which they wear on the right foot. It has no top leather except over the toe, and it is tied round the ancle with two strings from the heel. The Dutchman, with whom he afterwards remained, told him they make great springs when they go a hunting. The Kafirs (say Lewis) are sometimes out for three or four days from their huts. They feed their dogs with what they catch, not eating it themselves, and only bring home a little on their knobstick.*

T. L.

The tenth or eleventh of August. About three or four days after leaving the wreck, the Captain going up a very high hill, took a lance from one of the natives,† who endeavoured by signs and entreaty, as his words were supposed, to get it back, but to no purpose. There was no village then in sight, but he went away to the village and called the rest who came out with their lances and targets.

T. L.

The Captain put the ladies, and those who were unable to do anything, upon a rising ground with the baggage, and then attacked the natives and drove them out of the village.

T. L. W. and L.

The weapons used by the natives were targets made of hides to cover themselves, so that when our people threw stones at them they could never hit them. They had reddish sticks, seemingly dyed, with a wooden knob at the end, and lances, but not choosing to lose the iron of the lance, they drew out the lance staffs and sharpened the end, and threw their staffs at our people. It was one of these

* Those who know the wily Kafir will appreciate this.

† A great deal of this narrative is corroborated by that of John Hytes.

that stuck into Mr. Newman's ear. He was stunned and fell down, at which the natives made a noise.

One of the natives having fallen down in running away, he was overtook by the boatswain and others, and bruised terribly, but the Captain told them not to kill any. T. L.

Afterwards the natives brought sweet potatoes to exchange for the lance staffs and sticks they had thrown at our people.

They sat down peaceably round the Captain and they had toys given them, and they went away. After stopping about two hours, our people proceeded, the natives not molesting them.

T. L. confirmed by Price.

After this scuffle they never opposed the natives, but let them take what they pleased.

W. & L. &c.

Having proceeded on, after beating the natives, about three or four miles further, in the evening the Malay came up with them. He laughed at the dispute that had happened, and being asked which was the right road? said, that he was going. He had been at the wreck where he got a load of iron, and had on a long gown of the Captain's which he had found there.

After the Malay had left them, they marched on and met some other natives, from whom they got some sweet potatoes for buttons, and after travelling some way it began to rain a little, whereupon they made a fire of grass and tufts, there being no bushes nigh; and after resting a little, they went on and took up their lodgings for the night at some bushes a top of a hill under a bank, with a running stream of fresh water in the hollow beneath.

(Eleventh or 12th August).—Next day they came to a village where the Malay's house was. It is by the sea-side. He brought his child to them and asked for a bit of pork for it. The Captain said he was in great distress, but gave him a little bit for the child.

The Malay looked at their buttons and called "zimbe" which is copper.* The captain told them to give the natives nothing, because they would think they had more and would search them.

* "Inzinabi" is, however, the Kafir for iron—not copper.

The officers and passengers would not let the seamen have any parley with the natives, thinking they could manage better with them.

W. & L.

After leaving the Malay's village, the natives followed, throwing stones. The sailors desired to walk on, thinking the natives would not follow far. They came to a creek which they passed at low water. It was then about noon. They went on till evening, when they found water by the side of a hill. There the Kafirs came down and surrounded them, wanting to take buttons and such like from them, and wanting to search the ladies. Some of the natives kept on the hill, threatening to throw down great stones upon them.

The sailors advised the Captain to go on, and not sit still and let all their things be taken from them, but (Lewis says),—the Doctor being sick, he would not move, so different people set off without him.

The Lascars went first away, and the natives followed them and robbed them.

T. L.

After leaving the Captain, they saw, at a distance, the ladies coming over a hill. That night they came to a salt water river, and gathered wood to make a fire—they could not strike a light, but seeing a light on the other side of the river, one of the Lascars swam over and lighted a stick at a Kafir hut, where he saw no people. He swam back and lighted a fire.

Colonel James and Mrs. James came up to them. As they had no water, Colonel James advised them to dig in the sand, which they did, and got water. The same night the Captain and the ladies came up, and by next morning they all joined again, except Bastiano Nordeen, who, being a big man, had dropped behind, unable to walk; and the two left at the wreck.

In their way this day they found a tree bearing a sweet berry, with one small hard stone, of which fruit they ate, but they found it bound them very much, the berry grows upon the branches, it is about the size of a pea. When ripe it is black, and before it is ripe, red.

In the morning the ladies waded over the river breast high, being supported by the sailors who carried over the

children. This was the first river since they left the ship. It was small, and after they got up the hill on the other side, they saw it almost dry by the ebbing of the tide. This was about a week after leaving the wreck.

After crossing the river, the Lascars and Mrs. Hosea's black maid, Betty, left them first, and then some of the people set out, straggling, and leaving the Captain and ladies behind,

The Captain was not sick, but out of heart when they parted, and their provision was not then expended. They know nothing of the Captain or the ladies since they parted from them about ten days after the wreck.

The natives never offered to carry away Mrs. Logie or any of the ladies ; nor offered them any injury, except taking their rings or such like.

The following persons were left with Captain Coxon :—

Mr. Logie, Chief Mate,	
Mr. Beale, Third Mate,	
Mr. Harris, Fifth Mate,	
Mr. Hay, Purser,	
Mr. Nixon, Surgeon,	
Bob Rea, Boatswain,	
John Hunter, Gunner,	
William Moxon, Quartermaster,	
Geo. McDaniel, Carpenter's First Mate,	
James Mauleverer, Carpenter's Second Mate,	
John Edkins, Caulker,	
William Stevens, Butcher,	
Frank Mason,	} Seamen.
Domo Kircanio,	
Jof Andree,	
Matthew Bell,	
Roque Pandolpho,	
John Stevens,	
John Pope,	
Jof. Thomson, Chief Mate's Servant,	
James van der Steen, Boatswain's Servant,	
John Hill, Gunner's Servant,	
Anto. Da Cruza, Captain's Cook,	
Patrick Fitzgerald,	Discharged Soldiers from
John Hudson.	Madras.

Passengers left with Captain Coxon—

Colonel James,
Mrs. James,
Mr. Hosea,
Mrs. Hosea,
Mrs. Logie,
Mr. Newman,
Captain Walterhouse Adair,
Miss Dennis,
Miss Wilmot,
Miss Hosea,
Master Saunders,
Master Chambers,

BLACK SERVANTS.

George Sims,
Mr. Newman's,
Reynel, Master Law's,
Don, Mr. Hosea's,
Betty, Mrs. Logie's. Since arrived at Cape,
says her mistress sent her away,
Sally, Mrs. James'
Mary, Miss Dennis's,
Haakins, Mrs. Hosea's,
M. Plaideaux de Lisle, French Officer,
J. Rousseau, Servant to Colonel D'Espinette went
inland the same day, or the day after
they left the Captain.

The same day they parted with the Captain and the ladies, they came up with the Lascars in a bit of a wood.

W. and L.

About 16th August. The day after, they came to a river's mouth. Here Thomas Wren was knocked up. Francis Feaneon and S. Pars also staid, saying they would swim across—the Lascars also parted from them again. They went three days up along the banks which are very hilly and steep. Here they were robbed by the natives, and then crossed where its depth was about up to their middle. The French Colonel D'Espinette, was left before they crossed the river, being quite knocked up, and about a couple of hours after they had crossed (about

August 19th) Captain Talbot was knocked up. His coxswain wanted to stay with him, but Captain Talbot would not let him, saying, it was of no manner of service. There were no natives then with them, but they saw some huts soon after. This was a hilly country.

T. L.

About August 24th. About eight or ten days after leaving the Captain, it was thought they were still too many together to be able to get provisions, and they parted again. The party which set out first consisted of 23 persons,* viz :—

Robert Price, Captain's Servant, about thirteen, now in England.

Barney Larey, Landsman,

Wm. Thompson, Midshipman, dead, Feaneon told T. L.

Thos. Page, Carpenter, dead and buried, T. L. W. and L. P.

Henry Lillburne, Ship's Steward, left behind after passing Great Fish River.

Master Law, Child of five or six. Died 4th November.

James Thomson, Quartermaster, left about ten days after entering 1st inhabited country.

Thomas Simmonds, Quartermaster, dead (Schultz told W.).

Robert Auld, Cooper, dead and buried in Sandy country.

George Reed, Armourer, went back from Sunday's River to look for Lillburne, &c.

George Crighton, Caulker's Mate, left at G. Fish River.

William Couch, Captain's Steward, dead and buried at Sundays River : P. W. & L.

Lan Jonesqua, Boatswain's Yeoman, died at River Nye or c K by. Feacon told T.L.

Franco De Larso, } gone to Copenhagen in the *Laurwig*.

Jeremiah Evans, } left at Cape.

Lan M'Ewen, } left in 1st inhabited country.

Edward Monck, } left about 4 days after coming into inhabited country.

John Squires, } left at Great Fish River.

All Schultz, } dead. Found by W.

Thos. Parker, } dead { Feacon told T. L.

Patrick Burne, } dead {

Isaac (Blairqu.) } left at Great Fish River.

* In the enumeration only twenty-two can be made out.

The other party consisted of 22 persons,* viz. :

John Warmington,	{	now in England.
Thomas Lewis.		
Mr. Shaw, 2nd Mate,		left at a river in the 1st inhabited country. Hubberly told T. L.—first who died
Mr. Trotter, 4th Mate,		left by Hubberly at the river where Mr. Williams was killed.
Mr. Williams, Passenger,		Dead. Hubberly told T. L. that he was driven into a river and killed by Kafirs.
Mr. Taylor, Passenger,		Dead. Hubberly told T. L., that he would not eat after Williams' death. Died two days after.
John Suffman, Servant to Williams,		Dead. Hubberly told T. L. was left by Warmington at river in first inhabited country.
Wm. Hubberly, Servant to Mr. Shaw.		Gone to Copenhagen.
Wm. Ellis,	{	servant to Colonel James, left with Shaw.
Edward Croaker,		
James Stockdale	{	left at Third River to East of Great Fish River, discharged soldiers.
John Hynes,		
Will Truel,	{	left at same river as Mr. Shaw.
Chas. Berry,	{	gone to Copenhagen.
James Simpson,		
R. Fitzgerald,	{	left in Sandy Country near Sundays River.
Jacob Angel,		
John Blain,	{	seaman, dead.
John Horves,		
	{	left at same river as Shaw.
	{	dead, T. L. found him dead in a hut.
	{	left same river Shaw. Hubberly told T. L. that he was the second who died, about three days after Shaw.
John Brown.	{	left at a river.

Master Law was first carried by William Thompson, midshipman, and then by each of the party in company by turns; and when they were knocked up, Mr. Lillburne said he would save the boy's life or lose his own.

* In enumeration only 20. Where's Wren ?

The first party continued on the sea coast, the natives still about them, but dropping off little by little. The natives minded nothing but metal. One of the Kafirs took a watch (Hubberly told him), and then broke the watch with a stone, and picked the pieces out with their lance, and stuck them in their hair. This was up a pretty large salt water river.

They met a black Portuguese—rather young than old—in a house by a salt water river near the sea. He had two Kafir women with him. His house was by itself, but there was a Kafir village of 5 huts near. This Portuguese had no cows, but he gave them three fish which he cooked for them, together with what shell fish they had picked up, and some white roots like potatoes. This was about 3 days after entering the 2nd inhabited country.

L.

The other party went inland, and were 3 days out of sight of the sea. There were 4 days without seeing any inhabitants, though they saw some old huts and many wild beasts, elephants, tigers, &c., &c. Being distressed for provisions they returned to the coast, where they fed on shell-fish and fared pretty well, when they came up to a dead whale, of which they saw 3 or 4. They did not eat of the 1st or 2nd, having no knife, but made a shift afterwards to cut it with a spike nail, till Warmington found a knife in a boat upset on the shore.

W.

In about 3 weeks or a month after parting with the Captain and ladies, they came into a sandy country. By this time they were separated into small parties.

The party in which Thomas Lewis was consisted of about 11 persons. Hubberly told him Mr. Shaw was the first who died. In about 3 days after John Howes died. Lewis came on alone, and came up with the carpenter, &c. near a deep narrow river, at the end of 49 days after leaving the ship, according to the Carpenters' account (but Larey says he had lost his notched stick ten days before) Captain Talbot's servant Isaac, who had been his coxwain, and Patrick Burn stopped at the river—he swam back and told them to make a cattarmaran, and he would swim it over, which he did, and brought them across.

T. L.

Two days after he joined them the carpenter, Thomas Page, died and was buried in the sand.

T. L.

Afterwards he came to another river, where he joined several. Here he eat a piece of a dead whale that made him sick. From hence he went back seven days by himself and met James Sims, John Brown, and Ed. Croaker. John Blain was lying dead in a hut. He proposed to go back to the natives. Brown was not able to come, but he and the other two went back till they came to the river where they met the carpenter. Then his companions would go no further. He swam across at low water. Next morning he saw two of the natives on the sea-side. They seemed travelling. They looked at him and pointed to go along with them, but they were going another way, *i.e.*, to the Westward.

The same afternoon he saw three girls on the shore. They took him home about a mile and a half from the coast. There were about 6 huts in the kraal. The men were broiling meat. They all came round him. He made signs for something to eat. They gave him a little milk, but took his muscles from him, and afterwards drove him away, throwing stones at him. He went to another kraal about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distant, and they gave him some milk. He staid there all night under the trees; and next morning went to another kraal; and then come back to the first kraal, and found there Francisco Feancon, and S. Paro, who had come through the country and not along the coast; they staid at that kraal, and he went to another about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the first kraal, and stayed with the Kafirs 3 months, taking care of the calves and gathering wood.

When he had been about 3 weeks with the Kafirs, Wm. Hubberly, Mr. Shaw's servant, came there. He told him all his companions were dead. Mr. Williams was driven into a river, and killed by the natives throwing stones on him. Mr. Taylor would eat none after, and in 2 days died.

About 16 or 18 days after Hubberly came, Feancon and Paro left the huts. After a month's absence Feancon returned and told him that Paro was dead. Also that Thompson the midshipman; Parker; and Browne, were dead. The boy from the information of De Larso,

who went in quest of the wreck, says that Feancon and Paro *had come within 3 days' journey of the Dutch farms*, when they returned. Feancon was nine days in the desert without water but his own urine, and then Paro died.

The Hottentots sent by Daniel King from the Dutch farm Zwartkops brought them through the country, and on the 15th of January, 1783, ten or eleven days after setting out from the kraal, he met, at Sondag's river, the wagons going towards the wreck, with Jeremiah Evans, and Francisco de Larso, who had been 28 days from *Landross van Swellendam*. They wanted him to have returned with them, but he would not, thinking he had already suffered enough.

He—Lewis—stayed at Skyppeer's house, at Zwartkops, two months. Near it is the first house belonging to Christian Feroos, to which John Potosé brought the others who travelled along the coast, and in the neighbourhood is Daniel Kings, a Hanoverian, with whom the boy remained.

T. L.

The Dutch and Kafirs are on bad terms. Dan King and all his cattle carried off by them not long ago.

T. L.

The Lascars and Mrs. Hosea's maid left them at first. Mrs. Logie's maid told him the Captain had left Mr. and Mrs. Logie and Mr. and Mrs. Hosea behind.

The Lascars and black maids were left at *Landross van Swellendam*. He was ten days at the Cape, and sailed from thence the 7th May, in the Danish ship *King of Denmark*.

Captain Miller, the Captain of the wagons that went in quest of the wreck, took a slave who had run away from the Cape, and made him fast to the wagon, but he got away in the night. He supposes this was the Portuguese.

T. L.

The Governor of the Cape has sent again in quest of the people. Dan King goes himself, and carries presents of copper, brass and beads, for the Kafirs.

T. L.

When the party with which John Warmington was, first

came to the sandy country, only eight of the party remained together. They had not then overtaken any of the party in which the boy* and Larey were.

W.

Three weeks or a month after entering the sandy country, they came to a salt water river too deep to wade. At this time only four of the eight remained together, viz:—Warrmington, Fruel, Fitzgerald and Hynes, but they had overtaken Lilleburne with Master Law, Auld the cooper, and Jeremiah Evans, and at this river they came up with the boy, Larey, De Larso, the Armourer, William Couch, and Simmons and Schultz. There are three or four small rivers between it and Great Fish River.

Having now traced the others, the boy's account of his party will follow without interruption.

Some of the natives who they met on the seaside put a lance and nobby stick into his hand, by way of making friends, and took him by the arm, wanting him to go with them, but he began to cry, and Wm. Couch, who was his comrade—helping one and other ever since the wreck—and the others also fell a-crying, whereupon the natives let him go. This was in the second inhabited country after leaving the Portuguese, he thinks these were the last Kafirs he saw.

After coming into the sandy country they saw no natives. The sandy country is sandhills so loose that they could not go over them, and could only travel at low water where the sea ebbed and made it hard. They found rocks scattered on the shore in many places, and one rocky part to the sea, which they could only pass at low water, but luckily they came to it at low water.

At this rocky place they saw some pieces of wood with nails in it, and afterwards a Dutch boat cast on the shore. Warrmington, who followed, found a knife in this boat. They also saw, on the shore, an old rotten mast and not long after they past Great Fish River, they saw a small old topgallant mast *in a fresh water creek*.

He learnt the name of that river, and of the others afterwards, from De Larso, who returned with the Dutch party.

* The "boy" would be Price.

A little before they came to Great Fish River, which was in sight from a rising ground, they passed a little gully where they were called to by Paddy Burne. Mr. Lillburne, Thomas Lewis and Squires were there. The carpenter then dead and buried at that place.

Great Fish River is very broad at high water—like the sea—but narrow at low. It has flat sands at the mouth, and some black rocks on this side. De Larso was almost drowned by the eddy tide in swimming across. The others passed in catamarans made of rotten wood and stumps of trees brought down by the rivers and thrown up, which they tied with their hankerchiefs, and roots that grew on the sand, twisted together. They waded and guided the catamarans round the sand banks, till they came to the narrow deep part. He, Larey, and the Armourer were left behind the first day, their catamarans having gone across the river without them. Couch, Schultz and Simmons passed over at that time. They stayed that night and passed Great Fish River next morning. Mr. Lillburne stayed to sleep there that night, intending to go back to a whale. With him remained Master Law, Warmington, Ernel, Fitzgerald, Hynes, and Evans, who crossed the river afterwards; and the following, who did not cross the river, viz., P. Burne, G. Crighton, S. Squires, and Isaac, Captain Talbot's coxswain, together with one of the Lascars who is arrived at the Cape. The Lascars said it was a great way to the Cape, and that he would go back to look for the natives.

Those who had gone over the Great Fish River found a porpoise left amongst the rocks, Francisco De Larso caught hold of its tail, and it splashed him all over, but he at last stuck it with a little knife, which he brought with him to the *Landross* and gave to Mrs. Logie's maid.

They continued on after having stopped at the fresh water creek where the topgallant mast was seen, till they came to a pond where was fresh water, and then stopped. They went up a steep sandy hill and stayed in a fine jungle atop of a hill, where they made a fire.

When he and his two companions crossed the Great Fish River, they followed the others by their tracks, and called out when they saw the tracks striking up from the shore, when Wm. Couch answered. It was then dark, and they joined atop of the hill.

After coming up with them they were five or six days before they passed Bosjesman's River, and afterwards came to a great Bay in the Sandy Country, with three Islands (they are small, white and round, the furthest about four or five miles from shore). There is not much surf in this Bay. Sondags River falls into it.

Only five of their party remained together when they came to this bay, viz., De Larso, Larey, Couch, the armourer, and himself (Robert Price).

Here Couch died. They buried him and said prayers over him, and shook hands, and swore they would never separate again till they got into a Christian country.

At this Bay they were overtaken by John Hynes and Evans, who told them Warmington was left behind almost dead. Larey went back and brought him.

By this time they had found sand creepers, a kind of cockle that hides under the sand, so that they had plenty of victual when joined by Hynes and Evans.

The Armourer went back with Evans to look for Lillburne, Fitzgerald, and others, but never returned—losing his own life to save his comrades. Evans returned the same night.

After leaving Sondags river they came to a creek called Kuga, and then to Zwaartzkops River which is salt water, and from the top of the hill could see the Islands in the Bay of Sondag's River.

When he was alone on a Sandhill gathering Hottentot figs, De Larso, have laid down to sleep under a bush near him, he saw a man, whom he at first took for one of his companions, but seeing a gun on his shoulders, immediately ran to him as fast as he could, which was not fast, his legs being swelled, and fell down at his feet for joy! and then called to De Larso, who spoke Portuguese.

Their companions were below by a whale, by the sea side, as they intended to stop three days here, but when they were called, this man, John Potosé, carried them to the house of Christian Feroos with whom he seemed to be a partner.

They all remained there three days, and three days more at another house in the neighbourhood belonging to Daniel Koning. Then five were sent to the *Landross van Swellendam*, he, Robert Price, remaining at the second house near Zwaartzkops River.

From *Landross van Swellendam*, Warmington and Larey were sent to the Cape. Hynes remained at Landross,* and Evans and De Larso came back to Zwaartkops with thirty or forty wagons and horses, and about 100 people under Capt Miller, intended to go to the wreck, in quest of more of the people who were saved.

Evans and De Larso went on with the party. They got within five days of the wreck, but came back, their horses being tired and the Mambookers opposing them, they left the wagons at the Nye, which is a very large river full of great stones, and has a rapid stream. It is near the Bamboo Bay, and is fresh water. In their journey from the wreck they had to go up it three days before they could cross, on account of the great stones. The country is inhabited on both sides.†

He—Robert Price—remained near Zwaartkops till the wagons and people returned. They were absent from the place at least a month, and had been within a day's journey of where they were robbed, but never were to the wreck, nor had token of the ladies and Captain, except that they saw, in a Kafir house, a great coat that they thought was the Captain's. In their journey they saw several dead bodies.

De Larso came from Cape in the same ship with him, Robert Price (viz., *Laurwig*, Capt. Stainbeck) and is gone to Denmark. In the same ship came also William Hubberly, the 2nd Mate's servant, and Francisco Feancon who remained with the Kafirs, and were brought from thence by the Hottentots, and the same time with Lewis—these are also gone to Denmark.

Evans stayed at the Cape, intending to be a farmer, but he will be soon home when he hears of peace, as he was very much afraid of being pressed.

Although they saw no farms till they came to Zwaartkops, there are some beyond it, but not near the sea-coast.

* Mr. Dalrymple evidently mistakes place for office or person.

† The failure of this expedition—which occurring so soon after the wreck might have been expected to be fruitful in result—seems to reflect much discredit upon the ability and courage of its leader, Muller. He failed with forty wagons and horses and 100 men, when Van Reenen succeeded with half dozen wagons and twelve men.

He remained with King at Zwaartkops 3 or 4 months, and used to go hunting with them. They set out in the morning and reached Sondag's River before night and there stayed to hunt. Plenty of elands, white and brown, which go in great droves, always with the wind, Hart Beesten, Buffaloes, &c.

He cannot of his own knowledge say any one is dead but William Couch, He cannot recollect how long they were from Zwaartkops to *Landross*, they were so happy to get into a wagon to ride, that the time past quick away, and they stayed three days at Captain Miller's.

The natives make a fire by rubbing sticks somehow.

The women are clothed in long skins, down from the shoulder to the knee, dressed very soft.

To make butter, they put milk in a leather bag and let it grow sour, and then tie a string to the bag and haul it up and down over the branch of a tree till butter is made.



CHAPTER XI.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE "GROSVENOR,"²
INDIAMAN—BEING THE REPORT OF WILLIAM HUBBER-
LY, ONE OF THE SURVIVORS ALLUDED TO IN THE
FOREGOING NARRATION.*

ON the 4th of August, 1782, the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman, was wrecked on the Coast of Africa. He remained with the wreck three days. Just after leaving the wreck, some of the natives seized the Captain, who was in the rear, and tried to strip him.

The first day they did not march above 4 miles, and saw some houses at a distance, but avoided them.

On the 2nd day they met a man who talked Dutch. Before they met this man the natives had used them very ill, throwing stones, but desisted on his talking to them. Whilst the ladies were with them, he thinks they could not have gone above 5 or 6 miles a day. Kereani carried the child from the wreck. In the 2nd day's march they left Bastiano Naardeen behind.

On the 3rd day after they left the wreck a party of about sixty kafirs, with women amongst them, led by a Captain, with their lances and targets, came to inquire what they were and where going, as they understood. They came round, and Mr. Hays, the purser, was sent to treat with them by signs. After some time he persuaded them to sit down, and he cut gold lace and put round the womens' heads, which they seemed pleased with, and brought some sweet potatoes and other roots, a few ears of Indian corn, and two or three cakes of bread, which were divided amongst the ladies and children, and people about the Captain.

This party continued with them until about sunset, and

* As before, the original is copied verbatim. Presumably it was dictated to Mr. Dalrymple, but it is not so stated.

then went away. The natives who had followed from the wreck had no aims, and continued stealing what they could find, but this party seemed to be people of a different village.

On the 4th day the Captain took a lance from one of the natives, which began a quarrel. They had been throwing stones at us as before. One of them, running away, fell down, and our people beat him with a stick. We continued heaving stones and running after them for 2 hours. After the man we beat fell, they began to heave their knobsticks, and sharp pointed sticks. Before they had only thrown stones.

When the Captain got the ladies and the baggage placed upon a rising ground,—the natives not having stones so ready to throw, he made signs for them to leave off, which they did at last, and on giving them buttons, &c., they brought some potatoes and their wounded man to show, who was very much bruised, and it was a wonder he was not killed. They stayed then about two hours, the natives seeming quiet. They then walked on, and were not molested.

On the same day they again saw the Dutchman. The Captain promised to reward him if he would conduct them to the Cape. He said he did not want money—only copper. The Captain said he would give him plenty of copper if he would go with them. He said he only wanted a little copper for himself and those about him, but would not go. They remained that night in a valley where there was good water.

On the 5th day they came to the Dutchman's house. When they came near, the natives came out from their houses, and the Dutchman brought his child and asked the Captain for a bit of pork. The Captain said they had very little, but gave him part. The Dutchman had no cattle himself, but there was plenty about the village. They would not sell any without the headman's leave. Several of the natives came out and wanted to talk to us, but the Captain would not let anybody hold conversation with them but the person who was talking to the Dutchman.

When the Captain found the Dutchman would not go, he requested a guide, promising to pay anything he asked, and send him back from the Cape. He pretended to talk to the

chief of the village, and two men were accordingly appointed as guides. Then the Dutchman took his leave.

Perceiving the guides seemed to be leading us into the country, most of our people objected to go inland, but by the Captain's persuasion, they went a little way. The natives kept following, throwing stones. When we came to a valley the Captain proposed halting, and endeavoured to make peace as before. When we halted, the guides joined the rest and began heaving stones. The Captain ordered everybody to sit down, and made signs for the natives not to throw stones, but they would not desist, and threatened to throw down great stones on us. They seized the bags in which our flour was, and ripped them up with their lances and scattered it on the grass. Upon this a party of the sailors got up and went away, leaving the Captain, officers and ladies. The Captain, &c., followed them. The natives stripped the ladies of their earrings, and everything they found hard. Threatening to kill them if they resisted.

Hubberley went on with Mr. Shaw, and came up with the sailors by the side of a river, most of whom joined them that night. But the Captain, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea, Mr. and Mrs. Logie, and some of the children, did not join that night but slept on a hill adjoining, and came up with them in the morning.

On the sixth day they crossed a river. This was the first river they had seen since they left the ship, but had passed a small creek before. After leaving the river he went on with a party of sailors and Lascars, leaving the Captain, ladies and passengers. Kircanco, with the child, was left with them.

Having straggled on this day about twenty miles, at night they halted and formed a party of about fifty. After parting with the Captain they were stopped by the natives who stole their buttons, but did not throw stones or offer any violence. They saw many huts near the banks of the river, but had no further intercourse with the inhabitants.

On the 7th they passed up inland, just keeping in sight of the sea, in hopes of seeing people. Saw but few, and those would not spare anything, but offered no violence. This day they did not travel above twelve miles.

On the 8th they came to the mouth of a very large river. It was salt near the mouth, and about quarter mile over, with a rapid stream, but the water was fresh where they crossed. They attempted to go up the banks, but they were so rocky and steep they could not. The Lascars went up a large hill full of wood, and the rest followed, where they found a spring of fresh water, and that night got about a mile and a half from the mouth of the river.

On the 9th they tried to go further up the country. There was a large creek which they attempted to get round, but could not. Here they left Wren, Bianco, and Paro, and fell in with some huts in the creek, about a mile from the river, Captain Talbot and Mr. Williams bought some milk for buttons. All that day was spent in looking for a passage, but they could not find any, and slept nearly in the same place.

On the 13th they left the Lascars, crossed the creek at low water, and found plenty of wild celery and sorrel on the riverside. The banks of this creek are muddy. They walked a good way alongside of it trying to find a path up the country, and had not gone above three miles when the natives appeared, and again threw stones and robbed them. This day they left Colonel D'Espinette.

On the 11th they had not got above a mile when they were again attacked and beaten by the natives. Some of the men, running away, found a passage across the river. They passed through a great village before they arrived at it, the inhabitants of which did not follow or offer to molest them.

When Hubberly came up he found them standing in the middle of the river, they being fearful it was too deep to cross, but he, being a good swimmer, crossed it, and found it up to the shoulders only, with a few deep holes in it.

After crossing the river, they walked on, keeping the sea in sight; saw many inhabitants and met with a small river about 3 or 4 o'clock,—which they crossed, and found another large village, the people of which offered them no molestation, but would not spare them any food. After passing this village, and going up a very high hill, they left Capt. Talbot, and about two miles further came to another village, through which they passed without interruption; the inhabitants only coming out to look at them.

On their leaving this village, one of the natives ran on before, making signs for them to follow, but he soon got out of sight. They had not, to that time, seen any wild beasts, but few snakes, and those small. They halted that night in a valley and saw villages about a mile or two distant.

On the 12th they passed some villages in the forenoon, but saw none in the afternoon, nor did they see the sea all day. In the evening they came to the bed of a large river, almost dry, running between two mountains, which they crossed and then halted for the night.

On the 13th they kept towards the sea, not seeing any inhabitants and got sight of it before dark at about 4 miles distance. This day they met with no beaten paths, but walked through long grass nearly up to their heads.

On the 14th they came to a river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the sea, but were obliged to stop on account of high water. Saw a village at a distance. Whilst they were here some of the inhabitants came down and behaved very quiet, and when signs were made to them for a bullock, they drove one down and sold it for a gold watch chain, killed it for them, and gave them lances to cut it up, and brought them milk which they sold for buttons.

Having dressed the bullock, they took the hide and cut it up for shoes, and gave the guts to the natives, which they broiled and ate.

After sharing out the remains of the bullock they crossed the river. Hubberly carried over Mr. Shaw's clothes, who crossed naked. On their crossing the river some of the natives seemed inclined for mischief, but were prevented by their chiefs (as he afterwards knew them to be, by beads about their necks, &c.) These were quite a different people from those where the ship was wrecked. Their hair was curled in strings, with brick-dust and grease. They were the first Hubberly had taken particular notice of. They went on after passing this river, about a mile and a half nearer the sea, and then stopped for the night.

On the 15th they travelled about 20 miles along shore, and saw no inhabitants.

On the 16th the same.

On the 17th they divided into two parties. Mr. Shaw's

party, which consisted of about twenty, including Hubberly, went up the country leaving the others. This day their remaining stock of beef exhausted, they eat the bullocks hide which they had made into shoes. In their march they met with something like cabbage sprouts which made them sick. When boiled it looked like tobacco, and growing near some old huts, they concluded it was wild tobacco.

On the 18th they walked slanting inland about twenty miles. Met with no inhabitants, but saw several old beaten paths.

On the 19th they passed some old uninhabited villages, and met with plenty of water, but no food except wild celery and sorrel.

On the 20th, resolving to come back to the shore, they kept slanting towards the sea. The country was mostly woody, with a few large sand hills about four miles off shore.

On the 21st they got to the seaside, but the tide being in, they could get a few periwinkles, which they ate raw.

On the 22nd they came to a fisherman's hut. He had no cattle but gave them some muscles, and showed them where to get more. At first they ate them raw, and the black man boiled a Cadgaree pot full for them.

On the 23rd they travelled about twenty miles along the beach, and gathered shell fish. The beach was fine hard level sand, but the mountains woody and uninhabited. Towards evening they crossed a small salt water river, and saw some huts at a distance.

On the 24th* they came to a large river about ten miles further. The tide was running out strong. John Brown, Hynes, Fitzgerald, Frail and Simpson, swam over. Warmington followed them, lost part of his clothes, and narrowly escaped being drowned. Those that remained thought it most prudent to make rafts to swim across, but being very hungry, went down to the shore to see what they could pick up. They found a few periwinkles and limpets. When they returned they found the stream so rapid that they thought it best to go up the country, and cross it the next day. This night they lost their flint and steel.

* Hubberly seems to have had a remarkable memory, as (according to Mr. Dalrymple) he fixes every march with its date.

On the 25th they tried to find a passage up the river side, but could not get above half a mile on account of the rocks. They then returned to fish, and four more of their party being determined to swim across, were left at the river side, which they crossed at low water. After making another fruitless search for a passage, they returned and finding some clothes (which they afterwards learnt the swimmers had left behind as too heavy) concluded they were drowned, which determined them, at any rate, to go up the country in search of a more favourable crossing.

On the 26th they left Jacob Angel behind, he being sick and unable to walk, and about a mile and a half off found a passage up the country, which they followed all day without being able to cross the river, and saw several sea cows, an animal with which this river abounds. The country was wooded but not inhabited, though there were marks of inhabitants being there. This day they killed a snake about three feet long and eat it. At night they kept strict watch, being fearful of the sea cows, which came out of the river to graze upon the banks. They are as big as two oxen and of a blackish colour.

On the 27th they crossed the river about seven miles from the mouth, and saw several huts but no inhabitants. They walked down towards the sea, and ate of a purging black berry, which grew on a tree like a cherry tree, and a plum, blue, with a stone the size of an Orlean plum. This night they slept in a thicket near the side of the river.

On the 28th at sunset they got to the side of the sea, about four miles from the river's mouth, and could get no provisions, but saw a deer.

On the 29th they travelled along shore and stopped at low water to gather limpets and periwinkles, after which they walked on about fifteen miles.

On the 30th they still kept along shore, but saw nothing particular.

On the 31st they came to another river, where they halted for two days. The weather blowing hard there was nothing to be got but sorrel and celery from the rocks. Plenty of drift wood coming on shore, they made a raft, binding it with their clothes, and a root weed which grew on the shore. Hubberly swam the raft over, with one

person on it at a time only. Whilst they were here a Lascar of the Captain's party came up with them, who told them that the Captain, Mr. Newman, and a great many others, had left the ladies the same day as they did, Colonel and Mrs. James came on with the Captain's party, but were left behind with a few sailors who determined to continue with them. In their march they stopped at different places three days for the Captain, who was sick. When the Captain's party arrived at Seacow River, and finding the stream too rapid to cross, they went up country, leaving the Lascar, who swam across.

On the 34th they set off again, and in the evening came to another river, which they could not cross till low water. They found here nothing but celery and a few berries.

On the 35th they crossed the river, about two miles from the mouth, and came down to the sea again at low water, and got some muscles and limpets, after which they walked on till 5 o'clock, and finding a small running stream, they stopped for the night.

On the 36th they found a fisherman's hut on the beach with only one man in it, and there stayed until low water, and he showed them the best place to gather muscles, after which they walked on till they came to a small river and there slept.

On the 37th they crossed the river at low water, about a quarter mile from the mouth, got some muscles, and walking on until the evening, found a standing pool where they halted. On the banks of this pool they saw the footmarks of cattle that had been down to drink, but no signs of the country being inhabited.

On the 38th they kept along the beach—at low water got some muscles and oysters, and saw cattle grazing at a distance, but no people.

On the 39th they found plenty of shellfish, and came to a small river where they stopped, and crossed it at low water. Two hours after passing this river Mr. Shaw, the second mate, being very ill and unable to proceed, they halted for the night.

On the 40th they walked slowly along the beach, stopping several times for Mr. Shaw, who grew worse. At low water they got plenty of shellfish, and finding a spring of good water, halted for the night, during which it rained very hard.

On the 41st they came to another small river which they crossed at low water, about a mile and a half from the mouth. Mr. Shaw continuing very ill, they halted for him several times, and finding a thicket near the beach, where there was good water, rested for the night.

On the 42nd they proceeded on their journey ; Mr. Shaw grew much worse.

On the 43rd, finding Mr. Shaw unable to walk, they halted 3 days, at the expiration of which time he died. Whilst waiting for Mr. Shaw, a party of the natives came down, and signs being made them for a bullock, they were given to understand they had some. Some of them wanting to go with the natives up the country for the bullock, signs were for them to keep back, and one should be brought, but they never returned. During this 3 days halt they had plenty of shell fish, but their water was a mile distant from them.

On the 47th, in the morning, they buried Mr. Shaw, and then proceeded on their journey.

On the 48th they came to a small river, and, seeing some huts on the opposite side, they crossed it at low water. Upon crossing this river about 20 of the natives came, before they could get on their clothes, took some of their jackets, cut the metal buttons off and then threw stones at them. They saw cattle grazing at a distance, but when they made signs for a bullock, the natives threatened to heave their lances, upon which they left them and proceeded on their journey.

Four or five days after they met with 2 Lascars, who had stopped at a Malay's hut near the sea side. He told them he could procure provisions provided that they had any thing to purchase it with. Mr. Williams gave him a gold watch chain, and some of the people gave him a few rupees. He promised to come back next day with a bullock, but never returned. The wind blew so hard all this day, that they could not get anything from the rocks.

About the 55th, after waiting 3 days and the Malay not returning, they concluded he would not come back at all, and therefore set out on their journey, and in the evening at low water, finding plenty of shell fish, stopped for the night.

On the 56th they came to the mouth of a large river, on

the opposite side of which they saw a woman and two children catching shell fish. They made signs to her to direct them where to cross, and she, in return, made signs to them to go further up the country, which they did for the remainder of the day, without being able to cross. This day the Lascar that belonged to the Captain's party was left behind.

On the 57th they crossed the river early in the morning, and, seeing some of the natives, made signs to them for provisions, who, in return, made signs for them to go down towards the sea, which they accordingly did, and reached it before the evening, and could get nothing but sorrel and wild celery, nor had they any fresh water that night.

On the 58th they walked along the beach, and, at low water, got some shell fish. They also met with a small fresh water stream, but had no water at night. There was plenty of cattle grazing at a distance, but they saw no inhabitants.

On the 59th they came to the banks of the Stoney River, and finding fresh water, slept there that night. It rained very hard and was blowing weather all day. Off the mouth of this river, in the sea, there is a large rock, which appeared like the wreck of a ship, at the distance of about a mile and a half from the shore.

On the 60th they got on to the rocks to fish, and there found Geo. McDonald, the carpenter's mate. He had left the Captain at Sea Cow's River, where the Lascar did, and gave the same account of him. The Captain and the rest of his party went up the country and McDonald swam across the river. He said he had been at the mouth of the Stoney River six days, and had attempted several times to cross it, but could not. There was some huts near the river's mouth, where he had been, but could not get any refreshment from the natives. He had also seen Bianco and Paro between Sea Cow and Stoney River. This night John Howes died.

On the 61st they went up country for a place fit to cross the river, and left McDonald behind, he being lame and not able to walk. At two miles distance they came to a village, and asked the inhabitants for provisions, upon which signs were made for them to depart. After which they arrived at another village, where two men came out of

an hut, brought some milk and wanted "*zimbe*" for it. Mr. Williams cut some buttons off his coat and offered them, which they refused and made signs forrings for their fingers and arms, and when they found none was to be had they drank part of the milk themselves, carried the remainder to their hut, and returned brandishing their lances and heavy stones, and were joined by several others, who pursued them some considerable distance. In the evening they came to the summit of a very high hill, and perceiving the river much narrower, determined to go down and cross it. The natives following, rolled down large stones after them, and then came down and searched and beat them. They found on Mr. Williams part of a watch which they took, and at sunset left them. About 11 o'clock this night they made an attempt to cross the river, but finding it too deep, they thought it most prudent to remove, for fear of another visit from the natives in the morning.

On the 62nd they kept along the banks of the river, and came to a small village, where they were stopped as before, and a gold watch taken from Mr. Williams, after which a black man joined the natives, who could talk Moors, Portuguese, and Dutch, and being told what had happened, made them return the watch, but when the Kafir saw it opened he desired to have the case, which Mr. Williams accordingly gave him, and desired to have a bullock or any other food in return, but was told they had not enough for themselves. They then asked the black man how far they were from a Dutch settlement? He said not far, but he did not know what distance, and showed them where to cross the river, in order to proceed to the Cape, on which Mr. Williams gave him the inside of the watch. A little before dark they crossed, stepping from one large stone to another, between which, in many places, it was very deep.

On the 63rd they walked down towards the sea, and saw one hut only, with a woman in it. In the evening they found fresh water, and some small red berries growing on a large tree, which had a dry woody taste.

On the 64th they got down to the sea, and found plenty of muscles and oysters. This day James Stockdale grew very sick.

On the 65th they kept along shore and at low water found shell fish. It was drizzling rain, and the wind blew hard all day. At night they came to a small river. Stockdale grew much worse.

On the morning of the 66th they crossed the river, and told Stockdale they would stop at low water to catch shell fish, and wait till he came up.

On the 67th they kept along the beach. When Stockdale came up with them in the evening, he was almost dead.

On the 68th Stockdale, being unable to proceed, was left behind, after which they walked along the beach, but it being hard blowing weather they could get no refreshment. The coast was rocky and mountainous, with no signs of inhabitants.

On the 69th at low water, they got a few muscles but no fresh water.

On the 70th they came to the mouth of a large river, and being exceedingly thirsty, dug a large hole in the sand, and found some brackish water. After refreshing themselves with it and some muscles, they proceeded up the country to find a crossing. The country was woody, mountainous, and uninhabited. In this day's march they found plenty of sorrel, and a black berry that grew up very high trees.

On the 71st they crossed about 7 miles from the river's mouth, about middle deep. The water was fresh where they crossed. After crossing this river they walked on, and at night stopped at a thicket about four miles from the sea, where they found a black plum, very good, growing on a large high tree.

On the 72nd they reached the sea, and got plenty of shell fish and fresh water.

On the 73rd they crossed 2 small rivers.

On the 74th they fell in with a party of the natives who beat and then left them.

On the 75th at low water they caught a good many shell-fish, which they had no sooner done than the natives came down, and again beat them and took away their fish. Hubberly was so much beaten that he fainted away.

On the 76th the natives came down again, and took away some of their clothes, but did not beat them.

On the 77th they came to the mouth of another large

river, where they found plenty of muscles and oysters, but no fresh water. It was blowing weather all day.

On the 78th it continued raining all day, and the ground being very dry sucked it up almost as fast as it fell. But much in want of water, to spread the clothes to catch the rain, and stopped under the shelter of the trees until next morning.

On the 79th at low water, they found a small stream that was rather brackish, the tide having flowed into it. It continued raining all day. In the evening they caught a dog which they supposed belonged to some of the natives. They hung it with hankerchiefs, cut it up with muscle shells and then broiled it.

On the 80th they went to the rocks and got some shell fish which the natives took from them, and then put their fire out, which obliged them to go back to the place where they had stopped the preceding night, and had left a fire burning (a rule of theirs.) This night John Suffman died.

On the 81st they found better water and plenty of shell fish. A discharged soldier, servant to Mr. Beale, whom he called Jonas, drank too freely of the water and died in the night. Mr. Trotter also grew very ill.

On the 82nd the weather being settled, they thought of crossing the river, but Mr. Trotter begged they would stay with him that day. Some of the natives came down, beat and used them very ill, but went away in the evening.

On the 83rd they made a raft, which Hubberly swam across, with Mr. Williams, and Mr. Taylor hanging upon it, and swimming a little. Mr. Trotter was left behind.

About twelve days after they came to a large river; some natives appeared, and made signs that they did not understand, and then hove stones, after which they took Mr. Williams, threw him into the river, and there stoned him to death.

When Mr. Taylor and Hubberly saw that, they tried to escape, but Mr. Taylor not being able to run away, he left him and hid himself in a thicket. The natives overtook Mr. Taylor and bruised and cut him in several places with stones, after which they searched about for *him* with their dogs, but not finding him, at sunset they departed, after which he returned to the mouth of the river, where he found Mr. Taylor and persuaded him to cross, which they accordingly did early next morning on a raft.

After crossing the river Mr. Taylor grew so faint and ill from the wounds he had received the preceding day, as scarce to be able to walk, which made them halt very often. This day they found plenty of shell fish on the beach, but no fresh water.

The next morning Mr. Taylor was too ill to proceed any further, and being very thirsty, he went in search of water, and having found a spring about a mile off, returned with some in two large shells to Mr. Taylor, which recovered him a little, but in the afternoon he grew worse and died.

Hubberly being now left alone, very much fatigued, and his legs greatly swelled, stopped two days to rest himself in a thicket near the place where Mr. Taylor died. He then walked along the beach eleven days by himself, at the expiration of which time he grew very ill, and finding it impossible to subsist much longer on the beach, he determined at any rate to go up the country in search of the natives, that they might either supply him with food or kill him, as they had done some of his companions, and perceiving some cattle grazing at a distance he accordingly walked up the country, and following their track, at about three miles distance from the sea he came to some huts, where he found only women and children, the men being out hunting. The women behaved very friendly and gave him some milk. In the evening the men returned with some meat, which they dressed and gave him a part.

He stayed with these people three days, and slept in the cattle kraal amongst the cows. Whilst he remained with them they gave him some milk, which was the only food they had for themselves.

After being thus refreshed and having procured the best directions the natives could give him to the Cape, he left them, and in the course of ten day's journey passed thro' several villages, the inhabitants of which were very friendly, and gave him milk. In one village a few women and children threw stones at him, but they were instantly prevented by the men.

At length he arrived at a small village, which was the last of the huts, where he found Thomas Lewis, who told him that Bianco, Paro and three Lascars were at a neighbouring village on the sea side. Here he remained with Lewis until the party of Hottentots, sent by Daniel King, arrived, and conducted them to the Cape.

CHAPTER XII.

AN EXTRACT OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE LOSS OF THE "GROSVENOR" EAST-INDIAMAN, WHICH WAS WRECKED UPON THE COAST OF CAFFRARIA, SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE 27TH AND 32ND DEGREE OF SOUTHERN LATITUDE, ON THE 4TH OF AUGUST, 1782 ; COMPILED FROM THE EXAMINATION OF JOHN HYNES, ONE OF THE UNFORTUNATE SURVIVORS ; BY MR. GEORGE CARTER, HISTORICAL PORTRAIT PAINTER, UPON HIS PASSAGE OUTWARD BOUND TO INDIA.

ON the 13th day of June 1782, the *Grosvenor* sailed from Trincomale, [in the East Indies,] and about a month after saw a sail, which was the only one that came in view till the 4th of August, when the ship went on shore. Two days before it had blown very hard, and seems to have continued to do so, as at four o'clock a.m. on that day, being Sunday, the ship was lying to, under a fore-sail and mizen-stay-sail. As this was the case, it is more than probable that they had not been able to take an observation for some days, especially as the atmosphere is generally cloudy near the shore. They likewise may have been affected by the currents, which are often met with on the edge of banks near this shore, and which are known sometimes to be very rapid and uncertain.

These circumstances in some measure account for that error in their reckoning which occasioned the loss of the ship, for the man at the wheel heard Capt. Coxson tell the company, at dinner, the preceding day, that he then considered himself as 300 miles from the nearest land. Notwithstanding which, the next morning, before it was light, the ship struck.

John Hynes, a seaman, was it this time aloft, with one Lewis, and several others, striking and sending down the fore-top-gallant-mast. While there, Hynes asked Lewis if he did not think that it was land where the breakers

appeared ; to which the latter answering in the affirmative,, they all hastened down to inform the third mate, whose watch it was, of so alarming a circumstance. Instead of paying any attention to their information, Mr. Beale only laughed at their want of knowledge, and gave not the least credit to their conjecture. Upon which Lewis ran into the cabin and acquainted the captain, who instantly came out, and ordered to wear ship. The helm was accordingly put hard a-weather, the mizen-stay-sail hauled down, the fore-top-sail and jib loosed, and the after-yards squared ; by which her head was nearly brought round. But before this could be accomplished, her keel struck ; and as she thumped very hard, every soul on board ran immediately upon deck.

Horror and apprehension was now strongly painted in every face : which the captain endeavoured to dispel by every means in his power. In order to pacify the passengers, he assured them that he was not without hope of being able to save them all ; and therefore begged them to be composed. In the first place he ordered the carpenter to sound the pumps. This was done ; but no water was to be found in the hold, the stern lying high on the rocks, and the fore part being considerably lower, all the water had run forward. About ten minutes after the ship had struck, the wind came off shore, a circumstance that gave additional strength to their apprehensions ; for they now were afraid they should be driven out to sea, and thereby lose the only chance they had of avoiding that death which seemed to await them.

The gunner was ordered by the captain to fire signal guns of distress, but upon his attempting to go into the powder room, he found it so full of water as to prevent all access into it. The captain then ordered the main-mast to be cut away ; and presently after, the fore-mast : but without any effect ; and the ship being within a cable's length, or about 300 yards of the shore, all hopes of saving her were at an end.

It is not in the power of language to describe the state of distraction to which every one on board, particularly the passengers, were at this time reduced. Despair was painted on every countenance. Mothers were crying and lamenting over their children ; husbands over both ; and all was

anarchy and confusion. Those who were most composed were employed in devising methods to gain the shore. As one of the most probable, they set about framing a raft of such of the spars, masts and yards as could be got together, and it was hoped that by this means the women, children and sick would be safely conveyed to land. In the meantime three men attempted to swim to the shore with the deep sea line. Two of them reached the land; the other perished in the attempt. By means of this small line a much larger one was conveyed to the shore, and by that a hawser. In drawing the latter ashore, the two men were assisted by a great number of the natives, who by this time had crowded to the water's edge to behold the uncommon sight.

The masts, driven by the surf and current, found their way to the shore; and as soon as they were got within reach they were quickly stripped of the iron hoops by the natives, that being the metal most prized, for making the heads of their assaygays or lances. When the hawser was hauled on shore, it was fastened round the rocks, and the other end made fast to the capstern on board the ship, by which means it was hauled tight. By this time the raft, about which most of the people on board had been employed, was completed, and a nine inch hawser fastened round it. It was then launched overboard, and veered away towards the stern of the ship, that the women and children might the more readily embark upon it from the quarter gallery. Four men got upon it, in order to assist the ladies; but had scarcely taken their station before the violence of the surf snapt the hawser in two, although it was a new one, and the raft driving on shore, was upset; by which means three out of the four men were drowned.

All hands began now to do the best they could for themselves. Some had had recourse to the only method there now appeared to be left for getting ashore, viz. by the hawser, made fast to the rocks, hand over hand; and despair giving strength and resolution, several of the seamen gained the shore, while others, who were incapable of accomplishing it, dropped, and were drowned; the latter amounted to fifteen. It should have been observed, that when the masts were ordered to be cut away, the yawl and jolly boat were hoisted out, with an intention to be applied

in saving the crew ; but these were no sooner over the side of the ship, than they were dashed to pieces by the violence of the surf.

About this time the ship separated, just before the main-mast ; and the bows veering round, came athwart the stern. The wind at the same time providentially shifted to its old quarter, and blew directly upon the land ; a circumstance that contributed greatly towards saving those who still remained on board, who all got upon the poop, as being nearest the shore. The wind, now, in conjunction with the surges, lifting them in, that part of the wreck on which the people were, in an instant rent asunder, fore and aft, the deck splitting in two. In this distressful moment they crowded upon the starboard quarter ; which soon floated into shoal water, the other parts continuing to break off those heavy seas that would have dashed them in pieces. Through this incident every soul on board, even the ladies and children, got safe on shore, except the cook's mate, who being drunk, would not be prevailed upon to leave the wreck. Upon this occasion, the seamen that had already gained the land by means of the hawser, did all in their power to succour those who needed their assistance.

By the time they had all got on shore, the day was far spent, and night came on apace. The natives, who had retired with the setting sun, had left the embers of their fire. With this our people lighted three others, of wood collected from the wreck, and having got together some hogs, geese and fowls, which had been driven on shore, they supped upon them for that night. In the meanwhile, every one wandered up and down the shore, in order to see what they could pick up that would be of service to them : and a cask of beef, a cask of flour, and a leager of arrack were found. These being delivered to the captain, he served out a proper portion of each to every person. Two sails, that had been driven on shore, were likewise brought to him ; and of these he ordered two tents to be made, for the ladies to repose themselves in, the ensuing night.

On the morning of the 5th, the natives, who were woolly-headed, and quite black, came down and began to carry off whatever seemed to strike their fancy. This conduct excited in the minds of our people, particularly the

women, a thousand apprehensions for their personal safety ; but they were agreeably surprised to find that they contented themselves with plundering. The next day was spent in collecting together every article that might prove useful upon the journey they were about to take, for it was intended to make the best of their way by land to the Cape of Good Hope. Upon examining what was collected, they found they were in possession of two casks of flour and a tub of pork. They had also two leagers of arrack ; but these the captain prudently ordered to be stove, lest the natives, getting at it, might, in a fit of intoxication, destroy them all.

Capt. Coxson now called all the survivors of the shipwreck together, and after having shared the provisions among them, represented 'that as he had, on board, been their commanding officer, he hoped they would still suffer him to continue his command.' To this it was unanimously answered, '*By all means.*' He then proceeded to inform them, that from the best calculations he could make, he was in hopes of being able to reach some of the Dutch settlements in fifteen or sixteen days. And in this the captain was not much mistaken : For as the shipwreck is supposed to have happened somewhere about the 29th degree of southern latitude, and the most northern of the Dutch colonies extend beyond the 31st degree, this might have been done, had not the intervention of the rivers, which lie between, too much retarded them. Encouraged by this hope, they set off on the 27th, in order to obtain the end of their wishes as soon as possible. Previous to their march, they made a Dutch Jack, which they carried before them, thinking that the colours of that nation would be sooner known and respected than those of the English. A man, whose name was O'Brien and who had been an East India soldier, having a swelled knee, would not set out with his shipmates, but stayed behind. The poor fellow said that as it would be impossible for him to keep up with them, he would endeavour to get some pewter and lead from the wreck, of which he would make little trinkets to amuse the natives, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with them, and learn their language, till he should be better able to get away. He added, that he might as well even die with them as to end his life on the way in excruciating pangs from pain and danger.

They now all moved forward, and were followed by some of the natives, others staying by the wreck. As our people proceeded, they found a tolerably well-trod path from village to village. The Caffres continued to follow them, for about three miles, taking away from them, from time to time, whatever they liked, and sometimes throwing stones at them. They soon after were met by a party of the natives consisting of about thirty, whose hair was made up in the form of sugar-loaves, and their faces painted red. Among them was a man who spoke Dutch. His name, as they afterwards learnt, was Trout. Having committed some murders among his countrymen, he had fled to these parts for refuge and concealment. When he came up to the English, he enquired who they were, and whither they were going; and on being told that they were English, had been cast away, and were endeavouring to find their way round the Cape of Good Hope, he informed them that their intended journey would be attended with unspeakable difficulties; that they had many nations to go through, and many deserts to pass, exclusive of the dangers they would experience from the vast numbers of wild beasts they were sure to meet with; all of which, he said, would render their attempt nearly impracticable.

This information did not in the least contribute to raise the spirits of the shipwrecked wanderers. They offered the man any money he should require to conduct them to the Cape, but could not prevail upon him to undertake it. The reasons he gave were, that he was afraid of putting himself into the power of the Dutch. Besides which, as he had a wife and children among the natives, he was well-assured that they would never consent to let him go, if he was ever so much inclined to do it. Finding their solicitations on this head fruitless, they pursued their journey, and travelled on in the same manner for four or five days, the natives constantly assembling about them in the day time, and taking from them whatever they pleased; but as soon as the sun went down they invariably retired. During their stay, however, they kept the travellers in continual alarms by handling the ladies roughly, and exasperating their husbands in particular, and the people in general, to acts of violence.

As they went on, they saw many villages, but kept as far from them as possible, to avoid the impertinence of the

inhabitants. They now came to a deep gully, where they met with three of the natives, who all had lances in their hands, and upon their approach called out *Zembe*. This was understood to mean, *Give us something*; but perhaps it was intended to signify that they took them for Zimbaons, as it appears by the chart that there is such a nation; and with whom, at that time, they might probably be at war; for they held their lances several times to the captain's throat. At last being irritated beyond his patience, the captain caught hold of one of them, and wrenching it out of the fellow's hand, broke it, and kept the barb. The natives then went away, and seemed to take no further notice of them for that day.

But coming the next day to a very large village, they found there the three natives just mentioned, who had collected together three or four hundred of their countrymen; who were all armed with lances, and targets made of the hides of elephants. As the English advanced these people stopped them, and began to pilfer, and to insult them; till at length they fell upon them and beat them.

Our people now concluding that it was the intention of the natives to kill the whole body, they formed the resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity. Accordingly, after having placed the women, the children, and sick, at some distance, under the protection of about a dozen of their company, the remainder, to the number of eighty or ninety, engaged their opponents for about two hours and a half; maintaining, during the whole time, a kind of running fight. And at length having got possession of a spot of rising ground, where they could not be surrounded, a sort of compromise took place between the contending parties.

During the encounter a great number were maimed on both sides, but none killed. Mr. Newman, one of the passengers, had the shaft of a lance stuck into his ear, and from the violence of the blow attending it remained insensible for two hours. After a pacification had taken place, several of the company cut their buttons from their coats, and gave them to the natives, together with other little trinkets; upon which they went away and returned no more.

As soon as Mr. Newman was tolerably recovered, the

English proceeded on their march; and that gentleman being supported by two men, they were able to get on five or six miles further before it grew dark. They now made a fire, and rested for that night in the open air. During the night they were so terrified with the noise of the wild beasts that the men were obliged to keep watch and watch, for fear they should approach too near. What a situation this for ladies who had been delicately brought up, and lately used to all the luxuries of the East!

The next morning they were joined again by Trout, the Dutchman, who informed them that he had been on board the wreck, and had got from it a load of iron, pewter, lead, and copper, which he was now carrying to his Kraal. He then enquired how they came to fall out with the natives, an account of which he had received. He advised them to make no resistance in future, especially, as from their not having any weapons of defence, all opposition would be ineffectual. And he was of opinion that if they followed this advice they would meet with less obstruction from them. He was dressed in a morning gown, belonging either to the captain or to one of the passengers; and when he had held this short conversation, he took up his load of plunder, and marched off. At this interview he was quite alone.

When the Dutchman was gone, our people pursued their way; and towards the close of the evening, came to a deep gulley, where they agreed to pass the night. Fires were accordingly made, the watch was set as usual, and those whose turn it was to rest, as well as the women, children, and the sick, went to their repose; their rest, however, was so disturbed by the howlings of wild beasts, that they could get but little sleep. Indeed these unwelcome visitors came so near this night as to cause a general alarm; and it was as much as the guard could do to keep them off with firebrands.

The day no sooner dawned than they began to move forward. And as they proceeded, a party of the natives, about noon, came down upon them and began to plunder as usual. Among other things they took from them their tinder-box, flint, and steel, which proved an irreparable loss. Every man was now obliged to travel by turns with

a firebrand in his hand ; and the natives continued to follow, as usual, till it was almost dark. They at length came to a small river, which was the first they had met with ; but the tide being flood, they could not cross it ; they therefore determined to spend the night there.

Before the natives retired they grew more troublesome than they had hitherto been. They seized the gentlemen's watches ; and the hair of the ladies coming down, they discovered that they had hid their diamonds therein, and without any ceremony took them away. Nay, they even looked carefully to see if they could find any more. The gentlemen could not conceal their indignation at these outrages ; but all they got from the plunderers in return, were blows with their lances, or with knobbed sticks, about three feet long, which they generally carried with them.

It now began to grow dark ; and it became necessary to make a fire ; but as those who carried the firebrands, at this time, happened to lag behind, the ship's cook, and two others seeing, on the opposite side of the river, the remains of a fire, which the natives had made to burn the long grass, they swam over, and returned with lighted firebrands upon their heads. A fire was now made, and those whose turn it was rested their weary limbs there for that night.

The next day, at ebb tide, they all waded over the river ; and being without fresh water, Colonel James proposed digging in the sand, in order to find some. The colonel's proposal was carried into execution, and attended with success. Here, also, the provisions they had brought with them being nearly expended, and the fatigue of travelling with the women and children very great, the sailors began to murmur ; and everyone seemed determined to take care of himself. Accordingly the captain, with Mr. Logie, the first mate, and his wife ; Mr. Beale, the third mate ; Colonel James and his lady ; Mr. and Mrs. Hosea ; Mr. Hay, the purser ; five of the children ; Mr. Newman ; and Mr. Nixon, the surgeon, agreed to keep together, and travel on slowly as before ; and many of the seamen, likewise, induced by the great promises made them by Colonel James, Mr. Hosea, &c., were prevailed upon to stay behind with them, in order to carry what little provision was left, and the blankets with which they covered themselves in the night.

While Mr. Shaw, the second mate ; Mr. Trotter, the fourth ; Mr. Harris, the fifth ; Captain Talbot and his coxswain : Messrs. Williams and Taylor ; M. D'Espinette, M. Olivier, and their servants ; and the remainder of the seamen, among whom was Hynes, in all about forty-three, went on before. A young gentleman, about eight years of age, whose name was Law, crying after one of the passengers, it was agreed to take him with them, and to carry him by turns whenever he should be unable to walk.

This separation, however, did not take place without much regret on all sides. They had shared together hitherto the difficulties and distresses incident to their situation, and through these, were familiarized to each other ; to part therefore in a strange land, and almost without hopes of meeting again, could not be accomplished, at least by the more susceptible part, without many pangs.

The two parties having come to the foregoing resolution, they now separated ; the second mate and his party going on first. But the next day, about 8 o'clock in the morning, those who had left the captain's party, having been waiting all night by the side of a river for the ebb tide, were overtaken, and the whole company once more united. This unexpected meeting, tho' their separation had been of so short a continuance, afforded them all great satisfaction. It was a moment of transport. The inconveniences that had occasioned their disunion were for the present forgotten ; and every heart glowed with unfeigned affection. Being thus united, they all crossed the river, and travelled in company together for the whole of that day, and part of the next. The natives sometimes joined them, but contented themselves with pilfering such trifles as came in their way, and running off with them.

They now arrived at a large village, where they found Trout, the Dutchman, who showed them his wife and child. He told them that this was his place of residence ; and again repeated that the natives would by no means suffer him to depart, even if his inclination led him to return to his own country. He gave them further directions relative to their journey, and informed them of the names of the places they had to go through, with the rivers they had to pass. Having received these directions from

Trout, to whom they acknowledged themselves obliged, the *Grosvenor's* people proceeded on their journey, some of the natives attending ; who, however, departed as usual when it grew dusky.

They all spent the following night together, but finding in the morning that their provisions were expended, and observing it was low water, a party went down to the sea side, in order to gather shell-fish, and were fortunate enough to find a considerable number of oysters, muscles, limpets, &c. The best oysters they found at the mouth of the river, where the sea water was a little tinged by the freshet. These were divided among the women, children, and sick ; for the tide coming in while they were employed, they were prevented from getting enough for every one. As soon as the fishing party was returned, and they had enjoyed their scanty repast, they all continued their march together ; about noon arrived at a small village.

Here an old man came out with a lance in his hand, he levelled at our people, making, at the same time a noise somewhat resembling the report of a musket. This was supposed to mean that he apprehended they would kill his cattle ; for he instantly drove his herd into the Kraal. A Kraal is a plot of ground within a ring fence, into which the natives of this country, every evening, drive their cattle, in order to preserve them from the attacks of the wild beasts. The old man did not follow our people, but some other inhabitants of the village did, and behaved very ill.

Our party all travelled on together, till about 4 o'clock, when it was once more agreed to separate. The reasons which induced them to take this step were these : Had they remained united in a body, they were not a match for the numbers of natives that in a few hours could come down on them, having found that they were obliged to be passive even to a few. Besides, by marching in separate bodies, they would not be so much an object of jealousy and suspicion to the nations they were to pass through ; and would at any rate divide their attention. And further, when in small parties, they could the more readily procure subsistence. Induced by these reasons, however disagreeable it might be to part, after being united, as they were, by misfortune, they took different courses, and separated, never to meet again.

The second mate's party, as before enumerated, being that to which Hynes had attached himself, their proceedings must in future be the subject of our attention, as his information could not extend beyond his own party.

The fate of the party left behind remains to the present hour known ; and as often as recollection brings it to the memory, it cannot but excite a sigh from every compassionate breast. But what are the feelings of common humanity to the excitations of friendship or affection ; the idea of delicate women, wandering through unfrequented wilds, subject to the rapine and licentiousness of unfeeling savages ; or of men lately blessed with ease and affluence, becoming a prey to hunger, and nakedness, and what pangs must the friends and relations of the unhappy wanderers hourly experience ! The only alleviation they can know is the hope that the kind hand of death has released from their accumulated woes the ill-fated sufferers.

The purposed separation having taken place, the party to which Hynes belonged travelled till it was quite dark, when arriving at a convenient place for wood and water, they made themselves a fire, and took their repose. The next day they marched upwards of thirty miles ; and as they went on, saw a great number of the natives, who seemed to be inquisitive about who and what they were, but gave them no molestation. When it was almost dark they came to an extensive wood, which they were afraid to enter, lest they should mistake the way, and be incommoded by the wild beasts. Therefore, as they found water where they were, they made a large fire, and continued upon the skirts of it for the night. They could, however, enjoy but little sleep ; for the wild beasts kept howling in such a manner that those who were upon the watch were not a little terrified.

The day following they continued on their march till noon, without any other food than wild sorrel, and such berries as they observed the birds to peck at. During the whole of the way they did not meet with one of the natives. They now reached a point of rocks where they got shell-fish ; and thus refreshed, they went on till they came to the side of a large river, where they reposed. The next morning, finding the river very wide and deep, and there being some of the company who could not swim, they

came to a determination to follow the windings of it ; in order to look for a place that was fordable.

They marched for a considerable time along the banks of the river, and in their way passed many villages, but could procure no relief from any of the inhabitants, who, instead of affording them the least assistance, immediately drove their cattle into their kraals.

After a tedious journey up the river, not finding it to narrow, as they expected, they came to the resolution of constructing catamarands, or floating stages, in order to pass it. For this purpose they collected together all the dry wood they could meet with, and lashing it together with woodbines and their handkerchiefs, they placed the little boy, before spoken of, with those who could not swim upon it ; and this being done, those who were able to swim pushed it across before them. In this manner they all got over safe. The river was not less than two miles over.

They now steered their course down that side of the river which they had just landed on, in order to get once more to the sea-side to obtain provisions. It was three days since they had left the sea, and during all that time they had scarcely tasted anything but water, and a little wild sorrel ; their lassitude and fatigue, therefore, may be easily conceived. But 'heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb ;' and under the same protection and guidance, the unhappy wanderers, at length, reached the sea shore. The tide being out, they got plenty of shell-fish, and after their spirits were refreshed, they reposed their weary limbs.

They now continued their course along the side of the sea, or as near to it as possible ; and this they did for three or four days, that they might not be at a loss for provisions. The natives met them sometimes, but suffered them to pass unmolested. The country near the coast now began to be very woody, mountainous, and desert. And thus it continued, till on the fourth day they came to a high mountain, the side of which was covered with wood, and they were obliged to take this route, as the rocks near the shore rendered that way impassable. In order to pass through this wood, which appeared to be of very considerable

extent, they began their march before day-break, and entered it just as the sun arose : and a most fatiguing day this proved. They had a new path to beat, where perhaps the human foot had never before been imprinted, and as many of the company were bare-legged, they were greatly incommoded. Uncertain which way to proceed, they were frequently obliged to climb the highest of the trees in order to explore their way ; so that night approached, and they were nearly sinking under the fatigue, before they reached the summit of the hill.

They now found that they had got through the wood, and were entering upon an open spacious plain, which lay before them, with a fine stream of water running through it. Here they slept for this night, taking care first to make an unusual large fire, and keeping strict watch and watch, the wild beasts being accustomed in their nocturnal prowlings to come here for water ; which rendered the situation of the wanderers extremely perilous, and it was with great difficulty they drove them off. When they returned, Hynes got upon one of the loftiest trees, in order to discern which way the sea coast tended. Then it was that he found they had another wood, or a continuation of the same, to go through, before they could descend to the bottom of the hill. Having well noticed the windings of the sea coast, he came down from the tree ; and soon after the party set off, and shaped their course towards this wood, in the best manner they were able ; and they reached it just as the night shut in, overcome with fatigue ; the difficulties they had to encounter being almost incredible. Not a path was there to be found but such as the lions, tigers, and other ravenous beasts had made.

Night closing in when they arrived again on the coast, the first thing they did was to make fires, but as it was too severe a business, after the toils and fatigues of the day, to forage for wood sufficient to maintain three fires for the whole night, which were absolutely necessary for so many people ; they divided to each man his portion of the fire they could make, into which, by putting his oysters, muscles, &c., he got them open. They were obliged to have recourse to this method, as there was not a single knife belonging to the whole company ; the natives having

stripped them of everything but their cloaks. On this spot they reposed, but found no water.*

The next morning they pursued their journey ; and about noon found upon the beach a dead whale, which had been driven up by the tide to high-water mark. The sight of such a stock of provisions afforded them no little pleasure. But they were at a loss how to render it of any service, not one of the party being possessed of an instrument that would cut it. Indeed if it had been in their power to cut it up, some of them, though famished, would have refused to partake of it, their stomachs nauseating such food ; while others, having made a fire upon it, dug out with an oyster-shell the part thus grilled, and made a hearty meal.

A fine level country now presented itself inland ; upon sight of which, supposing they had got out of the country of the Caffres, and had reached the northernmost of the Dutch settlements, some of the party thought it would be most advisable to take their route that way ; while others were of opinion that it would be safer and better still to keep near the sea. After many arguments on the propriety and impropriety of this step, it was at length agreed, even reduced as their number had been by the first separation, once more to divide. Mr. Shaw, the fourth mate, Mr. Harris, the fifth mate, Messrs. Williams and Taylor, Capt. Talbot, Isaac Blair his coxswain, and seamen to the number of twenty-two, among whom was Hynes, resolved to proceed inland ; while the carpenter, the ship's steward, the cooper, Monsieur D'Espinette, M. Olivier, and their servants, with about 24 seamen, took the sea-shore.

The party to which Hynes had connected himself, (whose route, as before observed, we can only pursue) struck, as they intended, inland, and marched for three days and three nights through a fine pleasant country. In their

* It may be necessary here to describe the form and dress of the first nation they had passed through. The complexion of the natives was of a dark copper colour, and they had longish woolly hair, which they wore drawn up in the form of a cone, upon the top of the head. Their noses were prominent, and they were well featured. In their form they were robust and well proportioned, and they went quite naked, except a slight covering round the loins.

route they saw a great number of kraals, but they were all deserted. Nor had they, during the whole time, anything to subsist on but a few oysters, which they had brought with them from the sea coast, and some berries and wild sorrel, which they gathered on the way. They therefore thought it most advisable to return again to the sea-shore ; which they did, and by the time they reached it, were in a very weak and low condition. The tide happening to be out, they got some shell-fish to allay their hunger. As they proceeded up a steep hill, soon after the late separation had taken place, Captain Talbot, being much fatigued, sat down several times to rest himself ; and the whole company did the same. But the captain repeating this, through weariness, too often, the rest went on, and left him. His faithful servant Blair, observing his master in this situation, went back, and was observed to sit down by him ; but neither of the two were ever more seen or heard of.

The next day they pursued their journey, and about noon came to a small river, where they found two of the carpenter's party, who, not being able to swim, had been left behind. Their joy at thus being overtaken, and rescued from their solitary situation, was very great ; and much more so when promised assistance in crossing the river. These two men had been preserved, during the time they were left alone, almost by miracle ; for while they were on the beach getting shell-fish, their fire went

When they go a hunting, or upon the appearance of bad weather, they wear the skin of some wild beast, a lion, tiger, &c. This covers them by night, and protects them by day, either from the heat or the rain. If the weather is hot, they wear the skin-side inwards ; if it rains, the hairy side. One of their principal qualifications is, that they are extremely swift on foot.

The women, who are likewise well proportioned, and their countenances not unpleasing, go nearly naked. They wear no manner of clothing, except a kind of net round the middle. Their houses are constructed of poles, stuck into the ground in a circular form, and brought together at the top, which is then thatched with reeds and long grass. The bottom part is wattled without, and plastered with cow dung within. In the centre they dig a hole, about three feet deep, wherein they make their fire ; and around this hole the family, lying on their skins, take their repose. The constructing of their houses is a work in which the women employ themselves, while the men are engaged in fishing or hunting.

out ; and as this was their only protection in the night, it is a wonder how they escaped being devoured by the wild beasts. It was with great difficulty that they were got over the river, and they then proceeded together for about four days. They came to a river of such a breadth, that none of the company thought it prudent to attempt to pass it ; and therefore they marched along the banks of it, in hopes of finding a more practicable place.

In this direction they proceeded, until they came to a village, where they saw the inside of a watch, which they found some of the carpenter's party had exchanged with the inhabitants for a little milk. Perceiving from this that such a traffic was not unacceptable, Mr Shaw showed them the inside of his watch, and offered them a part of it for a calf. The offer appeared to be accepted, and the calf was accordingly driven into the kraal to be killed ; but the natives had no sooner got what was to have been the price of it into their possession, than they withheld the calf, which they immediately drove from the village.

Our people continued their march along the river for several days, and in their way passed many villages, without being molested by the natives. At length they came to a part where they thought they might be able to get over. They accordingly set about forming a catamaran with all expedition, which they launched, and all safely passed the river, except the two men whom they had found by the side of the other river, who were so terrified, that the raft was no sooner pushed from the shore, than they quitted their hold, and turned back, so that when the party had gained the opposite shore, they took a last view of these unhappy men, whom they saw no more.

They proceeded in a slanting direction, towards the sea shore, which they reached about noon on the third day. Here they slept, but found themselves without the necessary article, water. Next day, at the ebbing of the tide, they got some shellfish ; and as soon as they were refreshed, they pursued their journey. In the course of that day's march, they fell in with a large party of the natives, which Hynes thinks were named Mangonics. By these they were used extremely ill, and from whom, as they were unable to make any resistance, they received many blows. In order

to avoid such treatment, they all ran into the wood, where they continued till the savages were gone, when they re-assembled and resumed their route.

They had not gone far before they could plainly perceive imprinted on the sand the shape of human feet ; which they concluded were made by some of their late companions. With the hopes of joining them, they followed their supposed footsteps for a while, but at length lost every trace of these among the rocks and grass. Thus disappointed, they continued their march till they came to another river, the water of which rose to a considerable height, but it was not broad. Upon which, they instantly made a small catamarand, just sufficient to hold their clothes, with a few oysters and their firebrands, and pushing it before them as they swam, reached the opposite shore in safety where they rested themselves.

During the two following days they met with nothing very remarkable, but at the expiration of that period they overtook the party that had separated from them, headed by the carpenter, who seemed to have suffered more than they. Upon coming up to them they learnt that the carpenter had been poisoned by eating some kind of fruit, through hunger, with which he was unacquainted. And likewise, that the two French gentlemen, Messrs. D'Espinette and Olivier, with their servant, being totally worn out by famine and fatigue, were left behind. The little boy, Master Law, was still with them, having hitherto borne the inconveniences of so long a journey in a most miraculous manner.

The two parties being thus once more united travelled on together, and had not proceeded far before they came to a sandy bank, where they found a couple of planks, in each of which was a spike nail. Elated with having obtained what was now esteemed as valuable by them as by the Caffres, they immediately set fire to the planks, and having taken out the nails, flattened them between two stones, and shaped them into something like knives. This was a most valuable acquisition to men in their situation, and those felt happy who possessed them.

Some way further, they came to another river, which they intended immediately to cross ; but one of the men accidentally turned up the sand, and finding fresh water, they

were induced by this providential circumstance to pass the night here, and crossed the river next morning.

It had been their constant practice, whenever it lay within their reach, to make for the sea side, without which, they must long since have been starved. On gaining the shore this day, they were most agreeably surprised to find another dead whale left by the tide on the beach. But their joy at this discovery was not a little damped by perceiving that they had been observed by a large party of the natives, who immediately came down upon them. As these intruders were armed with lances, they had every reason to conclude that their designs were hostile. The natives, however, no sooner saw in what a deplorable situation they were, and how unable to make any opposition, than they conducted themselves in so pacific a manner as to dispel their fears. One of them even lent those who were employed on the whale, his lance, by the assistance of which, and the two knives, they were enabled to cut it into junks: And putting these into their bags, they pursued their way, till they could find wood and water to dress it.

The day following they came to a river, where one of the people was taken ill, whom they were obliged, from severe necessity, to leave behind, and saw him no more. Being in possession of the fish they had lately met with, they had at present no occasion to retard their progress by seeking for shell fish; they therefore prosecuted their journey with all the expedition it was in their power to make, and they continued to do so for about four days.

The knives they had with them, enabled them to keep a more regular account of their time, than they had for a long while done. Having procured a stick, they cut a notch in it for every day, and for Sundays a notch crossways. In this manner they kept a sort of reckoning; but having one day lost the stick as they were crossing a river, they were no longer able to refer to it, and the care they had taken was of no avail.

As they generally kept as near as they could to the sea shore, it is not to be wondered at that they had many rivers to pass, some of which were very broad. The coast, from that part of Caffraria, on which they were wrecked, to the Cape of Good Hope, abounds with them, con-

sequently their progress was greatly obstructed, and they were enough to deter those who could not swim from proceeding.

They soon after reached a new river, by the side of which they seemed very much inclined to take up their residence for the night, but as there was no fresh water to be met with, they thought they should be obliged to pass it; however, finding a great quantity of large berries which were eatable, and which rendered the wants of the company supportable, they remained where there were.

Next morning it was blowing fresh, and the weather being very cold, some of the company were unwilling to cross; but Hynes, and about ten others, impatient to get forward, swam over, and left the rest behind, among whom were the little boy. When these had gained the opposite shore, they pursued their journey, until they came to a place where they met with shell-fish, wood and water. Here they halted two days, in expectation of the others coming up; but as it still continued to blow fresh, it was concluded that they had not ventured to cross the water. Hynes and his party, therefore, thinking it in vain to wait longer for their timorous companions, went on, and soon afterwards came to another river, which they likewise crossed; and having, by digging in the ground, found fresh water, reposed there for the night.

The returning morning saw them on their journey, which they had not pursued many hours before they discovered a dead seal, which the surf had left on the shore. Only one of the knives, made of the nails, as before related, was in the possession of this party, and it had become so blunt as to be nearly useless; they, therefore, sharpened it by the same means as they had at first given it an edge, and with it and some sharp shells which they found on the beach, cut up the seal. Having performed this, they dressed some of it on the spot, and carried the remainder with them; and when they came to a convenient spot for wood and water, again reposed themselves.

The next morning, the party left behind overtook that in which Hynes was. Since the death of the carpenter, the conducting it had devolved to the ship's steward. It appeared that they had suffered much, and had been

severely treated by the natives ; so that, what with fatigue, hunger and other incidents, five of them had died since their separation.

Having shared, between them, the remainder of the seal, and taken some repose, the party set off together, and, after some time, came to a lofty mountain, which they found they should be obliged to cross or to go round the bluff point of a rock which projected considerably into the sea. The latter passage was much the shortest ; they chose that, but had soon to repent of their determination, for the surf broke so violently against the rock that they had all nearly been swept away by it. Their escape was almost miraculous. In their solicitude to preserve themselves, four or five of the men lost their allowance of the seal, of which each bore his share ; but their great misfortune was that their firebrands were all extinguished.

They now proceeded on their journey, but were greatly dispirited by the loss of their fire ; an article that was so necessary, not only for dressing their food, but for their defence by night against the wild beasts, with which most of the country they passed through abounded. The inconvenience that must irresistibly attend the extinction of their brands dwelt upon their minds, and threw an additional gloom over their progress.

As they marched on in this disconsolate mood, they came in sight of several female natives, who, the moment they were discovered, took to their heels and ran away. When the party came up to the spot on which these women were, it was perceived that they had been employed in catching fish, and what was their satisfaction, when they found that the fire at which the natives had been dressing their fish was not extinguished. They lighted their brands, and, after having reposed there for a few hours, proceeded on their way. It must be remarked that they usually stopped at those places where they found wood sufficient to furnish them with necessary firing, but never where they could be supplied with water only, as, without wood they could not sleep in security.

The next day they came to a village where the natives had a young bullock, and offered to barter with them for it. The outside of a watch, some buttons, &c., being

offered in exchange, they were readily accepted, and the beast driven into the kraal, where it was killed by our people with one of the native's lances.

The natives took out the entrails, with which they were much pleased, and the carcass was divided among our party in the following manner :—That no one might have reason to complain of an unjust distribution, as soon as the whole was cut up into pieces, as equal in quantity as possible, one of the men stood with his back towards them, and being asked who should have the piece held up, mentioned the name of the person. By this means every one of the company were satisfied. Nor was the youth forgotten on the occasion. The skin, also, was cut into pieces, and distributed by lot ; and those who got any part made make-shift shoes of it. They took up their quarters for that night near the village, and next morning they crossed the river, each carrying his portion of provisions.

This was the only instance where they had been able to obtain any sustenance from the natives during their journey, except now and then the women would give the child a little milk. Though the age of this young gentleman was ill-suited to combat the inconveniences of so long a journey, yet, in such an unprovided state, he got on tolerably well upon the whole. Where the road was even and good, he walked, and was able to keep pace with the party ; but when they came to deep sands or wade through high grass, which was often the case, the people carried him by turns. When they went on fishing parties, he was stationed near the fires, in order to keep them alight ; and on their return was rewarded with a part of the spoil.

They again marched on, and came to a sandy desert, which took them ten days to pass. Here they entirely lost sight of the natives. In passing this desert, they had a great number of rivers to cross, so that had it not been for the food which they carried with them, they must inevitably have perished. They, fortunately, were not at a loss for wood, finding a sufficient quantity on the banks of the rivers, which had been brought down by the floods, and by digging in the sand they seldom failed to get water.

They perceived that they were now got into another

nation, the people of which Hynes thought were called Mambookees,* through which they travelled for five days.

During that time the natives sometimes used them very ill, and at other times suffered them to pass unmolested.

Being now upon the borders of the sea, they were met by a party of natives, who, by signs, advised them to go inland, and pointed out the path they were to pursue. This path they accordingly took, and after having travelled about three miles, they came to a village where they found only women and children.

Here they rested awhile, and the women brought out a little milk, which they gave to Master Law. The milk was contained in a small basket, curiously formed of rushes, and so compact as to hold any liquid. During their stay, they examined several of their huts, where they had an opportunity of seeing the manner in which they churned their butter. The milk was put into a leather bag, which being hung up in the middle of the hut, was pushed backward and forward by two persons standing at the sides; and this they continued to do till the butter arrived at a proper state of consistence. When it is properly prepared, they mix soot with it to anoint their bodies. This operation not only serves them as a security against the intense heat of the climate, but renders them active, and gives them that agility which the inhabitants of Africa are well-known to exhibit, both in the chase and in battle.

While the travellers were resting themselves, the men belonging to the village returned from hunting, each bearing upon the point of his assaygay, his division of the spoil they had taken, which consisted of a piece of deer weighing about ten pounds. As soon as they saw the strangers, they gathered round them in a ring, and seemed to gaze on them with admiration. After which, they showed them two bowls of milk, which they appeared to be willing to barter; but as the English had nothing left that would prove acceptable to the natives, they had the mortification to see it applied to other purposes. The bargain being declined, the savages brought from their huts sticks fuzzed at the ends, and seating themselves

* A nation named Mambuck lies near the sources of the river Groote Visen, about the 27th degree of south latitude, bordering on Caffraria.—HYNES.

round the bowls, dipped their sticks into the milk, and thus, in a short time, sucked the whole of it up.

They had scarcely finished their meal than they all rose hastily up, and in an instant went off in different directions at which our people were very much surprised. There were at least forty of them. The noise of some of their companions at a distance seeming to have awakened their attention, they scampered into the woods and were out of sight in an instant. It was not long, however, before they returned with a deer they had killed; which our people begged very fervently to be permitted to partake of, but in vain: and night coming on, they insisted that their visitors should quit the kraal. This they were forced to comply with, and, after walking four or five miles, they laid themselves down to rest.

As soon as the sun arose, our people pursued their journey and continued to do so for several days, during which they passed many villages, where they saw a great number of oxen: but as they were so unhappy as to have nothing to offer them in exchange, they were obliged to be content with the sight only. The natives would part with nothing without a valuable consideration, unless it was now and then a little milk for the youth. They, however, suffered them to pass without molestation.

They now came to another river, but the tide being flood, it was too wide to cross. Near the mouth of it they saw three or four huts, which contained only women and children, the men being from home. The flesh of some sea-cows, and sea-lions, was hanging on the huts to dry, of which the women gave the travellers a part. They slept that night at a little distance from these huts. The next day, nine of the company, among whom was Hynes, swam over the river, while the rest, from an apprehension of not being able to succeed in such an attempt, stayed behind, notwithstanding it was not a mile over at low water, and the greater part fordable.

Those who had crossed the river had not proceeded above three or four miles before they observed a seal sleeping just about high-water mark. As they drew near, the animal awoke, and instantly made towards the water. But, being provided with long, pointed sticks, which they called their muscle-sticks, they surrounded him, and thus

cut off his retreat, by which means they at length killed him. As soon as he was dead they cut his flesh into junks, and taking every man his portion, proceeded on their march. They travelled four or five days, during which they saw many of the natives, who behaved tolerably civil. Now and then, indeed, they encountered some that, after overhauling them (as the sailors express themselves), gave some of them a blow or two.

They now came to another river, which they were obliged to cross. In passing these rivers, when they did not construct a catamarand, their usual method was to tie their clothes up as tight as possible, and then fasten the bundle with a band round their foreheads, by which means it appeared something like a turband. Into the front of these bundles they stuck there firebrands, which, standing upright, were thus kept from being extinguished by the water. Two of the party, in crossing this river, were unfortunate enough to drop their brands; this loss, however, was made up by the rest, in the best manner they were able.

Having passed the river, they proceeded on their route, and the next day found a whale. Being thus provided for a time, and of course there being no necessity for their hurrying on as usual, they took up their abode on this spot for two days, in hopes of the other party falling in with them. But, as they afterwards learnt, those they had left behind, by keeping more inland, had missed them and got on before. They had by this time cut up as much of the whale as they could carry, and, being much refreshed, they pursued their journey with alacrity, having now no necessity to turn out of the way, or to loiter in quest of food. Thus they went on for eight or ten days, during which they had many rivers to ford; and, as they travelled, they discovered by some small pieces of rags they found scattered here and there, which could only belong to their countrymen, that their friends must have passed them.

A large sandy desert now lay before them, which separates the nation of the Mambuckees from the Tambuckees.* This they entered, and, finding towards the

* The nation of the Tambuckees lies rather to the southward of the Mambuckees.—HYNES.

close of the first day, that there was but little prospect of them obtaining either wood or water, they were much disheartened. To their great joy, however, at the entrance of a deep gully, they saw written on the sand, the following direction :—" *Turn in here, and you will find plenty of wood and water.*" They were not backward in obeying the pleasing mandate ; and, on entering the gully, found a neat alcove, where, from the inscription, the remains of their extinct fires, and several other traces, they were assured their late companions had reposed themselves. The next day they continued their journey, and went on for the four or five succeeding ones without meeting with a single interesting circumstance except that their fatigue increased as they proceeded.

As they went on, a bluff point of rock presented itself, which, upon coming up to, they found to project so far into the sea as to hinder their progress. They were therefore obliged to betake themselves again to the more inland parts. The food with which the whale had furnished them was now exhausted. They had not, however, proceeded far before they came to a large pond of water, and here they determined to pass the night. Some, therefore, instantly set about looking for wood, while others carefully examined the banks of the pond, in hopes of finding some kind of sustenance. While the latter were thus employed, they luckily found a great number of land crabs, snails, sorrel, &c., on which they made a very satisfactory meal, and then enjoyed a comfortable night's rest.

As soon as the day broke, they rose refreshed, and again continued their march. At length coming to a wood, which extended a long way to the left, towards the sea side ; they entered the skirts of it, and as they proceeded, they observed many trees torn up by the roots. They were not a little surprised at this circumstance ; but they had scarcely got through the wood when their surprise was converted into astonishment and terror : for in the long grass with which the ground was covered, up started thirty or forty large elephants. At a loss whether to retreat or to proceed, they stood for some moments in a state of suspense : however, by taking a circuit of about a hundred yards, they passed these enormous creatures without their doing them any injury, or following them.

The grass, in this place, Hynes supposes, might be about eight or nine feet high, a height that may seem somewhat extraordinary to persons not acquainted with tropical situations and their effects, but which is known, by those who have, not to exceed the truth. The author has heard, before he was himself an eye-witness of this phenomenon, the following circumstance relative to it, from a gentleman whose ingenious works the world has been long acquainted with, and who resided a considerable time in Africa. Being one day inclined to make a short cut across a piece of land, of little more than an acre in extent, he had nearly lost his life in the attempt. What with the loftiness of the grass, and the extreme heat of the sun, it was with the utmost difficulty that he accomplished his purpose. When he opened a passage through it with his hands, in order to get forward, excluded as he was from the air, the sun scorched him almost to madness ; and when he suffered it to remain in an erect state, in which it formed a canopy over his head, he was almost suffocated for want of breath ; so that his preservation was nearly a miracle.

But to return to the shipwrecked travellers. They reached the sea shore that night, but the tide being in, they could procure no shell-fish. This they felt very severely, as they had fasted a long while, and besides, were totally worn out with fatigue. By such an extreme of hunger were they oppressed that those who were still in possession of the shoes they had made out of the skin of the young bullock, or had preserved the worn out pieces of them, having singed the hair off, broiled them ; and of this unsavory dish, rendered as palatable as it could be made by some wild celery which they found there, the whole party partook.

At low water they went as usual to the rocks to procure shell-fish, and as they proceeded on, they often perceived evident traces that the division of their party they had left behind, had now got the start of them. After having travelled two days more, they fell in with a hunting party of the natives on the sea shore. These men were distinguished, from any they had seen before by wearing on the right foot a kind of shoe, which they used in hunting. When they took a leap, they bounded from that foot, and in doing this they showed great dexterity. The travellers were permitted by this party to pass quietly along ; and during

four or five days that they marched through this district, though they fell in with many villages, and saw a great number of the natives, they were not in the least molested.

Soon after they came to a small river, which they swam over; and the same day they arrived at another. Both these rivers were salt, as were likewise all the wells which they dug near them; so that they were obliged to allay their thirst with such berries as they could find. In three or four days they came to a more barren country, the natives of which appeared to be poorer than those they had hitherto met with. They had no cattle, nor anything to subsist upon, but what they procured by fishing and hunting. Here the travellers encountered innumerable difficulties. These were not, however, of long continuance, for it was not above three or four days more before they reached the nation of the Caffres, which they found to be a populous and fine country.

During their march through this nation, they one day saw a great number of the natives, (Hynes believes near three hundred) exercising themselves on a fine gradual slope, in throwing the assagay or lance. Being arranged in two lines on opposite sides of the lawn, one of the men rolled, with all his strength, from the top of the descent, a wooden ball; and so expert were they that in its passage they would lodge their lances in it.

They continued their march through the whole extent of this fine country; but notwithstanding it abounded in cattle, the inhabitants would neither bestow any upon them, nor suffer them to purchase any by way of barter. Nay, so apprehensive were the natives of the strangers stealing their cattle, that they constantly drove them away as they approached the kraals. Nor was this precaution confined to this point; wherever the English came, they were driven away with sticks, stones and other missile weapons; so that all the food they were able to obtain was shell fish, collected from the sea side. Without this resource, they must long since have perished.

As there subsisted at this time an inveterate enmity between the Caffrees and the Dutch colonists, who had treated them with unparalleled cruelty, this may account for the behaviour of the former to the shipwrecked English, who, being of the same colour with the Dutch, partook of

their resentment. The Caffres are otherwise, according to M. Vaillant, a humane and quiet people.*

About three or four days after this our people came to a river, and as soon as they had crossed it were met by a party of the natives, one of whom had a piece of a silver buckle belonging to the ship's cook stuck in his hair. It seems the cook had bound bits of cloth about his buckles in order to preserve them, as he set a value upon them: but it now appeared that he had been obliged to break them up in order to barter away for food. And even when he had done this, (as they afterwards found) he was disappointed, for, as had invariably been the case, except in the instance of the young bullock before mentioned, no sooner was the price deposited, than the purchase was withheld, and our people driven away.

In the same manner, the party, with whom Hynes was, were driven away by the body of natives they had now fallen in with, and obliged to continue their march till near ten o'clock at night, when coming to a place where there was a little wood and water, they reposed themselves, but they set off again before it was light, in order to avoid a repetition of the ill-treatment they had received from the natives the preceding evening.

About twelve o'clock on that day they came to a place at which, as there was good water, with a probability of getting plenty of shell-fish, and where, being very much fatigued, they determined to spend the night. They did so, but the rain poured down so violently, attended with thunder and lightning, that four of them were obliged to hold their canvas frocks over the fire to prevent it from being extinguished. They staid next day till it was low water, as well to get shell-fish as to dry their clothes,

* The country known by the general denomination of Caffraria, is a very extensive region, bounded on the north by Negro-land and Abyssinia; on the west by part of Guinea, Congo and the sea; on the south by the Cape of Good Hope; and on the east by the sea. It is divided into several territories and kingdoms, of which little is known, and is computed to be 700 miles long and 660 broad. But the part now inhabited by the people named the Caffres is much more confined, it extending only from about fifteen to thirty degrees of southern latitude. It is, however, more populous than any other nations in Africa. [It is difficult to tell whether these notes are by Hynes or Carter. To my own notes, I will, in future append my initials, i.e. D. C. F. M.]

which had been thoroughly soaked by the rain : so that they did not commence their march till near eleven o'clock. About four they arrived at a large village, where the inhabitants assembling together, set upon our people, whom they treated very roughly. Several of them were wounded by the assailants, and among others Hynes received a wound in his leg from a lance, the scar of which was visible when I met with him. Another had his skull fractured, which rendered him delirious ; and he continued so till he died ; an event that soon after took place.

Hynes was knocked down, and being supposed by his companions to be dead, was left on the spot. He remained in a state of insensibility for some time. At length, however, he recovered ; and when he did so, the natives were at a considerable distance off, and his countrymen totally out of sight. Remembering from the face of the country the way they intended to pursue, he followed as expeditiously as he was able ; and in two or three hours came up with the party. His appearance gave great satisfaction to his companions, who concluded that he had been killed by the savages, but they were very happy to find their mistake.

From this time they saw no more huts, and found they were entering on a very large sandy desert. After travelling several days upon it, they fell in with three of the natives, who seeing our people advance, immediately fled into the country, and were not seen again. It was now with the utmost difficulty that they could procure food, the sea side seldom proving rocky. And when they found a small reef, on which there was a probability of procuring any shell-fish, they were perhaps obliged to wait half a day for the ebb tide, it being impossible to get at them till then.

When they came to a place where any were to be caught, they were very assiduous to collect as many together as they could ; they then opened them in the fire, and taking out the fish, put the whole in a cloth, and carried them by turns.

In four days more they arrived at a large river, which they afterwards learned from the Dutch was named Boschisman's river. Here they found Thomas Lewis, who being sick, had been left behind by the other party. He informed them that he had travelled inland, and had fallen

in with many huts, at one of which he had got some milk, and at another beaten. He added, that reaching the place where he now was, he had found himself so weak, and the river so wide, that he knew it was impossible for him to attempt to cross it, indeed to bear any more hardship or fatigue. He was therefore, he said, determined to return to the nearest Kraal, as the natives could but kill him, and he was sure to die if he proceeded. In vain did his companions strive to get the better of this prepossession. They would have persuaded him to hold up his head, and look forward with a hope of out-living his present hardships, and getting at last to the Cape. But all their encouragement was ineffectual; both his body and his spirits were so broken down, and his cup of life so embittered by such a long succession of hardships, that despair found him an easy prey; in spite of all their entreaties he went back to the natives, and most probably found there a speedy termination to his woes.

Our people loitered near the sea shore, in hopes of meeting with some kind of sustenance, when to their great joy they were fortunate enough to find another dead whale. Their stock of provisions being thus replenished, they halted where they were two days, which very much refreshed them. During this period they cut the flesh of the whale, as usual, into junks, and taking as much with them as they could well carry, crossed the river on catamarands. They now once more lost sight of natives and their huts, and were kept in continual alarm by the wild beasts, whose incessant howlings in the night greatly disturbed and terrified them. For these parts were more particularly infested than any they had hitherto passed through.

On the fourth day after they had passed the river, they came up, about noon, with the little boy and ship's steward. From these they learnt, that the evening before they had buried the cooper in the sand at no great distance. Hynes having a curiosity to see the place, the steward accompanied him. But to their great surprise and horror they found that some carnivorous animal had taken up the body and carried it off. They were convinced of this by traces in the sand, for at least half a mile through which the creature had dragged the corpse in a very irregular manner.

They also could plainly distinguish, by the vestiges of these ravenous beasts on the sand, the manner in which they prowl in the night for their prey : As they scent along the ground, it could be discerned that they turn aside to every stone and stump of a tree, in order to examine whether it would be productive of anything to satisfy their appetite. Hynes's party presented the steward and the child with some of the flesh of the whale, which they eat, and were much refreshed. They now all proceeded together, and continued to do so for eight or ten days. How the youth was able to hold out for so long a time, and through so many difficulties, must excite the wonder of every one.

They came to a point of rocks, and as their whale was by this time wholly expended, they thought it proper to go round the edge to search for what sustenance the sea might afford. This they did, but it took up so much time, that they were obliged to sleep upon the rocks, where they could only procure such water as was brackish.

In the morning the steward and child were taken ill, and being unable to proceed, they requested the rest of the party to continue where they were that day. This was readily consented to. The next day they all found themselves disordered through the extreme coldness of the rock on which they slept, against which the little clothing they now had was not sufficient to defend them. This, as may naturally be supposed, must greatly affect men, broken down with fatigue and anxiety, as they were.

The steward and child still continuing ill, our people agreed to stay another day, and, if, at the expiration of that time, they should not be better, they would be under the disagreeable necessity of leaving them behind. Their humanity, however, was not put to this severe test ; for in the course of the night the poor child resigned his breath, and ceased any longer to share with his companions in their fatigues and sorrows.

Having prepared early in the morning whatever they could muster for breakfast, they intended to have called him to partake of it as soon as all was ready, being willing to allow his tender frame as much indulgence as possible. They had left him, as they supposed, asleep, near the fire, around which they had all rested during the night. But

what was their surprise when they found that his soul had taken its flight into another world !

The witnesses of this affecting scene being no longer able to render him any assistance, they bestowed a last sigh on the departed innocent, and leaving him in the place where the cold hand of death had arrested him, moved on. The steward, who still continued ill, did not find his illness or his sorrows alleviated by this fresh affliction ; on the contrary, the loss of a young person he so much valued, and who had so long been the object of his tenderest care, nearly overwhelmed him, and it was with the utmost difficulty his companions got him along. They, however, did get on, and had walked about two hours, when Robert Fitzgerald asked for a shell of water : Hynes complied with his request, and he drank it with great avidity. He then asked for another shell full, which having received and drank with equal relish, he laid himself down, and instantly expired. His companions left this man likewise on the spot where he died, and departed without being much shocked at the event ; as every one of them was worn out with hunger and fatigue, and rather considered such a deliverance as a consummation devoutly to be wished than to be dreaded.

As they proceeded, another of the party, William Fruel, complained of his being very weak. Having said this, he sat down upon the sand by the sea side. Here his companions, compelled by necessity, left him, and went on, in order to seek for wood and water, telling him that if they could find either, they would return, that he might partake of the benefit. At some little distance they turned their eyes back, and saw that he was crawling after them. And having sought in vain for a comfortable resting place, they likewise were obliged to lay themselves down on the sand for the night, without having been able to find a drop of water.

Recollecting the situation of Fruel, one of the party went back to see if he could get him on. But notwithstanding the person went within view of the place where he had left him, he was not to be seen ; and they all concluded that as he had nothing to shelter or protect him, the wild beasts had carried him off. As soon as daylight appeared, they proceeded on their journey ; and as they had

had no water since the middle of the foregoing day, they suffered exceedingly from thirst. The glands of their throats and mouths were much swollen, and at length they were necessitated to drink their own water.

Whatever their distresses had been, they were not to be compared to the situation to which they were now reduced. Indeed they now experienced the extreme of human misery. The next day, which was the second in which they had existed without food or water, they were so very thirsty, that when any of them could not furnish himself with a draught of urine, he would borrow a shellfull of his companion who was more fortunate, till it was in his power to repay it. Here the ship's steward, and another of the party, unable to survive their melancholy situation, expired. Our people were still obliged to sleep upon the sands, the track they pursued being bounded on one side by mountains of sand, and on the other by the sea; and they continued without food or water, except the half of a fish which they found in their way. But this scarcely afforded a mouthful to each. Indeed some would not touch a bit of it, lest, without water, it should only add to the misery they already endured.

Next morning two more of the party were reduced to a very languishing state, but they still walked on, dreading to be left behind. One of them, however, had not proceeded far before he laid himself down, unable to proceed a step farther. His companions shook hands with him, and recommending him to the mercy of heaven, as it was not in their power to afford him any assistance, left him to expire.

They again went on, but without finding any alleviation to their woes, till about five o'clock in the afternoon, when they came to a deep gulley, which they entered, in hopes of meeting with water. Here they found another of the *Grosvenor's* crew dead. He was lying upon his face in the sand, with his right hand cut off at the wrist. So singular a circumstance could not but excite the astonishment of our people; and it was recollected, that while living, it was a common asseveration used by the deceased, "*May the Devil cut my right hand off if it be not true.*" Extraordinary as this might appear, and ridiculous as any inference may be thought by some, the fact is no less true

than strange, and it very sensibly affected, for the time, his messmates. John Warmington, the boatswain's mate, who was one of those that lost their clothes in crossing the river, as before related, took this opportunity of supplying himself by appropriating to his use a part of those which were found on the deceased.

Notwithstanding their distressed situation, they marched on till night, and then laid themselves down to sleep, without taking any sustenance but what their own urine afforded them. The next day brought no abatement to the miseries of these famished wanderers. Necessity, however impelled them to proceed, though nothing but despair presented itself. To such a state of weakness were they now reduced, that they had proceeded but a little way before another of the party dropped, and was left to his fate.

They were now reduced to three, viz., Hynes, Evans, and Warmington; and these were nearly on the point of sharing the fate of their companions. Their faculties drooped apace; they could scarcely hear or see; and at the same time a vertical sun darted its beams so intensely upon them that it was with the utmost difficulty they got on.

Next morning the three forlorn travellers went on; but by this time their thirst was so extreme (the only liquid they had to quench it adding to their torment) that Warmington earnestly importuned Hynes and Evans to determine by lot who should die, in order that by drinking his blood the other two might be preserved. Hynes was grown so weak that he was almost childish. Upon hearing Warmington's proposal, his tears flowed in plenteous streams down his cheeks, but he would by no means consent to it. He said, that if, as they went on, he should become so very feeble as to drop, they then were at liberty to do what they pleased with him, if they thought it would tend to their own preservation; but as long as he was able to walk, he would not think of casting lots. Warmington hearing this, would proceed no farther, upon which the other two shook hands with him and left him.

It was almost impossible for the mind of man to imagine a situation so truly deplorable and alarming, as that to which these poor wretches were at this time reduced. The

susceptible heart sometimes feels inexpressible concern at seeing the approaching exit of one friend : What anguish then must the unhappy wanderers experience with such repeated ravages of death before their eyes, and these rendered more terrifying by the expectation of being themselves the next victim to his unrelenting dart ! Human nature shudders at the bare idea !

Hynes and Evans now made another effort to get on, but with their best exertions they made very little progress. About ten o'clock they saw something before them, which had the appearance of large birds. Elated with the sight, they entertained a hope of being able to get some of them, and thereby allay the torments they endured. But what was their surprise to find, as they approached nearer, that they were men. Being nearly blind, and almost in a state of idiotism, they did not at first recollect who their new-found companions were ; but after some time they discovered that they were four of the steward's party, from which they had been separated. One of them, a lad of about eleven years of age, whose name was Price, came a little way to meet them ; their first enquiry was, whether they had any fresh water, and being answered in the affirmative, they appeared to be inspired with new life.

The party they had just joined, now made enquiry in their turn, what was become of the rest of Hynes's companions. To this he replied that they were all dead except Warmington, whom they had left behind them that morning. Upon which Berucey Leary, and Francisco de Lasso, went in search of him. Before Leary and De Lasso set out, they charged the two who remained behind by no means to permit Hynes and Evans to have much water, as several had expired by drinking too freely and eagerly. But so impatient were they to quench that thirst, which had so long tormented them, that they laid themselves down to drink at the spring, and might have exceeded the bounds of prudence had not Price and the other closed up the sand, and thereby prevented them. They then took them to an alcove, at a little distance, and having given them a small quantity of shell-fish, left them to their repose, while the former went out to forage.

Leary and De Lasso having found Warmington, returned

with him ; and when Hynes and Evans awoke, they began to recount to each other the hardships they had encountered, particularly in traversing over the last desert. Hynes was informed by Leary that they had buried on it the Captain's steward. After which they had not gone far before they were reduced to such distress for provisions, that a consultation was held what was to be done in their present exigency, in which it was determined to send two of the party back, in order to cut off some of the flesh of the recently buried steward ; and bring it for their immediate support.

The two men accordingly set out for that purpose, but having overshot the place, they turned about to regain it ; when through the kind interposition of Providence, instead of taking back to their companions disgusting human flesh, they carried the more pleasing flesh of a young seal, which they found close to the steward's grave, newly driven on shore, and fresh bleeding. This proved a most seasonable relief, and enabled them to reach the alcove where they now were.

They likewise gave Hynes and his two companions an account of the singular manner in which they got shell-fish. They had observed on the banks of a river a great number of birds, in the act of scratching up the sand ; after this they soared into the air with something in their mouths, which they let fall upon the stones, and then descending took up their prey. These manœuvres catching the attention of the hungry travellers, they watched the birds for some time, and coming up to the same place, they found that when the tide was in, the shell-fish, as there were no rocks on that coast, buried themselves in the sand, and attracting the instinctive depredations of the birds, were obtained in the foregoing manner. Thus was Providence pleased to point out to our people the means of procuring food, without whose intervention they must undoubtedly have perished.

Among other circumstances which Hynes and Evans recounted in their turn to the party they had joined, they mentioned that the ship's steward, whom they had left to expire on the road, had very decent clothes on ; and these being articles which the latter stood much in need of, one of the party, whose name was Dodge, proposed, if Evans would show him the way, to go back and bring them.

Evans, who was by this time tolerably recovered, accepted the proposal, and they set out together early the next morning. In the evening Evans returned, but without his companion. On being asked the reason of coming alone, he informed them that Dodge had been so very indolent, and came on so slowly, that had he walked his pace he should never have got back to the alcove. He further related to his companions that when Dodge and he reached the place where the steward had been left, they could see nothing of him, from which it was concluded that he had died, and afterwards had been carried away by the wild beasts.

As for Dodge, he was seen by Evans lagging considerable way behind ; but as he did not join his companions, and was never seen after. Hynes entertained not a doubt but that he had also become a prey to the wild beasts ; as not a day passed without their seeing lions, tigers, or wolves. Of wolves they had seen twenty at a time lying on the grass ; and in order to drive them away, it was their common practice repeatedly to shout as loud as they could, which never failed of having a proper effect.

They employed themselves for the two following days in collecting shell-fish, which they broiled, in order to constitute a stock of provisions for their march. Having obtained a sufficient quantity, they constructed a catamarand, and passed the river.* This they effected with very great difficulty, as it was of a great breadth, and the current so strong that they had nearly been driven out to sea by it.

When they had gained the shore, they could not help looking back with terror and amazement at the length of the way they had been driven down by the rapidity of the stream. Here they likewise found the species of shell-fish that hides in the sand, as before related. According to Hynes's account it is of a triangular form, and has the power of sinking, with great facility, wherever it finds moisture, which it did nearly as fast as they could dig for them. It is about two inches long, and three broad, and pointed at one end, with which it makes its way into the sand.

The whole party by this time consisted of six persons

* This river is probably the Zon Dags river, which is very wide, and lies to the N. E. of the Schwarts river, mentioned afterwards.

only, and they travelled on together still over a desert country, where neither hut or native was to be seen. After proceeding about six days, they came to another river, which Hynes says he has since heard is called Schwarts or Black river, where they took up their abode their night.

The country now began to wear a more pleasing aspect. It appeared to be more fertile than any they had passed for some time, and at a considerable distance from the shore they could discern huts. An accident happened in this place which gave them great alarm. The grass by some means taking fire, it spread with such rapidity that it was with the utmost difficulty they were able to extinguish it. Their apprehensions upon this occasion were very poignant, as they were much afraid the blaze would bring the natives down upon them, and excite their resentment.

The next morning they swam over the river, which was not so wide as the former; and they had not gone far before they saw another whale lying on the sea shore. Being thus provided with food, they determined to erect a hut, and to rest themselves for four or five days. But on searching for water, that necessary article was not to be met with. They therefore cut up a part of the whale, and when each of them had got as much as he could conveniently carry, they proceeded on their route. They had not, however, travelled above two hours before they came to a much more desirable spot, where they halted, and reposed themselves. It was a thicket which afforded shelter, and where they met with water.

Next morning four of the party went back to the whale, in order to bring off a larger supply; and De Lasso and the boy (Price) were left to take care of the fire, and to gather wood against the return of night. During the absence of the four, the boy, who was in the wood, perceived at a little distance two men, each with a gun in his hand; and being much intimidated at their appearance, retired hastily towards the fire, whither he was pursued by them.

These men belonged to a Dutch settlement in the neighbourhood, and were in search of some strayed cattle, when they perceived Price; and observing at the same time the smoke which arose from the fire, concluded he would take that way, and followed him to it. The name of one of the men was John Battores, who being probably

a Portuguese, and De Lasso an Italian, through the great affinity of these two languages, they made shift to understand each other.

When Battores heard their melancholy tale, he desired they would conduct him to the place where their companions were. Upon which they all went back together to the whale, where they found our people employed in cutting it up. Battores made them throw the whole of the whale's flesh away, and desiring them to follow him, promised that they should have better food, and be supplied with every necessary when they reached the habitation to which he belonged.

The joy that instantly beamed forth in every breast, upon receiving this pleasing intelligence, is not to be described, or scarcely to be conceived. And the effects it produced were as various as extraordinary. Every faculty seemed to be in a state of violent agitation: One man laughed; another cried; and another danced. Comfort and these unhappy wanderers had been so long estranged to each other, and their nervous system was so out of tone, that the convulsive expressions of their satisfaction are not to be wondered at. But their spirits grew more composed when they were informed that they were now within the settlements of the Dutch, and not more than four hundred miles from the Cape of Good Hope.

The space they had to walk to the house, which was three miles distant, was comparatively tripped lightly over, notwithstanding they were so much enfeebled by their long and tedious march. The recital of some of their adventures beguiled the way; and all was rapture, all was peace.

Battores was not the master of the house to which their steps were directed, but principal servant to Mynheer Christopher Roostoff, who, when he was made acquainted with their distresses, treated them with great kindness.

He immediately ordered some bread and milk to be given them; but, under a mistaken idea, he furnished them with such a quantity, that by eating voraciously, and overloading their stomachs, they had nearly killed themselves. After they had made their meal, sacks were spread upon the ground for them to repose on.

It had been a long while since they had known anything of the calculation of time; days, weeks, and months had

imperceptibly slipped away, without their being able to note them according to the accustomed divisions.

They were now informed that the day on which this happy reverse of fortune took place was the 29th of November, so that, as they were shipwrecked on the fourth of August, it must have been one hundred and seventeen days since their leaving the ship ; during which time they had suffered incredible hardships, and had often been preserved miraculously.

The next morning Mynheer Roostoff ordered a sheep to be killed, upon which our people breakfasted and dined. After this, another Dutchman, whose name was Daniel Quin, and who lived about nine miles distant, came, with a cart and six horses, to convey the party towards the Cape of Good Hope. Hynes thinks that Quin was a kind of commandant. Monsieur Vaillant thus speaks of the method by which the colonists obtain the title of commandant : “ A colonist, (says he,) who lives two hundred leagues up the country, arrives at the Cape, to complain that the Caffrees have taken all his cattle ; and intreats a commando, which is a permission to go, with the help of his neighbours, to retake his property ; the governor, who either does not, or feigns, not to understand the trick, adheres strictly to the facts expressed in the petition : a preamble of regular information would occasion long delays ; a permission is easily given,—it is but a word—the fatal word is written, which proves a sentence of death to a thousand poor savages, who have no such defence or resources as their persecutors.” This account gives us an idea of the commando or commandants of that country, such a one Quin probably was, and likewise of the disposition of the colonists situated in the interior parts.

But to return to the travellers.—The boy, Price, whose legs were sore from the hardships he had undergone, was kept at Mynheer Roostoff's, who kindly undertook his cure, and said he would contrive to send him after the rest. The others went in the cart that was provided for them, but the path, or road, if it may be so called, was so very rugged and bad that they were almost shook to pieces. They passed two farm houses before they reached Quin's, where they stayed four days to refresh themselves.

From this time they were forwarded in carts from one settlement to another, till they came to Swellendam,

which lies about one hundred miles from the Cape. During the whole of the way, wherever they passed the night, all the farmers in the neighbourhood used to assemble in order to hear their story ; and being moved with compassion, gave them many little necessities of which they stood in need. At Swellendam they stayed till the deputy governor, who resided at that place, sent a messenger to the Cape, as there was at this time war between Holland and Great Britain, to know of the governor what was to be done with them. An order at length came for two to be sent to Cape Town to be examined. The others were directed to remain where they at present were. Warmington and Leary accordingly proceeded to the Cape. Hynes and the rest stayed at Swellendam about a month, and during that time they had an opportunity of observing that the country around this place is in general rocky ; but in the valleys there were vineyards, pastures, and corn fields.

They afterwards learnt that Warmington and Leary, after having undergone an examination, were shipped on board a Dutch man-of-war lying in the bay, with directions for them to be put to work. Here they remained for some time, but Warmington having discovered, one night, that the boatswain had smuggled some pepper from the ship, he imprudently hinted that he would give information of what was going forward. Upon which the boatswain desired him and his companion Leary to get into the boat ; which they had no sooner done, than he put them on board a Danish East-Indiaman, that was then weighing anchor ; and which immediately sailed. By this incident, these two had an opportunity of getting first to their own country,

The governor at the Cape having learnt from the information of Warmington and Leary, the particulars of the loss of the *Grosvenor*, and the consequent sufferings of the crew and passengers, notwithstanding the enmity that existed at this time between the two nations, was excited by that humanity which does honour to the human nature, to send out a large party in quest of the unhappy wanderers. This detachment consisted of one hundred Europeans and three hundred Hottentots, attended by a great number of waggons, each drawn by eight bullocks. The command was given to Captain Muller, who had orders to proceed, if possible, to the place where the ship lay, and load them with such articles as could be saved. After which, they

were to endeavour to find out such of the sufferers as were wandering about the country, or in the hands of the natives.

It being necessary to have some of those who had passed over the extensive tract that was to be explored, as guides, De Lasso and Evans, who had now tolerably recovered their strength, were fixed on for that purpose. Hynes still continued very ill, and Price had not yet reached Swellendam. The party took with them beads, and a number of trinkets, in order to ransom those of the unfortunates that might fall in their way. And they proceeded till the natives interrupted their passage. The dissensions between the Caffres and Colonists, as already noticed, probably occasioned this interruption.

In their way they found three of the shipwrecked mariners, viz., Thomas Lewis, William Hatterly (or Hubberly), and another. William Hatterly was the servant of Mr. Shaw, the second mate, and he had kept company with that party till all but himself had expired. He then walked on, melancholy and forlorn, till he had reached the spot where he was met by the Dutch. At other places on the road they met with seven more men (Lascars) and two black women, one of whom was servant to Mrs. Logie, the other to Mrs. Hosea. From these women was obtained the following interesting information : They said that about five days after the party to which Hynes had attached himself parted from the captain and the ladies, they also took separate routes, the latter intending to join the Lascars ; but what become of either, after this separation had taken place, they knew not. They indeed saw the Captain's coat upon one of the natives, which led them to conclude that he was dead.

After the waggons had been prevented by the natives from proceeding, some of the party travelled fifteen days on horseback, in prosecution of their plan ; but the Caffres still continuing to harrass them, and obstructing their passage, they were obliged to give up the undertaking ; and they came back, after having been absent three months.

Captain Muller returned to Swellendam with his troops, bringing with him the seven Lascars and two black women, together with the three Englishmen he had picked up on the road, the boy Price, and his two guides De Lasso and Evans ; but the farmers who had attended the

expedition with their waggons filed off to their respective homes in the different colonies. The black people were detained at Swellendam, and the English were sent to the Cape, where having undergone a long examination by the Governor, he permitted them to take their passage for Europe on board a Danish ship, then lying in the harbour, that wanted hands.

The captain of the Dane promised to land them in England, as he passed through the Channel, but being very short of hands, he carried them all to Copenhagen, except Price, who was put on shore at Weymouth. From Denmark they soon after reached London; furnishing an example to British seamen that even the most unparalleled hardships are to be surmounted; and that when they leave their native country, on the most hazardous or most distant expeditions, a return to it is not to be despaired of. And while we sympathize in the woes, or lament the loss of those who were left among the inhospitable savages, we cannot but admire the goodness of Providence in so miraculously preserving these few.*

* The following persons were left with Captain Coxon, of whom no accounts are received.—Mr. Logie, chief mate; Mr. Beale, third ditto; Mr. Harris, fifth ditto; Mr. Haye, purser; Mr. Nixon, surgeon; Robert Rea, boatswain; John Hunter, gunner; William Mixon, quartermaster; John M'Daniel, and James Mauleverer, carpenter's mates; John Edkins, caulker; William Stevens, butcher; Colonel D'Espinette; seven seamen; four servants, and two discharged soldiers from Madras.

Passengers left with Captain Coxon.—Colonel James, Mrs. James Mr. Hosea, Mrs. Hosea, Mrs. Logie, Mr. Newman, Captain Walterhouse Adair; Miss Dennis, Miss Wilmott, Miss Hosea, Master Saunders, Master Chambers, children; and eight black servants.

The following persons died on their way to the Cape.—William Tromson, midshipman; Thomas Pagr, carpenter; Henry Lillburne, ship's steward; Master Law; Thomas Simmonds, quarter-master; Robert Auld, cooper; W. Couch, captain's steward; Lau. Jonesque, boatswain's yeoman; All. Schultz, Thomas Parker, Patrick Burne, R. Fitzgerald, and John Blane, seamen; Mr. Williams, Mr. Taylor, and John Sussman, passengers.

Left in different parts, exclusive of those who remained with the Captain.—James Thompson, quarter-master; George Read, armourer; Mr. Shaw, second mate; Mr. Trotter, fourth mate; George Creighton, caulker's mate; Laurence M'Ewen, Edward Mouck, John Squires, Isaac Bair, William Fruei, Charles Berry, James Simpson, Jacob Angel, John Howes, and John Brown, seamen; William Ellis, Edward Croaker, and James Stockdale, discharged soldiers.

The only new light, I believe, that can be thrown on this unfortunate affair, is to be found in the travels of the ingenious and humane Vaillant. Being arrived on the borders of Caffraria, and determined on entering that country with the philanthropic view of endeavouring to bring about a peace between the Hottentots and Caffres, he carries his philanthropy a step further and wishes at the same time to afford assistance to the unfortunate people whose sufferings have been just described.

"A misfortune which had lately happened," says that worthy man, "contributed not a little to heat my imagination. I was informed that six weeks before, an English ship, the *Grosvenor*, East-Indiaman, had been wrecked on the coast; that part of the crew and passengers, escaping the turbulent element, unfortunately fell into the hands of the Caffres, by whom they were barbarously destroyed, the women excepted, who were reserved to undergo still greater hardships; some few, it was supposed, had escaped, and were now wandering on the coast, or exploring melancholy and almost impenetrable forests, where they could not fail in the end of perishing miserably. Among these unfortunate people were several French officers, prisoners of war, who were coming to Europe.

"My heart," continues he, "was wounded by this afflicting detail; a thousand projects bewildered my head. I could not be above fifty leagues from the unfortunate spot. Various means occurred to succour the unhappy sufferers, whose situation was so truly deplorable. I proposed these means to my companions, but every proposal was refused. In vain I offered presents, prayers, entreaties; nay, even threatenings had no more weight. I however flattered myself, I should find among the colonists some, whose hearts would not only enter readily into my pacific measures with the Caffres, but assist in every endeavour to succour to the unhappy people that had been ship-wrecked; the image of those misfortunes perpetually followed me.

"How cruel a situation! women! condemned to drag a painful life in all the horrors of agonizing despair. A desire to procure them liberty to bring them away with me; employed all my thoughts, and deafened me to every obstacle."

A party of Caffres having paid him a friendly visit at his camp, he informs us further on the subject, "that the news of their departure made him more eager to question them, as he had by no means forgot the unhappy sufferers who were shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*."

"They could not," says he, "give me so ample an account as I wished in this particular, being simply acquainted with the fact. Situated towards the north-west, they were further from the sea than myself, and could give no positive account of this melancholy catastrophe; they had, indeed, seen some of the effects taken from the wreck, which had been exchanged with other goods for cattle; even the Caffres now at my camp possessing some trifling part of the property. One showed me a piece of silver coin which he wore at his neck, and another a small key. They likewise described, as well as they could, a curiosity which had been divided among them. By their account I judged this must have been a watch, whose wheels they had separated, and formed into different ornaments. And I was convinced I was right in my conjecture, when on showing them mine, they all exclaimed it was the same thing, only of a different colour, theirs resembling the piece of coin the Caffre wore about his neck. They added, that the most valuable of the effects had been taken by their countrymen that inhabited the sea coast, who were in possession of a great quantity of pieces similar to that they had shown me. As for the people who had escaped the wreck, they had been informed some were found dead upon the sand, but that others, more fortunate, had reached some country inhabited by white people."

Monsieur Vaillant having entered the country of the Caffres, attended by a few of his Hottentots, and falling in with a small party of the Caffres, he thus continues the subject. "I enquired about the shipwrecked vessel, but learned little more than I was before acquainted with: That it had been cast away on the coast of Caffraria.

"I judged this melancholy event had happened beyond the country of the Tambouches, as high as Madagascar, towards the channel of Mosambique. These people assured me, that, besides the difficulties I should have to encounter, after having passed their limits, among several other rivers, we must cross one that was too wide to be

swam over, and must advance a great way towards the north to find it fordable. They added that they had seen several white men among the Tambouches some time ago, when they exchanged some merchandize with that people for nails taken from the wreck ; but being now at war with them, they could procure no more."

Upon reflection, it seems a very great pity that the captain should have quitted the place where the ship was wrecked. By collecting the scattered fragments of the wreck, as they drove on shore, a boat, one would suppose, might have been constructed, capable of containing the whole of those who were saved, as was done by Captain Wilson of the *Antelope* packet. And particularly so, as the carpenter's and caulker's crew all got safe on shore. They might then have coasted it all along shore, putting into every bay as they proceeded, in order to water and refresh. They would thus have found a much easier and quicker passage to the Cape than by attempting, as they did, to travel by land, subject to a thousand difficulties, the slightest of which were much too arduous and fatiguing for delicate women and children to encounter. One cannot help reflecting upon the conduct of the third mate, who appears to have been highly culpable, in not attending to the first alarm of seeing land, and instantly convincing himself of the truth of it. Even a moment in such a situation was not to be lost. By an immediate attention the ship might in all probability have been put about, and by that means saved ; whereas, when it was attempted by the captain, it was then too late. In ten minutes after the ship had struck, the wind came off shore ; so that if she had been put about in any time, the effect would have been that her head would have paid off, which would have been a most fortunate circumstance, and the consequence the saving of the whole.

Captain Coxon is said to have declared to the unfortunate sufferers that he expected to be able to get to a Dutch settlement in sixteen days. Surely, in that time, one would suppose he might have finished a boat ; hooks and lines might have been made, and fish caught, which must have proved a more ready way of procuring a subsistence than in passing through an unknown country, whose productions they were unacquainted with. They would at the same

time have avoided the perilous rencontre either of the natives or of ferocious animals. The author is the more confirmed in this opinion from the circumstance of Trout, the Dutchman, telling the captain that he had been on board the wreck, and got from thence a load of iron, pewter, lead and copper. It may be opposed to this that Captain Coxon might have been too much harassed by the natives to attempt such a work in the situation they then were. But as we are given to understand that they always left the place at sun-set, means might have been used to prevent this constant interruption. We know that wood in abundance, and probably bamboo, grows in those parts; and as a number of hardy fellows, equal to any enterprise, were saved, enough could have been collected in the course of a few hours to have formed a *chereaux de frize* round their little camp; and thus fortified, the natives would have been more inclined to barter with them than to have disturbed them.

Hooks and lines might have been formed of twisted or plaited grass or silaments of the cocoa-tree; or the sails might have been unravelled for that purpose. Indeed, a hundred methods might have been had recourse to, in order to supply those necessary implements. Weapons of defence also, might soon have been made, equal to any of those they had to encounter. And whoever has seen the Masoula boats at Madras, knows that much may be done without hammer or nails, even in boats of burthen. In short, unless this imprudent resolution proceeded from the want of unanimity, which I need not say, in all situations that are any ways similar to theirs, is extremely unfortunate, the oversight was a very great one, and not to be accounted for.—G. CARTER.

FATE OF THE CAPTAIN'S PARTY.

Supplementary by the Editor of the "Natalian."

The narrative from which we glean the following supplementary information, relates to the "Loss of the American ship *Hercules* [at the mouth of the Beka] on the coast of Caffaria, June 16th. 1796, as given by Captain

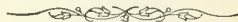
Benjamin Stout, then in command of her." The *Hercules* left Bengal for London, laden with rice, on 17th March, 1796, and as Captain Stout tells us in the narrative, "nothing material occurred until the 1st of June following, at which time we reached 35° south latitude, and 28° 40' east longitude. It then began to blow a gale, which progressively increased until the seventh. Though bred to the sea from my earliest youth, all that I had either heard or read of before presented no adequate idea of those sublime effects which the raging of the elements produced. The ship, raised on mountains of water, was in a moment precipitated into an abyss, where she seemed to wait until the coming sea elevated her again to the clouds. The incessant roaring of the wind and waves produced an awful sensation in the minds of the most experienced seamen, who for some time appeared in a state of stupefaction, while others, less accustomed to the dangers of a maritime life, vented their fears in cries and exclamations. Night came on worse than the day had been, and a sudden shift of wind, about midnight, threw the ship into the trough of the sea, which struck her aft, tore away the rudder, started the stern-post, and shattered the whole of her stern-frame. . . . As the next day advanced, the weather appeared to moderate; the men continued incessantly at the pumps, and every exertion was made to keep the ship afloat. At that time we were about two hundred leagues from the eastern coast of Africa. . . . The ship being for some time unmanageable, and, in spite of all our efforts, frequently standing with her head from the land, I got a rudder made out of the topmast, and fixed in the place of the one we had lost. But it was found of little avail without the help of the long-boat, which I, therefore, ordered to be hauled athwart the stern; and this served, though with the greatest difficulty, to get the vessel's head towards the shore, while the wind was variable from the eastward. . . . On the evening of the 15th we discovered land at about six leagues distance. At this moment all on board expressed their joy by shouts and acclamations, and the ship still kept nearing the shore, with five feet water in her hold. In the morning of the 16th, being then about two miles from the land and the wind from the westward, I ordered the anchor to be let

go, that a last effort might be made to stop the leaks, and, if possible, save the ship. But her stern was shattered in such a manner that, after another consultation with my officers, it was finally resolved to run her on the coast then opposite to us. Another gale was threatening, and no time was to be lost. We were now on the coast of Caffraria, within a few leagues of the place where the river Infanta [Fish River] empties itself into the sea. As the crisis approached, we resolved to meet it with fortitude ; and I therefore gave directions to set the head-sail, to heave the spring tight, in order to get the ship's head towards the shore, and then to cut the cable and the spring. My orders were obeyed with the greatest promptitude. After running within half a mile of the shore, the vessel struck on a cluster of rocks : the swell was at this moment tremendous, and, from her beating so violently, it was scarcely possible for men to hold on. In this situation she remained three or four minutes, when a sea took her over the rocks, and carried her about a cable's length nearer the shore. Here she struck again, and continued heaving in, with a dreadful surf, which every instant made a break over her. . . . There the natives who had kindled fires, appeared in great numbers. They were mostly clothed in skins, armed with spears, and accompanied by a great many dogs ; a party of them seized one man who had landed, and conducted him behind the sand hills lining the coast, which hid him entirely from our view. Twelve of my people now launched themselves on different spars, and whatever pieces of timber they could find. Braving all difficulties, they at last gained the beach : which they had no sooner reached, than the natives came down, seized and conducted them behind the sand hills also. . . . The whole night was spent in anxious consultations, and the approach of day was anticipated with considerable anxiety. When it did come, not an individual was to be seen, until nine o'clock, when all the people who had landed were observed making towards the shore, and we soon perceived them beckoning and inviting us to land. . . . The first object of my enquiry, on our all getting ashore, was, naturally, the fate of my unfortunate crew : and I then enjoyed the heartfelt pleasure of beholding them all around me, except those in

the long-boat and one man who perished near the shore. I then addressed myself to the natives, endeavouring to explain myself by signs. Fortunately there was a Hottentot present who had lived with the Dutch farmers, and could speak their language; my third mate was a Dutchman, and these two served as interpreters. . . . This being, as I conceived, at no great distance from the spot where the *Grosvenor* was lost in 1782, I inquired whether any of the natives remembered such a catastrophe. Most of them answered in the affirmative, and ascending one of the sand hills, pointed to the place where the *Grosvenor* suffered. I then desired to know whether they had received any certain accounts respecting the fate of Captain Coxon, who was proceeding on his way to the Cape, with several men and women passengers that were saved from the wreck. They answered that Captain Coxon and the men were slain. One of the chiefs having insisted on taking two of the white ladies to his kraal, the Captain and his people resisted, and not being armed, were immediately destroyed. The natives, at the same time, gave me to understand that at the period when the *Grosvenor* was wrecked their nation was at war with the colonists; and as the Captain and his crew were whites, they could not tell but they would assist the colonists in the war, provided they reached their farms. This intelligence so directly affected my own situation that I desired to know on what terms the Caffres and the colonists now stood. "We are friends," said they, "and it will be their fault if we are not always so." This answer relieved me from a very serious embarrassment. But the fate of the two unfortunate ladies gave me so much uneasiness that I most earnestly requested the natives to tell me all they knew of their situation; whether they were alive or dead, and if living, what part of the country they inhabited. They replied, with much apparent concern, that one of the ladies had died a short time after her arrival at the kraal, but they understood that the other was living, had several children by the chief. "Where she now is," said they, "we know not." After receiving every possible information on this melancholy subject, we principally employed ourselves, during the remainder of the day, in assisting the natives to save whatever came on shore from the wreck."

The following is from the "A. & S. Regimental News," 91st Highlanders, copied into the *Times of Natal* of May 7th, 1885 :—

"**OLD COINS.**—Five silver coins, recovered from the rocks where the Indiaman, the *Grovesnor*, was wrecked in 1782, have been deciphered by a Mahommedan Priest at Durban, who gave them as of the Emperors of Delhi—the oldest date was that of Shah Alim, A. H., 1107-1112—the Arabic name of the rupee is 'nessfer Jules.' The Mollah could not give an account of the two small gold coins that have a three-quarter figure impressed on them, the stamping has slightly split the edges. A few Venetian sequins also have been obtained. One of these coins is in possession of Lieut.-Colonel Robley ; the figure of St. Mark is on one side in an oval of sixteen stars ; on the other blessing a diminutive Doge, whose name, abbreviated, is that of the Doge, AL. MOCEXIGO—1763-76. The gold is of a bright colour and in good preservation. Captain Turner, of the trading steamer *Lady Wood*, of Durban, states that the debris of the *Grovesnor* wreck is amongst rocks and in the surf, which makes diving difficult. Dynamite has been used in the rocks, and then the sands scraped with buckets. A great number of small gold coins were found in a cannon which he burnt. The native chief at this place will not allow the guns to be touched. A legend handed down amongst the inhabitants of the district is that sailors took a box ashore and buried it, and that treasure is hidden somewhere.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE SURVIVORS OF THE "GROSVENOR."

UPON the appearance in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* of July 1859, of Jacob Van Reenen's journal recounting his adventures in search of said survivors, Mr. George Thompson (author of the book entitled "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa" published by Henry Colburn of London in 1827), wrote to that periodical as follows :—

I notice with no small interest the article in your current number, in relation to the loss of the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman ; Mr. Van Reenen's journal ; and the allusion to a paragraph published in "Chambers Repository" some time ago, when all the points you have drawn to notice were the subject of my consideration. I then prepared a hasty sketch of the circumstances connected therewith, and to clear up some points I conceived in error by the otherwise generally faithful and intelligent publishers. Through some accident, however, it was never published. I therefore now submit it to you, and should you deem it worthy of a place in your interesting periodical, it is at your service. The paragraph in question reads as follows, to which I will add the comment made at the time :—

THE WAR IN KAFFRARIA.

"Slambies' widow, Nonubie, who possesses considerable influence with her tribe, is the grand-daughter of Miss Campbell, one of the three unfortunate daughters of General Campbell who was wrecked in the "Grosvenor," East Indiaman, on the East coast of Africa, during the last century, and compelled, all three of them, to become the wives of Kafirs.

In some measure I fear, leading the public to imagine that descendants of the *Grosvenor's* crew exist among the Kafirs, causing, doubtless, to the interested, through con-

sanguinity, much uneasiness. Little more than two generations having elapsed since the melancholy wreck occurred, many parties must still live in England who claim relationship to the unfortunate people. From the general accuracy of your statements, with some diffidence, I question the accuracy of the above report, and beg to refer you to the best, and I believe the only satisfactory, narrative of the lamented event, detailing an unparelled amount of suffering, and which you will find in the *American Magazine* for 1797, vol. xx. There we have the passengers enumerated.* The following persons having been left with Captain Coxon, of whom no accounts are received; Mr. Logie, chief mate; John Hunter, gunner; Mr. Beale, third mate; Wm. Mixon, second master; Mr. Harris, fifth mate, John M'Daniel, James Mauleverer, carpenter's mates; Mr. Haye, purser; Mr. Nixon, surgeon; John Edkins, caulker; Robert Rea, boatswain; Wm. Stevens, butcher; Col. D'Espinetto; seven seamen; four servants, and two discharged soldiers from Madras.†

Passengers left with Captain Coxon; Colonel and Mrs. James; Mr. and Mrs. Hosea; Mrs. Logie; Mr. Newman; Captain Adair; Misses Dennis, Wilmot and Hosea; Masters Saunders and Chambers, children, and eight black servants.

The following persons died on their way to the Cape; Wm. Thompson, midly; Page, carpenter; Lillburne, steward; Master Law; Simmons, second master; Ant. Cooper; Couch, captain's steward, Jonesque, yeoman, All Schultz, Thomas Barker, Burne, Fitzgerald, and Blane, seaman; Williams, Taylor, and Sussman, passengers.

Left in different parts, exclusive to those who remained with the Captain: Thomson, Read, Shaw, Trotter, Crighton, Mr. Ewen, Monck, Squires, Blair, Fruel and Burny, Simpson, Angel, Howes and Brown and Ellis, Croker, and Stockdale, discharged soldiers.

In this very complete and detailed statement, no Misses

* John Hynes's account of the shipwreck, &c., was published in the magazine alluded to, and will be found preceding this letter of Mr. Thompson's.—D. C. F. M.

† Mr. Thompson had evidently not perused the account of Lewis, Warrington, Price, Lacey, or that of Hubberley.—D. C. F. M.

Campbell are mentioned, and no such parties appear to have been on board. I had hoped, after Captain Marryat's work (*The Mission; or, Scenes in South Africa*. "Routledge, 1853) though partly imaginary, that all doubts on the subject had been set at rest. To account, however, for the continued excitement is not difficult, from the innumerable statements, full of discrepancies, thro' hearsay evidence and the blending of other wrecks long antecedent to that of the *Grosvenor*. If you refer to Van Reenen's expedition in quest of the survivors in 1791, only nine years after the stranding of the *Grosvenor*, published by the late well known and gallant Capt. Riou, R.N.; and referred to in my *travels* in 1827, you will find that among the Tambookies the party found three European women, and no less than 400 of mixed blood. The present chief of the country, Faku, is such. The women referred to were far advanced in years, and had no knowledge whatever of their arrival amongst the savages, and I think it may safely be inferred that no one of the *Grosvenor's* crew survived, beyond those who reached the Colony, and whose names are given in the narrative alluded to. Their numbers gradually diminished in the most difficult route along the beach, continually interrupted with formidable rivers. The journey from the wreck, only 300 miles as the crow flies, occupied one hundred and seventeen days, before reaching the Zwaartkops River and the first colonial settlers. One of the sufferers has often excited in me a thrill of sympathy, viz., the little passenger boy Law, only twelve years of age, who only perished a day before the meeting with the colonists. He was a favourite with the crew, and thro' them had been enabled to bear so long against the unequal task at so tender an age. Between the Kieskama and the Sundays River the mortality was great. Some years ago, when on a visit to the Kowie, a friend discovered thro' the casual drifting of the sand on the hill skirting the coast the skeleton of evidently a European, in a sitting posture, as might be expected of one yielding to exhausted nature.

My friend Capt. Garden, of the 45th Regt., has recently proceeded to England with a view of publishing interesting particulars concerning the Zulu tribes, and his visit to the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, which he still found in existence,

having veritable relics of the remains. Her guns were upon the beach as described by Van Reenen. Capt. Garden made enquiry on the spot, and subsequently on his journey thro' Kaffraria, regarding the report of existence of descendants of the *Grosvenor*, but in vain. All, I believe, he could obtain was a faint clue to an individual said to have been a grandson of a petty officer of the ship.

The matter, however, in my opinion is very doubtful, and although at one time I imagined it possible that some of the descendants of the shipwreck might be in existence, I have, after many searching enquiries, come to the conclusion that not one remained to perpetuate the memory of the sad disaster; and the surviving relations of the missing may rest assured that their blood mingles not with the savages of Kaffraria.

With regard to T'Slambie's widow Nonubie, whom you mention as being a grand-daughter of Miss Campbell, one of the three daughters of General Campbell, who was wrecked in the *Grosvenor*, the statement is incorrect, Nonubie having but a bare trace of European blood in her. If these few remarks tend to relieve the minds of any still brooding over the harassing idea of their kindred being mingled with the Kafirs, I should hope they will feel the same satisfactory conviction that Sir Charles felt in the following paragraph extracted from Capt. Marryat's work already alluded to: "Alexander sat down by the bed, and entered into a full detail of the results of his expedition to Port Natal, reading over all the memoranda which they had collected, and satisfactorily proving that the descendants of the Europeans then existing could not by any possibility be from those who had been lost in the *Grosvenor*, East Indiaman. Sir C. Wilson listened in silence to all Alexander had to say, and then, joining his hands above the bed clothes, exclaimed 'Gracious Lord, I thank thee that this weight has been removed from my mind.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLE OF MUIZENBERG.

HAVING now—it will be fully conceded—exhaustively given every particular concerning an event that has for a very long time been very interesting, but which has been a kind of mystery in the minds of many, I must now, after a turn at “Adventure” begin the narration of the irregular warfare which prefaced subsequent “Battles,” of which, it seems, South Africa is the hot bed, as well as the “Grave of military reputations.”

The first irregular warfare began under the “Commando” system in 1789, when the Dutch Government at the Cape being unable to protect their frontier burghers against inroads of Kafirs, these energetic gentlemen simply took the law in their own hands, and, in the year above mentioned the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet called out a Commando, and took the field. *This was the first movement of importance against the Kafirs, videlicet,* as the beginning of the reprisals that led to regular warfare.

But the very first martial movement was against the Hottentots in 1653—under Commander Jan van Riebeeck, of the Dutch East India Service at the Cape, as I have pointed out.

My father, Donald Moodie, says, in his translation of Van Riebeeck’s journals in his Cape “Record” published in 1838 (page 39) “It was finally, after much deliberation, and upon serious consideration, resolved to send out in that direction this very night (Oct. 23) a party of 17 active soldiers, victualled for 4 or 5 days, under Corporal Jan van Harwarden, a person of discretion and conduct—with orders to halt at the wood until daybreak, and then, on finding it safe to make the attempt, to set out for False Bay, or wherever Herry may be with our cattle, and either with or without the Saldanha Captain; and on falling in with Herry, to see to get possession of the cattle, and also, if possible, by fair means, or by force, to bring Herry and

his people hither, keeping at the same time a good watch, so that our men may not be deceived or destroyed by one or the other." There were also at several times other expeditions not worth mentioning.

However, the Landdrost found that the Kafirs, against whom he was now moving, were of vastly superior metal in fighting to the indolent Hottentots, and the consequence was that a state of anarchy succeeded and continued until 1793, until, after some more scrimmages, a peace was made with 'Ndlambe.

Matters went on in this unsatisfactory state until events transpired in Europe which were destined to change altogether the position of affairs at the Cape. At the breaking out of the French Revolution there were two parties in Holland, one of which was opposed to the Government of the Stadtholder. This party naturally sympathised with the French Revolutionists. The alliance of the Stadtholder with England drew the French armies upon Holland. In February, 1793, Dumouriez invaded that country, but it was reserved for Pichegru to overrun it, which he did during the severe winter of 1794-5, when the rivers were frozen so solidly, that he could move his armies readily in any direction. The democratic party gave the French an enthusiastic welcome. The Government was immediately remodelled, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the French and Batavian Republics was signed at the Hague on the 16th of May, 1795.

Nearly half of the Dutch navy had already been seized by England, under the pretence of keeping the ships from falling into the hands of the French, and the Stadtholder had fled to England and requested that power to *take possession* of the Dutch Colonies, *and hold them* in trust for himself.

In accordance with the above, Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig were sent out by the British Government to the Cape with a fleet and troops, and arrived at the Cape in June, 1795. They also brought a letter from the Prince of Orange to the Cape Government, stating that they were sent out to protect the Colony against the French, and directing that the troops and ships should be received and considered as in amity and alliance with Holland.

The officer in charge of the Cape Government,

Commissary Sluysken, seemed to have looked with suspicion upon this order from a Prince in exile, and as he had no instructions from the Chamber of Seventeen, he rejected the proposal to permit the troops on board the fleet—which had anchored at Simon's Bay—to land, and peremptorily refused to place the Settlement under the protection of Great Britain.

A call to arms was the result. Sluysken called to his aid the burghers of Swellendam. But these refractory gentlemen had already rebelled against an effete Government, which expected them to pay taxes for land that they had to fight for themselves, whilst they supplied the Dutch Commander with cabbages and cauliflowers at his own price. They therefore declined the call to arms.

However, about 1600 Burghers of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts rallied to the support of the Government, and these, with some armed slaves, and a few regulars, occupied the Pass of Muizenberg—a strong position, between Simon's Bay and Cape Town.

Four hundred and fifty men of the 78th Regiment, and 350 marines, being the whole military force under General Craig, were then disembarked and possession was taken of Simon's Town on the 14th July, 1795.

After some delay in waiting for reinforcements, the English officers determined to attempt to carry Muizenberg. Eight hundred seamen landed from the fleet, commanded by Captains Spranger and Hardy of the *Rattlesnake* and *Echo* ships of war.

The English General advanced to the attack at the head of about 1,600 men, while a heavy fire was opened from the ships of war ranged along the beach opposite the Dutch encampment. De Lille, the Dutch General, threw out some small parties of mounted burghers, Hottentots and slaves, to annoy the English by skirmishing, but as these parties were easily driven back, he was prevented from using his cannon against the advancing foe. Some companies of soldiers, with the Naval Brigades, following close behind the fugitives, safely reached the hill side above the pass, and easily put the whole Dutch force to rout.

The Dutch retired so hastily, and in such confusion, that the sailors, in their eagerness to overtake them, threw away

their muskets, and ran forward with cheers. The loss on the English side was trifling, amounting only to 19 killed and wounded.

Having lost Muizenberg, which should have been defended to the last extremity, De Lille rallied his forces at a place a little to the northward, where there was a battery which enfiladed the head of the Pass. But from this position he retreated in disorder upon the first appearance of the British troops issuing from the pass to attack him. General Craig encamped at Muizenberg, and was reinforced by about 300 men from St. Helena.

On the 4th of September, 1795, the remainder of the British fleet, having on board 3,000 soldiers, anchored in Simon's Bay. Upon intelligence of this reaching Wynberg, the burghers commenced to desert their colours in such numbers that soon all chance of further resistance was gone. On the 14th, the British force, now 5,000 strong, marched to Wynberg, and after slight skirmish, took possession of the camp, and on the morning of the 15th of September, 1795, the Colony was surrendered.

General J. H. Craig on September 21st, thus writes, of one of these engagements, to Secretary of State Right Hon. Sir Henry Dundas :—

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy having lined the mountains above us with Hottentots and burghers militia, commenced a fire of musketry upon our camp, which, from the total want of effect that had attended a former attempt of the same nature, was little attended to, till, unfortunately, the picket of the reserve, being too much occupied in covering themselves from it, neglected their front, from whence the enemy poured in considerable numbers, and forced them with some loss. Capt. Brown, with the 78th Grenadiers, advancing, however, to their support, the enemy were immediately driven down the hill again, and the ground of the piquets re-occupied. In this affair Major Moneypenny of the 78th, was severely wounded, and we suffered a great loss in being deprived of the assistance of an officer of distinguished zeal and activity in command of the reserve, with which he had been charged since our march from Simon's Town. Capt. Dentane, of the St. Helena troops, was also wounded.

The remains of the old battery at Muizenberg are still to be seen, and it must be mentioned that several members of the colonial force distinguished themselves—especially a Capt. Cloete who commanded a Hottentot corps, and a Mr. Du Plessis, who headed a party of burghers, and attracted the General's notice by his courage.

Judge Watermeyer says "some national feeling in favour of the Fatherland may have lingered, but substantially every man in the Colony, of every hue, was benefitted when the incubus of Dutch East India Company was removed."



CHAPTER XV.

CAPTURE OF THE FLEET OF THE DUTCH ADMIRAL “LUCAS.”

ON the 5th of August, 1796, information reached Cape Town that a Dutch fleet had left Europe, and might be expected at any moment. Admiral Elphinstone, who was then, in Simon's Bay put to sea with a fleet of twelve ships of war.

On desecyring this fleet the Dutch were in great joy, imagining the ships to be those of their friends, the French. But they were soon undeceived, when to their great surprise the British drew up in line of battle across the Bay. They now perceived they were completely shut in, and that no chance was left for escape. The Dutch officers had some idea of running their vessels ashore to prevent falling into the hands of the English in a perfect state, and to attempt to make their own escape into the country. General Craig, however, expecting they might have such intentions, sent an officer with a flag of truce to inform the Dutch Admiral that if the ships were injured he would allow no quarter.

The next morning—August 18th, 1796—Elphinstone sent a flag of truce to the Dutch Admiral, Lucas, requiring him to surrender without delay. Resistance or escape was equally impracticable, and, therefore, after an ineffectual request for one of the frigates to convey him and his officers to Europe, he surrendered at discretion.

On boarding the prizes the Dutch were found to be completely demoralized. The English commander was obliged to place a strong guard over the Dutch officers, to prevent them from being maltreated by their own men, so indignant were they for being taken in such a trap. In some instances the men were trampling on their own colours, and casting the vilest terms of reproach upon those by whom they had been betrayed. They were almost destitute of provisions, and had been on short allowance so long that many of them looked half starved.

A large number of the Dutch mercenaries and conscripts at once volunteered to enter the English service. Elphinstone accepted their offer, and as soon as he reached Table Bay with his prizes, put them on board some Indiamen, taking an equal number of able seamen in return.

And so the entire force of ships and men, composing an expedition from which the Batavian Government expected nothing less than the recovery of the Colony, fell into the hands of the British, without a shot being fired, or a drop of blood spilt.

In the year 1796, Jager Afrikaner, the descendant of a line of Hottentot chieftains, who had been for some time a shepherd in the service of a farmer named Pienaar, driven to fury by ill-treatment and abuse, rose against his master, murdered him, and took possession of several guns which were in the house. He then raised a band of followers, with whom he fled to the lower banks of the Orange River, where he fixed his residence.

Some time afterwards he removed to Great Namaqualand, and there became a terror to all the neighbouring tribes, as well as to the farmers on the Colonial frontier. Commandos were sent against him, but to no purpose. For several years he carried on such a career of devastation and bloodshed as had never before been witnessed in those regions. But he was at length conquered by a Missionary, and under the new name of Christian Afrikaner, became a staunch friend and supporter of Mission work in Namaqualand.

In November, 1798, when General Dundas was at the head of affairs, a story which, between Boers and British, has become old, was enacted. A Boer named Van Jaarsveld was arrested by the officials for forgery. His Boer friends turned up, and setting Mr. Bresler, the Landdrost, at defiance, rescued him, but they were afterwards obliged to surrender. Some were heavily fined, and others sentenced to death, but the sentence was never carried out.

The above was followed by an outbreak of Hottentots and Klaas Stuurman, who, in revenge for persecution, fell upon the Boers and plundered a great many homesteads, but did not murder.

A lawless ruffian farmer of herculean proportions named

Coenraad Buys, who had married Ngqika's mother, now roused up the Kafir Chief Cungwa, persuading him that if he did not act upon the offensive and chase the British troops from the frontier, he would be driven off his loved territory. The result of this pernicious advice was soon apparent.

General Vandeleur, having left a small garrison in the village of Graaff-Reinet, was on his march to Algoa Bay with a view of embarking his troops for Cape Town, and was unsuspecting of an enemy being close at hand, when in a thicket, a charge was made upon his line by Cungwa's followers, aided by several white renegades like Buys.

In this, the above *first engagement between Kafirs and British troops*, the assailants were repulsed with heavy loss, though the nature of the ground was in their favour.

Unfortunately a small detachment of the 81st, under command of Lieut. Chumney, was surprised when out of reaching assistance, and, after a desperate defence against overwhelming numbers, 17 men, including the officer, were slain. The General then continued his march to Algoa Bay, where he erected and garrisoned a small fort for the purpose of securing that important position against a foreign enemy, after which he took ship for Cape Town, with the remainder of his forces.

One of the renegade whites—they were two brothers—Lochenberg; a German named Cornelies Faber; and an Irish deserter from the army; besides several young men connected with old and respectable Colonial families—well, one of the renegade whites induced the Hottentots to join Cungwa, and thus let loose upon the colony a host of savages.

The prospect of plundering thus before his eyes, now proved too much for 'Ndhlambe and his followers to resist, so that they all fell in with the torrent of invasion.

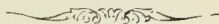
The united bands first ravaged the district of Graaff-Reinet; burning the houses and seizing the cattle, and then advanced beyond the Gamtoos River, where they met and defeated a commando under Tjaardt van der Walt, who fell in the engagement. When the death of this leader, who was a man of bravery and military genius, became known, the farmers lost all hope, and thought of nothing but flight.

The work of plunder and destruction was continued as far as Cayman's River, near the present village of George ; but there the raiders were met and defeated by the burghers of Swellendam, aided by a small body of British troops. They then retired beyond the Sunday River, having destroyed a vast amount of property in addition to what they carried off.

In November, 1799, during a terrific gale, eight ships were driven ashore in Table Bay ; one being a Danish man-of-war ; and another the British war-ship *Sceptre*, whose crew of 300 souls all perished.

On the 27th of March, 1802, the Treaty of Amiens was signed. Europe was exhausted and required breathing time in order to prepare for still greater struggles than those she had just gone through. One of the conditions of peace, insisted on by France, and agreed to by England, was that the Cape Colony should be handed over to the Batavian Government. In accordance with this agreement a force was despatched from Holland to relieve the British garrison and occupy the forts of the Colony.

The 1st of January, 1803, was fixed for the British evacuation of the Cape, and the English troops had actually commenced to embark, when a vessel arrived with orders to delay the cession, as it was probable that war would break out again immediately. The Dutch troops were therefore cantoned at Wynberg, where they remained until February, 1803, when fresh orders were received and the Colony was given up.



CHAPTER XVI.

BATTLE OF BLAAUWBERG.

THE Cape had hardly been transferred to the Dutch when the war broke out again between France and England. France and Holland were then so united that war with one meant war with the other, and accordingly one of the first acts of hostility was the seizure by the English of all the Dutch vessels in British ports. It was certain that Great Britain would attempt to recover possession of South Africa; but highly as it was valued by the Batavian Government, there was one other dependency of that Power considered of greater importance, and to its defence all the energies of the Republic were directed. That was the Island of Java, and thither General Janssens was directed to send a great portion of the army under his command, retaining only 2,000 men in garrison at the Cape. The Governor complied with these instructions, and immediately took steps to increase his own power of resistance by arming and drilling the colonists, and by organizing a battalion of Hottentots, and a corps of Malay Artillery. He also caused magazines to be erected beyond Hottentot's Holland, and military stores to be collected there, so that in the event of Cape Town falling into the hands of the enemy, he would have something to fall back upon, and by endeavouring to prevent supplies from reaching the city, might possibly compel the invaders to retire. His plans were the best that could be formed under the circumstances, but the forces with which he had to contend were so powerful as to make all attempts at resistance vain.

In the evening of the 4th of January 1806 a British fleet, under the command of Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham, came to anchor between Robben Island and the coast.

By noon of the 6th January all was ready. The *Diadem*, *Leda*, *Encounter*, and *Protector* were moved so as to cover the heights above the beach with their heavy guns, and a small transport was run ashore in such a manner as to form a breakwater outside of the landing place.

The 71st, 72nd, and 93rd Regiments, which formed the Highland Brigade, under the command of Brigadier General Ferguson, were then conveyed on shore, though the passage was attended with great difficulty. The sea was breaking with violence, but only one boat was swamped. It contained 36 men of the 93rd Regiment, all of whom were drowned.

On the 7th January the 24th, 59th, and 83rd Regiments were landed, together with sufficient water and provisions for the immediate use of the army. The ships of war had covered the landing place so effectually during the disembarkation that only four soldiers were wounded and one killed by the fire of the enemy, though a detachment of Dutch sharpshooters was posted on a commanding height.

On the morning of the 8th the army, which was formed into two brigades, commenced its march towards Cape Town. The Dutch sharpshooters were easily driven from their position, and then the ascent of the Blaauwberg was made. On reaching the summit the Dutch forces were seen advancing in readiness for battle, for as soon as General Janssens received authentic information as to where the English were landing, he hastened to meet them.

General Janssens' army was about 5,000 strong, but only a small portion of it consisted of regular troops, the remainder being composed of Mounted Burghers and a battalion of French seamen, and marines from the stranded ships *Atalanta* and *Napoleon*. He had twenty-three pieces of cannon, whilst the British had only eight, but the troops commanded by General Baird were veteran soldiers, which more than compensated for his deficiency in artillery. To prevent his flanks from being turned, which was the object of the enemy, the English commander extended his lines, and then ordered his left wing to advance. The Highland Brigade, of which this part of his army was composed, pressed steadily forward under a deadly fire, answering shot for shot while the artillery was playing upon their opponents from another direction.

The Dutch stood their ground bravely until the Highlanders charged with the bayonet, when they broke and fled, leaving 700 men dead and wounded on the battle field. Janssens having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying troops, retired, as arranged, to Hottentots Holland.

When the roll was called it was ascertained that the loss of the British was 212 killed, wounded, and missing.

At four o'clock on the afternoon of January 10, 1806, the articles were signed, by which the city was placed in the possession of the British; Janssens and his troops retiring with honours of war, and being provided with the means of conveyance homeward.

In taking leave of the above subject we might glance at an amusing extract from the pen of a Captain Carmichel who was engaged in the affair. The Captain says, in his notes, that pending negotiations, he, with some troops, marched to the Paarl. "On our arrival" says he "we found the people prodigiously civil. Every door was thrown open for our reception, and several of the inhabitants carried their kindness so far as to send even to the Parade to invite us to their houses.

Some of our speculators ascribed this marked hospitality to fear, while others, inclined to judge more favourably of human nature, imputed it to general benevolence of disposition. Those who suspended their opinion on the subject had the laugh at the expense of both, when, on our departure next morning, the true motive was discovered in the amount of their bills!"

After the first fall of Napoleon, the Government of the United Provinces was remodelled by the Allied Powers, when the Prince of Orange became King of the Netherlands.

On the 13th of August, 1814, a convention was signed by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Sovereigns of Great Britain and the Netherlands, according to which all the foreign possessions of Holland, which had been seized during the war by England, were restored, except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. These colonies were then ceded to Great Britain for £6,000,000 sterling, with the stipulation that Dutch ships were to be permitted to obtain refreshments and repairs at Cape Town on the same conditions as English vessels, and that the colonists should not be debarred from carrying on trade with Holland.

The possession of the Cape Colony was then formally ratified to Great Britain by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and no attempt has since been made to wrest it from her.

CHAPTER XVII.

KAFIR WAR OF 1811.

THE first Kafir War of any consequence occurred in 1811.

The continual thefts and acts of violence (says Mr. Theal) practised by the Kafirs in the Zuurveldt (now Albany) had by this time become so unbearable that it was determined to drive them all out of the Colony, and a large force was placed under command of Colonel Graham for that purpose.

At the same time Landdrost Stockenstrom of Graaff-Reinet was sent to apprise the chief Ngqika that no enmity was intended towards him, but that hostile operations would be conducted solely against Ndhlambe, Cungwa, and the other Kafirs who insisted remaining within the colonial border, but yet would not desist from plundering the colonists. With this assurance Ngqika was satisfied, and that chief took no part in the transactions that followed.

The British force entered the Zuurveldt in three divisions, the right under Landdrost Cuyler, the left under Stockenstrom, and the centre under Captain Fraser, the Commander-in-Chief being with the last named division. On the 28th of December, 1811, Stockenstrom, with about forty men, left his camp for the purpose of seeking an interview with Colonel Graham. On their way to headquarters they fell in with a body of Kafirs of the Imidange Clan, and the chivalrous Landdrost, who was well known to these people and had always been their friend, hoping to be able to make them retire without bloodshed, rode in amongst them and dismounted.

He was followed, not without apprehension of danger, by some of his party; but this frank conduct seemed to have the effect of securing the good will of the Kafirs and a friendly intercourse followed. Suddenly intelligence was brought that the right and central divisions of the British force had commenced operations, and that blood

had already been shed. This report infuriated the Kafirs, and with wild yells they fell upon the little party, fourteen of whom, with the Landdrost, they cruelly put to death. The remainder owed their escape to the fleetness of their horses.

This inhuman act provoked a terrible retaliation. From that day all Kafirs who resisted were shot; their crops were destroyed; their kraals burnt down; and their cattle seized. No prisoners were made, and the wounded and infirm were left to perish. The Chief Cungwa, who was ill and unable to get away, was slain near the present village of Alexandria, where he had been long residing. The murder of the Landdrost and his party was fully avenged. About 20,000 Kafirs and the chief Ndhlambe, succeeded in making good their escape across the Fish River. The forces employed in the expedition consisted of some English troops; a Hottentot regiment of foot that had been raised by Sir David Baird, *and which afterwards became the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps*; a body of Burghers, and some Hottentot levies from the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp. The head quarters of the troops engaged in this service was placed in a central position, *to which, in August, 1812, the name of Graham's Town was given*, after the commanding officer.

On the 30th of May, 1815, one of the most disastrous shipwrecks ever known on the coast occurred. The East India Company's ship *Arniston* was lost on Cape L'Agulhas, and 344 persons, among whom were Lord and Lady Molesworth, perished.



CHAPTER XVIII.

BOER REBELLION OF 1815.

THE next event fraught with results that long afterwards, and especially in 1881, were terribly evidenced, was the "Rebellion of 1815." It appears that at that time—at the coming of Lord Charles Somerset—the Boers were very much discontented with certain land laws, and another cause of ill-feeling was that complaints made against them by Hottentots were investigated by different Courts, and that they were occasionally mulcted in fines for acts which they believed their colour gave them every right to commit.

This, then—says the late Judge Cloete—was the state of feeling generally prevalent throughout the remote country districts, when in the month of October, 1815, another Commission of Circuit, of which I was Registrar, held its session at Graaff-Reinet, when one of those "untoward" events took place, which set the whole Eastern Province in a blaze, drove a great mass of population into open rebellion against their Sovereign, and brought the heads of several respectable families to an ignominious death, thereby causing an alienation from, and bitterness of feeling towards the local Government, which a lapse of very many years has not been able entirely to eradicate.

At the opening of the session at Graaff Reinet the Landdrost of that district (Sir A. Stockenstrom) acting as ex-officio prosecutor, informed the Court that a farmer named Frederick Bezuidenhout, living in the Baviaans River District, had refused to appear before the Court of Landdrost and Heemraden on a charge of ill-treatment of a Hottentot preferred against him, and that he had threatened to shoot the messenger, or sheriff, if he ventured again to approach his premises. He was known to be a person of a very daring character, and the Land-

drost therefore applied for a warrant as "personal summons" (as it was legally termed) ordering him forthwith to appear in person before the Commission. The Court granted this application, and from the lawless habits of the individual, and his daily intercourse with Kafirs, whom, it was known he admitted and dealt with, contrary to the law then existing; the Court gave an order authorizing the messenger, who was sent off with the summons, to call in the aid of the nearest military force if he thought it necessary, or apprehended any danger.

The messenger, on reaching the neighbourhood, was informed that some Kafirs had been seen at the Baviaans River, and thereupon applied to Lieut. Rousseau, in command of the Boschberg post (now the village of Somerset) for his aid; who immediately, with 20 men of the Cape Corps, entered the Baviaans River Poort, towards the residence of Bezuidenhout.

To a lover of Nature, this is a particularly picturesque spot, which was selected afterwards by Scottish Immigrants, headed by Mr. Pringle, as their location. At the time of the occurrence now detailed, it was, however, only notorious for the impervious nature of the bush around, for the lawlessness of its inhabitants, and the facilities with which they maintained constant intercourse with the Kafirs, in defiance of the strict law forbidding all such intercourse under the severest penalties.

Upon approaching the residence of Bezuidenhout they found him fully prepared to meet them: for, taking up a position (with a powerful half-caste person in his employ) behind the walls of a cattle kraal—both being armed—the rebel called upon them not to advance, as the first man would be shot! Undeterred by this menace, Lieut. Rousseau ordered his men to extend themselves in skirmishing order, and to attack the spot, when Bezuidenhout, for fear of being surrounded, after a hasty shot,—which luckily did not take effect—fled into his house, and escaping thro' the back door, rushed into a thick bush and jungle near the house, where strange to say that upwards of an hour, this party of 20 active "trackfinders" failed to trace the retreat of the two fugitives.

After again and again following their track up to a ledge of rocks, where it at once became lost, they chanced

to espy in a remarkably precipitous impending rock, or "Krans" the shining muzzles of two rifles, protruding from a hole in that ledge, thus announcing the lair into which they had got. Lieut. Rousseau thereupon crawled with difficulty to the top of those rocks, and there, being stationed a few feet above the aperture of this cavern, he challenged Bezuidenhout to come out and surrender, acquainting him with the nature of his errand, and assuring him of personal safety, upon his merely engaging to accompany the messenger of the Court, on the summons he was ordered to serve upon him, but the answer he gave was that he (Bezuidenhout) would never surrender but with his life !

Finding then all his efforts in vain to bring him to reason, and anxious to get out of these kloofs with his men before night, Rousseau, keeping his position above, directed his men, silently, to form in two files—each party scrambling up in opposite directions from under the rock. When the heads of each column having got a few inches under the entrance, one party rushed forward, and threw up the two projecting barrels, which were instantly fired off without effect, while the leading man of the second column fired his deadly rifle straight into the cave, from whence a cry immediately issued for mercy and surrender. All firing at once ceased, when the half-caste Hottentot crawled forth, stating that he surrendered himself, and that his master lay mortally wounded within the cave.

The men of the detachment even then with difficulty got into this grotto, which proved of stalactite formation, and of goodly dimensions within, where several guns and a large quantity of balls and ammunition were found collected ; evidently showing that this place had been long prepared for a retreat in a similar emergency ; and, at the entrance lay the expiring corpse of the unhappy victim of his own obstinacy, having in the recumbent position in which he had placed himself before the cave, received the fatal shot through both the head and breast.

Finding that the surrounding bush was occupied by Kafirs with whom Bezuidenhout had kept up daily intercourse, Lieut. Rousseau hastened to retire out of these kloofs before nightfall, taking the half-caste Hottentot in custody, whom he sent up to Graaff-Reinet, where he was

put upon his trial, but after a full enquiry into all those particulars, he was acquitted and discharged; and the Commission of Circuit proceeded soon after passing by the present towns of Somerset and Graham's Town, to the town of Uitenhage, where the trial of several important cases awaited their arrival.

While engaged in the midst of these trials, an officer stationed at Graham's Town arrived one evening (having left that town the morning of the same day) with the astounding intelligence that the farmers of the Somerset and Tarka districts were all in arms, and were about to attack Captain Andrew's post, which was stationed along the northern banks of the Fish River, to prevent any inroads from Kafirs in that quarter; and that Major Fraser, in command at Graham's Town, had immediately proceeded to the scene of action. Within an hour from the receipt of that intelligence, Colonel Cuyler who was both Landdrost at Uitenhage and the Commander of the Frontier, started on horseback, and within 48 hours, to the surprise of the rebel farmers (who were then still discussing their plan of operations) informed them of his presence, and desired to know the cause of those proceedings.

He then ascertained that upon the death of Bezuidenhout his relatives and his neighbours had assembled at his farm immediately after the departure of Lieut. Rousseau and his detachment, to commit his remains to the grave, and on that occasion John Bezuidenhout, a brother of deceased, had become exceedingly excited, impressing upon all around that an act of gross outrage and illegality had been committed upon the deceased, by his house having been surrounded and his person attacked by the military, as every burgher could only legally be arrested by his Veldt-cornet or the civil authorities. This address had created universal sympathy, and all those present at once engaged to avenge themselves for his outrage by attacking the nearest military post, and expelling the British forces from the Frontier.

They felt, however, that such plans ought to be more considered and matured before being carried out, and they had accordingly resolved to send out circular letters to the neighbours around, calling upon them to meet together and consider the present state of the country, while Cornelius

Faber, a brother-in-law of the Bezuidenhouts, immediately started to hold a conference with Ngqika, to solicit him to make a joint attack upon the military posts, so as to expel the British forces from the Frontier, promising him a full share in the booty. Several meetings were accordingly held in the more immediate neighbourhood by those inclined to join the rebels, and they all resolved to place themselves under the command of Hendrik Prinsloo, of the Boschberg, and of John Bezuidenhout, and having determined upon this first step, other circulars were widely sent abroad to the adjoining districts, inviting and commanding them to meet in arms at a particular spot on a day named to "expel the tyrants from the country."

One of these circulars having providentially got into the hands of a loyal and well affected farmer, he lost no time in forwarding it to the Deputy-Landdrost of Cradock, Mr. van der Graaff, who forwarded it immediately to Capt. Andrews, whereupon the latter sent out a military party and apprehended Prinsloo, while preparing to leave his farm and join the first assembly of men in arms. He was immediately secured and taken in custody to Capt. Andrew's post, who by this intelligence had also had time to strengthen his position and put it in some state of defence, when, two days after, 3, to 400 men in arms appeared before it, and summoned him to give up the post, and deliver up the prisoner Prinsloo. At this time Faber joined them from Kafirland, with the unsatisfactory intelligence that Ngqika had given him a most evasive reply, to the effect that he would call his Impakati (Councillors) together, and take some time to consider; evidently following out the often experienced Kafir policy, of watching the tide of events. (Ngqika said he was like one who was between two fires, and he wished to see which way the wind blew.)

Some vacillation was thereby created in the operations of the Boers, and this became more apparent when that active officer, Major Fraser, succeeded the same evening in throwing himself into the post, and opening communication with them, and when Col. Cuyler also, two days after, arrived upon the spot, and informed them that all their plans were fully known, and would be signally punished. Before, however, proceeding to any extremities, a worthy

field commandant, William Nel, volunteered to go among the rebels, and, if possible, avert from them the impending hazard they were running. He fearlessly continued to visit them for two days, was on several occasions in imminent danger of his life from some of the most violent and lawless of the rebels, who evidently saw that he was succeeding in opening the eyes of some to the dangerous position in which they were placed; when the leaders, Faber, Bezuidenhout and others, to counteract this impression, which they also saw manifesting itself, called the whole of their host together, and exacted from them a solemn oath—which they all took while ranged in a circle, loudly exclaiming that they would remain faithful to each other until they had expelled the tyrants from the Frontier!

Col. Cuyler, despairing upon this intelligence to bring about their submission by peaceable means, sallied forth the next morning early, out of Capt. Andrew's post, at the head of a troop of the 21st Light Dragoons, and a troop of loyal burghers, headed by Commandant Nel, and finding an advanced post of the rebels, Col. Cuyler at once ordered the troops to advance upon them, when about 30, forming their left wing, threw down their arms in token of surrender; and the remainder, falling back upon their main body, they gave up all hope of further resistance, and slowly retired with all their wagons and cattle into the fastnesses of the Baviaan's River, where (they were well aware) a small force could hardly expect to dislodge them.

Some further attempt to bring the Boers to submission having again failed, Major Fraser on one side, the Landdrost Stockenstrom upon another, and the Deputy Landdrost of Cradock on a third point, arranged a combined movement, by which they entered and cleared simultaneously all the fastnesses of that impervious glen; the result of which was that most of the followers of this band, now enclosed, contrived at night stealthily to escape by passes with which they were familiar. But the principal leaders still determined to reject all terms, broke up with their wagons and all their necessary "material," and contrived to get out of that district without direct opposition, and proceeded as far as the Winterberg, immediately bordering upon Kafirland, where they expected to meet

with safety ; but Major Fraser, with a detachment of the Cape Corps, succeeded at length in completely surrounding them in a deep kloof, where they were come upon while outspanned ; but rejecting all offers of surrender, John Bezuidenhout, Stephanus, Cornelius and Abraham Botman ; Andries Meyer ; Cornelius Faber, his wife, and his young son, fourteen years old, took up a position behind their wagons, from whence they maintained a regular skirmish for some time, killing one of the Cape Corps, and wounded another, and it was not until Bezuidenhout was shot, and Faber and his wife were both wounded, that the troops succeeded in taking them all prisoners.

They were from thence guarded by a military escort, and committed to the gaol of Uitenhage, where, subsequently, some fifty or sixty more persons who were traced, and known to have joined in the rebellion, were secured, and a special commission, appointed at Cape Town, soon arrived there to try the offenders. After some preliminary enquiry, thirty-nine persons out of the whole party were selected as the most culpable, who were put upon their trial upon the charge of high treason, and waging war against His Majesty, and after a lengthened and painful trial, a sentence was passed condemning six of the leaders (viz. Hendrik Prinsloo, Stephanus Botman, Cornelius Faber, Theunis de Klerk, Abraham Botman, and J. Kruger) to suffer capital punishment ; and all the others, after witnessing the ignominious death of their leaders, to undergo various degrees of punishment by transportation, banishment, and fines, according to the various degrees of their proved culpability. Upon this sentence being forwarded to the Governor of the Colony for his "fiat" before being carried into execution, His Excellency was pleased to commute the sentence of one of the leaders (Kruger) into transportation for life ; but with regard to them all, the sentence directed that they should be led to a remarkable plot of ground or plateau called the "Slachter's Nek," being the very spot where these leaders had exacted from all their followers the oath to stand by each other until they had "expelled the tyrants."

Thither they were taken under a strong military escort, and, on the 6th March, 1816, under the direction of Colonel Cuyler, the sad preparations were made, in the presence of

a large concourse of the friends and relatives of those about to undergo the punishment of death, and who were gathered together from all parts of the Frontier, to take a last farewell of those whose lives were to be forfeited ; although it appeared that some hope was still entertained among them that their lives would be spared. In these hopes they were, however, sadly disappointed, when they saw the scaffold prepared to receive the *five* culprits, who with perfect resignation and firmness, under the spiritual guidance of a worthy minister, the Rev. Mr. Herhold, simultaneously mounted the fatal ladder, from which, at a given signal, they were launched into eternity.

But even then they were doomed not to find an end to their misery. From the hasty and imperfect manner in which the scaffold had been constructed, it proved insufficient to bear the weight and dying struggles of these five powerful men thus thrown off. The whole fabric gave way, and the unfortunate men, slowly recovering from the asphyxiated state into which they had been partially thrown, crawled up to the officer whose painful duty it was to see to the execution of that sentence, calling aloud for mercy. This was responded to by all their friends placed without the circle, who, viewing this as a signal dispensation of Providence, were with difficulty kept from forcing themselves through the military array, and, with screams and shouts, joined in the cry for mercy.

But the stern nature of his duty left the kind hearted Colonel Cuyler no alternative but to see the execution carried out to the letter of the sentence.

The culprits were again secured—every preparation was again hastily made, so as not to allow the day to pass within which the sentence directed the execution to take place ; and amidst the cries and clamours of their friends, the five unfortunate beings were doomed again singly to mount the ladder ; and the last rays of the setting sun shone gloomily upon the five expiring sufferers, now dangling in mid air, until life became extinct ; when they were cut down and their earthly remains buried under the scaffold by the hands of the executioner, and amid the cries and sobs of their friends, to whom their last request, to obtain the dead bodies, was refused. Thus ended the rebellion of 1815.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE "MAKANA" WAR OF 1819.

WE now come to the war of 1819, which was principally brought about by a noted character in Kafir South African History, Makana, who, fancying he had a high mission, so successfully moulded the Ndhlambe clans into a large whole that the principal Frontier Settlement, Graham's Town, was at one time in great danger of falling before the Ndhlambe legions.

Makana, was, certainly, one of those most extraordinary characters who appear occasionally on the stage of savage as well as of civilized society. By the colonists he was called "Linksh," and by some of the Kafirs "Nxeli," both words meaning "left-handed." Possessed of great powers of mind, he had framed a creed for himself, by combining what he could learn of Christianity with different native superstitions, and had announced to his countrymen that he was in communication with the spirit world. It was he who taught them to bury their dead, for before his time the corpses of common people were merely dragged away from the kraals and exposed to be devoured by carrion birds and beasts of prey. His bearing was that of a man who claimed superiority even over chiefs, and who knew that his orders would be obeyed. Unlike all others of his countrymen in their uncivilized state, he scorned to beg, but claimed as a right whatever he required. On one occasion he demanded an ox from a rich man, and was refused. Ndhlambe instantly caused every thing the man had to be seized, and the whole tribe apprehended that some calamity would befall them on account of the offenders' presumption, until Makana assured them he was satisfied with the punishment inflicted. Ordinary witch doctors often possess this power, but Makana cannot in justice be ranked with one of these. He aimed (says Theal) at moulding a nation into form, by uniting its fragments under a common head,

and giving it nobler aspirations than it had before. He was a hero among his countrymen, and to this day his memory is held in reverence by thousands of them.

The Ndblambes having totally routed the forces of Ngqika, a Government ally, it was decided to attack them, and accordingly in 1818 Col. Brereton was sent against them, and joining his forces with those of Ngqika, scattered the enemy in all directions, and secured a large booty in cattle.

Some time afterwards Makana was in a position to assume the offensive, and the celebrated attack on Graham's Town was the result.

Mr. C. L. Stretch, of Somerset East, who was an eye witness of and combatant in this engagement, and now the only officer living who aided in the gallant repulse by Col. Wiltshire, in a most interesting contribution to the *Cape Monthly Magazine* of May, 1876, says :—Having called out the chosen warriors from the various clans, Makana mustered his army in the dense bush of the Great Fish River, and found himself at the head of 9,000 men. His arrangements were conducted with so much secrecy that the danger was only discovered by us on the morning of the battle.

Three days previously the Government Kafir Interpreter to Col. Wiltshire, commanding the Frontier forces, informed him—as it afterwards appeared, in order to weaken the strength of the European troops—that “he heard a noise towards Kafir Drift” meaning the assembling of the enemy at that distant locality from Graham's Town. The interpreter “Klass Mika” was in the confidence of Makana, and knew right well that he was advancing in an opposite direction ; but the commander fell into the trap by detaching the Light Company of the 38th Regiment to patrol in the direction pointed out by Mika, and they did not return until the Kafirs had been repulsed.

Early in the morning of the 22nd April, 1819, Col. Wiltshire was inspecting a detachment of the Cape Mounted Corps, when the Hottentot Captain Boezac, who fortunately happened to be that day in Graham's Town with a party of his Buffalo hunters, apprised him of the information he had just received, that Makana was advancing by a line of country known since as the

“Queen’s Road.” The Colonel taking an escort of ten men with him, galloped off to observe Makana’s position, when he unexpectedly came in view of it, for a portion of the Kafir force was resting in a ravine which skirts the present race course, previous to advancing on the town. The Colonel was known to the Kafirs, and only to the fleetness of his faithful steed “Blucher” was his escape secured, for the enemy at once gave chase, and he barely reached the troops, which, in the interim had been assembled on the slopes of highland adjacent to the town. Four companies of the 38th Regiment formed a hollow square, and with a well secured company of Artillery, awaited the rush of the host of barbarians.

We afterwards learnt that at the break of dawn the warriors were arrayed for battle, and before they were led on to the assault were addressed by Makana in an animated speech, in which he is said to have promised the aid of the Spirits of Earth and Air to assist their cause, and to countervail the boasted prowess of the white man’s fire.

Thus excited, they followed after Colonel Wiltshire, who pressing on his foaming steed, only reached the square a few moments before the assailants, and commanded the troops to fire. The field pieces were loaded with shrapnel shells, which with the destructive fire of musketry, every shot of which was deadly, opened spaces like streets in the courageously advancing masses, with their wild war cries ; and they were literally mowed down, while their showers of assegais fell short or ineffective. Their various chiefs, but all under the general direction of the Prophet himself, and his chief Captain Dushani, the son of Ndhlambe, continued cheering them on almost to the muzzles of the British guns, for they told their followers that they were only charged with “hot water” and many of the foremost warriors were now seen breaking short their last assegai to convert it into a stabbing weapon, in order to rush in on the troops, according to Makana’s directions, and decide the battle in close combat.

This was very different from their usual mode of bush fighting, but the suggestion of it evinces the leader’s judgment, for if boldly and promptly acted on, it could not have failed of success ; the great bodily strength and agility

of the Kafirs, as well as their vast numbers, would have enabled them to overpower the feeble garrison in a few minutes.

At this critical moment, and while other parties of the barbarians were pushing on to assail the place in flank, the Hottentot Captain Boezae, with 130 of his people, rushed intrepidly forward to meet the enemy, along the river bank from the old Cape Corps barracks. He was personally known to Makana, and was a man of great coolness too, and familiar with the fierce and furious shouts of the Kafirs, singling out of the boldest those who, in advance, were encouraging their men to the final onset, Boezae and his followers, some of the best marksmen in the Colony, levelled in a few minutes a number of the most distinguished chiefs and warriors. The onset was for a moment checked. The troops cheered, and renewed with alacrity their firing, which exhaustion had somewhat slackened. At the same time Lieut Aitchson of the Artillery, with his guns, opened up a most destructive fire of grape shot. Some of the warriors madly rushed forward and hurled their spears at the artillerymen, and fell among the slain. But it was in vain; the front ranks were mown down like grass. Boezae pressed on the flank of the enemy, and increased their destruction. Those behind recoiled: Wild panic and irretrievable rout ensued.

Makana, after vainly attempting to rally them, accompanied them in their flight. They were pursued but a short way, for the few Hottentot Cavalry durst not follow them into the ravines, where they speedily precipitated themselves. The slaughter was great for so brief a conflict. About 2,000 Kafirs strewed the field of battle, and many perished of their wounds, along, and in the rivulet leading down to the Cape Corps barracks. There I beheld the dead in considerable numbers, some of them having grass props stuffed into the gunshot wounds, under the vain impression that it would stop the hemorrhage. Nuka, the interpreter, was amongst the slain. He was discovered in the ranks of the enemy by Mr. Raffarty, saddler of the Cape Corps Cavalry, who properly shot him—a fate he richly deserved for his treachery, whereby the military strength of the garrison was reduced from 450, minus the Light Company of the 38th Regiment, a hundred strong—

thus leaving only 350 European soldiers, and a small detachment of Mounted Hottentots under Sergt.-Major Blakeway, to encounter the power of Makana.

At one period of the fight—Col. Wiltshire informed me at dinner a few nights after—he “*would not have given a feather for the safety of the town.*” Boezac, however, with his brave band of invincible Buffalo hunters, rushing intrepidly forward on the flank of the pressing wave of barbarians, contributed considerably to the panic and defeat that followed.

The main portion of the Kafirs who escaped retreated by Botha's hill and Hermanus' Kraal (Fort Brown) and so panic stricken were they that Lieut. Cartwright, an officer of the R. A. Corps, was allowed to pass them with 17 men unmolested. And yet so satisfied had Makana been in his own mind that he was irresistible, that some thousands of women and children were resting on the hills above the town, with their mats, pots, and cooking jars, during the encounter, waiting to take possession of the place.

So the whole affair drew to an end, and, at length, the great Makana, Warrior, Chief, and Prophet, accompanied by two of his wives, surrendered himself to Landdrost Stockenstrom as a prisoner. Walking into camp with the magnanimity of a Roman Warrior, he said “If I have occasioned the war, let me see whether my delivering myself up to the conquerors will restore peace to my country.” Previous to his removal from the camp I went, with other officers, to see him, and we could not help feeling for his fallen position, and surprised at his lofty demeanour and appearance. He did not speak much except to request Col. Wiltshire, with whom he was acquainted, “not to continue the war, as all their cattle had been taken by Col. Brereton, and his people were starving.”

After Makana's surrender Ndhlambe and the other chiefs sued for peace. Makana was sent to Uitenhage, and from there conveyed on board H.M.S. *Nautilus* in Algoa Bay, and afterwards placed on Robben Island in charge of the commandant there. A year or two after being on the Island, he, and some other prisoners under sentence for life, endeavoured to make their escape in a boat, with which they attempted to land on the Blueberg

Beach. The boat was upset in the surf and the thick seaweed, and Makana was drowned, whilst his companions escaped. But for many long years his countrymen could not be brought to believe he was dead ; and it was not until lately (1870) that his own family abandoned all hope of his re-appearance, and buried the ornaments and other property belonging to him. With his surrender to Landdrost Stockenstrom, however, the war of 1819 ended.



CHAPTER XX.

AN ALBANY SETTLER'S REMINISCENCES.

“’Tis fifty years since !” Descendants of the Pioneers of 1820, we are looking back over the lapse of half a century ! Few and feeble are the genuine Fathers and Mothers of the Settlement that still linger among us ; yet even of *these* there are some with us in this Jubilee gathering. Men and women who headed their families from the home beyond the waters ; and who have lived in this sunny clime to see their children’s children, even down to the fourth generation. These are they who really “bore the burden and heat of the day” in the work of colonizing South-Eastern Africa, for their anxieties on behalf of their offspring doubled their care and toil. And now those *Children* stand, themselves grey-headed and almost patriarchal, the link between the old country and the land of their adoption :—born in the one, naturalized in the other. It is for the information of *their* children that I would on this occasion call up some reminiscences of the past, and hold up to their view a few of memory’s pictures of what their fathers’ fathers, and their mothers’ mothers did and bore in the olden time.

But little *more* than fifty years ago, when the few surviving hoary-headed Fathers of the Albany Settlement were yet dwellers in “The dear Old Land,” the word “Africa” was suggestive of little but waterless wilds, burning suns, the death-wind of the desert, and the slave trade. In many minds the distinctions of South, East, and West coasts were little recognised, and their differences—physical, climatic, or social—hardly known. But despite the appalling, which is so often associated with the unknown, and despite the gloomy pictures drawn by those who would fain have detained them, there was courage enough in the breasts of these pioneers, and of their life-companions, to brave the dangers, real or imaginary, of a

voyage *to*, and a settlement *on*, the shores of *South Africa*, although that was the point remotest of all from the land of their birth. Some *four thousand* British Settlers sailed from the Island Home of their fathers in the year 1820, to found the Anglo-African community which now exists in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony.

It is hardly to be supposed that a child of nine years old could enter into full sympathy with the feelings of those who were rending the ties of home and kindred, and launching the boat of life upon an unknown sea. But the picture of the last parting which I myself beheld has never faded from my memory. It has rather become more vivid with the lapse of years, as growing faculties enabled me the better to appreciate what I remembered—the last wish and blessing of neighbours and friends, mingling hopes and fears for us—the last clasp of brothers' hands—the last falling upon sisters' necks by those who were never to look into each other's eyes again. I see them still! The faint hope of one day returning to visit once more the old home was never realised by those who then ventured to give utterance to it. Every one of them lies in an African grave.

I affect no Statesman's view of the expediency of settling our Eastern frontier with an English colony, though the subject is one that invites some political reflections. Nor will I, just now, attempt any estimate, or hazard any prophecy as to its results—present or future. My task is the humbler one of "reminiscence." I am trying to gather up some of the fragments that memory has saved from oblivion.

Long delays interfered with the departure of the *Sir George Osborn*, the ship in which our party were to sail. We chafed under them, but they, perhaps, saved our lives, for a few days before our expected time of starting, one of those January gales, for which the coast of England is so fearfully noted, burst upon us as we lay moored in the Thames. Whole tiers of vessels were driven from their moorings, and drifted in the darkness down the river. Lads sleep soundly, and so the first effects of the storm did not disturb me; but I remember being awakened by a crashing noise soon after daybreak, and looking up through the hatchway just in time to see the rigging of our ship torn

away like cobwebs by the yards of another that had come foul of us. This first and involuntary stage of our voyage ended in our running aground just opposite Greenwich Hospital, and having all the women and children landed, lest the ship should heel over and capsize with the ebb tide. Had the gale (which was said to be the severest that had been known for forty years,) caught us while going down the Channel, we should, perhaps, have foundered, as many others did.

I would apologise for adverting to these *personal* matters, did I not know that such references are among the best means of calling up kindred reminiscences in the minds of those who passed through experiences more or less similar. I have no doubt that what I have just said has recalled to the recollection of some present the circumstances of their own embarkation.

The sailing day did arrive at last, and "the last glimpse," not "of Erin," but of "Old England," was obtained through many an eye dimmed with tears, as the Land's End faded finally from view, and then the wide shoreless ocean spread around us.

I know nothing about the regular emigrant ships of the present day ; that is, so far as respects the quality of the food, or the accommodation they supply ; but I remember the close packing "between decks," the "banyan days," and the hard salt junk and *harder* biscuit of 1820. I have not forgotten how salt the outside of the puddings used to taste which the old weather-beaten cook had boiled with sea water in the general "copper ;" nor how the passengers sometimes quarrelled with the steward for cheating them out of the supplies. I remember, too, how the little fellows, who were too young to see danger, having got over the sea-sickness in the Channel, would climb into the long boat amidships, or cling to the "main shrouds," singing in chorus to the rocking of the vessel—

"There she lay.

All the day,

In the Bay of Biscay, O !"

as the rough seas were rolling around us. And I remember the steep vine-clad hills, and the grapes and oranges of Madeira ; where the boats with their tempting freight and their dark-looking rowers, swarmed around the ships.

Then came the tantalizing "variables,"—the calm of the "line,"—the rough shaving operations of old Father Neptune, the lather of whose brush, and the edge of whose razor stuck the one to the chin and the other to the memory, for some time afterwards. Nor have I forgotten the one or two fearful storms we encountered, when the hatches were battened down, the heavy seas were shipped, and while the torrents poured down among us in the midnight darkness, the mothers clasped their children to their bosoms, exclaiming, "We'll all hold together!"

But, thanks to Him who "holds the waters in the hollow of His hand," the storms were weathered, the perils passed; and after many a weary day, the welcome cry of "Land!" rang through the ship, gladdened every heart, and made young and old start to their feet, and strain every eye to catch a first glimpse of what they had long been pining to see. And the scene was repeated as ship after ship made the coast. The *Chapman*, and the *Nautilus*, the *Northampton*, the *Garland*, the *Kennerly Castle*, the *Ocean*, the *Amphitrite*, the *John*, the *Stenton*, the *Weymouth*, the *Canada*, *Brilliant*, *Aurora*, *Zoroaster*, *Belle Alliance*, and all the rest, as they ranged along the coast, with its high blue mountains full in view, had their decks thronged with anxious gazers on the new strange land in which their future lot was to cast. At length Cape Recife was rounded, Algoa Bay spread its broad bosom, and ship after ship bore its living freight to the last anchorage.

"Over the waters wide and deep,
Where the storm-waves roll, and the storm-winds sweep,
Over the waters see them come!
Breasting the billow's curling foam;
Fathers for children seeking a home
In Afric's Southern wild."

The desolate sand-hills and salt marshes of their then *solitary* landing place were not calculated to raise the spirits of the new comers, or realize the visions which had probably flitted before the eyes of the sanguine when the Mountains of George first loomed into view. The "Liverpool of the Cape" was not yet in existence, and a dreary, barren-looking waste met many a disappointed eye. A few, indeed, landed only to die; and, as in the case of Dr. Cotton, the "Head" of the Nottingham party, Dr.



Murray & St. Leger,

Cape Town.

LANDING OF THE BRITISH SETTLERS IN 1820.

[From the Original Oil Painting by Bain, kindly lent by R. Ayloff, Esq.]

PHOTOGRAPHED BY ALDHAM AND ALDHAM.

Caldecott, and some others, ended their emigrant's career before it had well begun. I can well believe that many a doubt and fear were exchanged by the anxious elders of the new colony as they first made each other's acquaintance among the tents of "Settler's Town" behind the sand-hills. But the adventurers had bidden a long "Farewell" to the land of their fathers, and for weal or for woe they had come to dwell in the wilds of Africa. They must e'en make the best of it. There was little prospect of seeing waving corn-fields where they first pitched their tents, and some of the agriculturists might look back despondingly on the golden harvests of old England. But this was not to be their resting place. A journey of a hundred miles "up the country" might give brighter prospects to their eyes; and so they braced themselves for action. And then began to arrive the strange-looking conveyances that were to carry them inland,—the light, loosely-made waggons,—the long "spans" of long-horned oxen,—the drivers with their monster whips and strange speech,—the little impish-looking leaders with dark skins and scanty clothing, and with stranger speech than their masters. We have long since become used to all these things; but they were wonders *then*. Next came the visit to the stores provided by the government; and the picks and spades, the axes and hammers, the ploughs and harrows, that were to "subdue the earth" for its new occupants, were added to their miscellaneous luggage. And so the trains of pilgrims began to wend their way towards a centre of attraction, where the hope of bettering their condition was the only shrine—for there were, as yet, no temples in the wilderness.

We "little ones" of those days felt none of the care that weighed on the hearts of our fathers and mothers. The gipsy-looking camp-fires of the first night's outspanning at the Zwaartkops—the ringing echo of the whips among the hills, as driver assisted driver up the steep bush-paths—the scarlet blossoms and the honey-dew of the aloes, that stood like soldiers on the mountain sides—the wild flowers of the wilderness, so new and strange—the bounding of the springboks over the plains—these were excitements for *us* that banished both care and fear, and made the journey a happy and beguiling one.

And now the Sunday's River is crossed, and the terrible

old Ado Hill is climbed, and Quaggas Flat is passed, and the Bushman's River heights are scaled. The points of divergence are reached, and the long column breaks into divisions. Baillie's party made their way to the mouth of the Fish River, where, it was said, the "Head" had been allowed to choose a territory, and where he hoped to realize imaginations of commercial wealth by founding a seaport town. And the Duke of Newcastle's protégés from Nottingham took possession of the beautiful vale of Clumber, naming it in honour of their noble patron. And Wilson's party settled between the plains of Waayplaats and the Kowie bush, right across the path of the elephants, some of which they tried to shoot with fowling-pieces. And Sefton's party, after an unceremonious ousting from their first location at Reed Fountain, founded the village of Salem, the religious importance of which to the early progress of the Settlement is not to be estimated by its present size and population. These four were the *large* parties. The smaller ones filled up the intervening spaces between them. Behind the thicket-clad sand hills of the Kowie and Green Fountain, and extending over the low plains beyond Bathurst, were the locations of Cock's, Thornhill's, Osler's, Smith's, and Richardson's parties. Skirting the wooded kloofs from Bathurst towards the banks of the Kleinemonden were ranged the parties of James and Hyman. It was the latter who gravely announced to Captain Trapps, the Bathurst Magistrate, the discovery of "precious stones" on his location; and which the irascible gentleman, jealous of the reserved rights of Government, found on farther enquiry were only "precious big ones." The rich valley of Lushington afforded a resting place to Dyason's party. Holder's people called their location New Bristol; which never, however, acquired any resemblance to *old* Bristol. Passing on towards the front, there were Mouncey's party, Hayhurst's party, Bradshaw's party, Southey's party, stretching along the edge of the wide plains of the Round Hill, and drinking their Western waters. The post of honour and danger was the line of the Kap River. This was occupied by the party of Scott below Kaffer Drift, and by the Irish party above it. The Forlorn Hope of the entire settlement was Mahoney's

party at the Clay Pits, who had to bear the first brunt of every Kaffir depredation in the Lower Albany direction. Names thicken as we proceed from Waay-plaats towards Graham's Town. Passing Greathead's location, we come among the men of Dalgairn's at Blauw Krantz. Then those of Liversage, about Manley's Flat. John Stanley, "Head of all Parties," as he styled himself, belonged to the same neighbourhood. Turvey's party were in Grobbelaar's Kloof; William Smith at Stony Vale; Dr. Clarke's at Collingham. Howard's, Morgan's, and Carlisle's bring us by successive steps to the neighbourhood of Graham's Town; the suburbs of which were indicated by the painted pigeon-house at Burnett's. To the South-westward, the valley of the Kariëga was occupied by Menzies', Mills', and Gardener's parties. The rear-guard of the Settlement may be said to have been formed by the men of Norman's and Captain Butler's parties, who occupied Seven Fountains, and the upper end of the Assegai Bush River.

Besides these "parties," there were other companies of a more select and exclusive kind. Elderly gentlemen of upper-class connections, and retired officers from various departments of the king's service, came with small numbers of men under special conditions, and engaged for a term of years. The names of Bowker, Campbell, Philips, Pigot* and others, will suggest themselves; and such designations as Pigot Park and Barville Park, given to their domains, indicate the social position of their owners.

My "reminiscences" are those of an *Albany* settler; but I do not forget that there was another party, who, though locally separated from the main body, occupied a position, the importance of which developed itself in the after-history of the Settlement. I refer to the Scotch party, who were located on the Baviaan's River, among mountains and glens that have been rendered classic by the poetry of their leader, and historic by the gallant deeds and indomitable endurance of his compatriots, in the after-struggles of the frontier. I need make no particular reference, however, to the early circumstances of that body of men, as in Pringle's "*African Sketches*" they have a most graphically-written history of their own.

* Major Pigot was the maternal grandfather of the present writer.

Of the many "Heads of Parties" whose names I have mentioned, I know of but *one* who still survives. That one is a man who surely must, when first located near the mouth of the Kowie, have had some prophetic instinct that looked on into the future; and, true to that instinct, though half a century has elapsed, there he is now, white with the snows of age, but with energy unexhausted; destined, I trust, to reap the reward of long years of labour in the realization of his wish to give Albany a free and safe port of her own. If ever man *deserved* success for perseverance in the face of multiplied discouragements, and for bearing up against that "deferring of hope" which "maketh the heart sick," William Cock deserves it. *Finis coronat opus*; and most heartily do I hope, that before the last of our old leaders passes from amongst us, he may see *his* "work crowned" with a result that shall carry its benefits down to future generations.

As to the rest of the "Heads," some of them soon found that

" 'Twas distance lent enchantment to the view "

o manorial dignities and immunities to which they had looked forward across the broad waters. These soon left their parties to shift for themselves, and sought their own fortunes elsewhere. Others manfully stood by those whom they represented till their early struggles were over. All have passed away, and even the *names* of some of them are almost forgotten.

But now to return to the first arrival "on the location." It was a forlorn-looking plight in which we found ourselves, when the Dutch waggoneers had emptied us and our luggage onto the greensward, and left us sitting on our boxes and bundles "under the open firmament of heaven." Our roughly-kind carriers seemed, as they wished us good-bye, to wonder what would become of us. There we were in the wilderness; and when they were gone we had no means of following, had we wished to do so. Towns, villages, inns, hostleries, there were none. We must take root and grow, or die where we stood. But we were standing *on our own ground*, and it was the first time many could say so. This thought roused to action,—the tents were pitched—the night-fires kindled around

them to scare away the wild beasts, and the life of a settler was begun.

Thus was the land overspread by a new race of occupiers ; sanguine in their hopes, and eager to develop its capabilities. Tribes of barbarians *had* dwelt in it—had hunted in the forests of Oliphant's Hoek and made their *vee places* along the banks of the Kareiga. But they had gone before the British Settlers came, and the new occupants had to dispute the possession of the soil with inhabitants of other kinds.

“ Wilderness lands of brake and glen,—
The wolf's and the leopard's gloomy den ;
Wilderness plains were the springbok bounds.
And the lion's voice from the hill resounds,
And the vulture circles in airy rounds—
O'er Afric's southern wilds.”

Elephants in hundreds roamed leisurely from the Kooms to the Kowie, and from thence to the Ado. The rhinoceros crushed at will the thickets of the Fish River ravines. The lion stalked in undisputed sovereignty on the slopes of the Winterberg, and his roar was occasionally heard in the lower districts. The howl and laugh of the hyena, and the shrill yell of the jackal ; were the regular nightly serenade of the new settlers, to which the little ones listened and trembled. By *day* even, the tiger's deep bass sounded for hours together among the krantzes, and the ominous responsive call of the wild dog to his fellow too often sent its melancholy sound on the breeze, as the pack ranged ravenously over the pasture grounds ; while from every high ridge whole armies of baboons shouted their defiance, and demanded what business we had on their domains. And then, over the plains of Mount Donkin, and the Salem Flats, springboks in thousands bounded playfully, as their snowy backs shone in the sunlight, while the ostriches ruffled their plumes, the hartebeest raised their horned crests, and the quaggas galloped heavily among them. We must go far from Albany to see such sights now, but the long-ranged rifles of Ayton and Bowker had not then arrived.

A bird's-eye view of Albany, at the earliest stage of the Settlement, would have shown a widely-spread camp of many divisions. The tents supplied by the Government studded the locations in all directions, and marked the

first phase of life there. And then came the selection of sites, and the preparation of material for more permanent dwellings. The nervous looked out for defensible positions. The men of sentiment sought picturesque spots, where the beauties of nature might be seen to advantage, forgetting, however, sometimes to enquire whether they were within the reach of water or not. More practically, the sober father of a family of healthy lads from the rural districts examined the soils, and fixed on a homestead in the midst of his prospective corn-fields. As to the first dwellings themselves, they were of very various and very original orders of architecture. A young brotherhood of bachelors built for themselves a booth of leafy branches, after the manner of the Israelites of old. An economist of materials dug his house out of the bank of a river. The wattled framework of two or three square rooms looked, in the eyes of some, like the founding of a mansion. Many a father and son, with axe on shoulder, ranged the wooded kloofs in search of door-posts and rafters : and many a mother and daughter cut wattles and thatch near home for walls and roof ; aye, and many a back ached under successive loads, borne toilsomely from tangled thicket and rushy swamp. Stone and brick were among the visions of an advanced order of things belonging to the future. Even the Devonshire Cot was rarely ventured upon at first.

The "Great Flood" of 1823 made strange work with many of these primitive dwellings. The bachelors' booths did not keep out the rain like Roman cement. The underground residence in the river's bank presented a remarkable appearance when the flood had subsided. One man was heard asking his neighbour if he had seen anything of his *house* passing that way.

The Settlers were earnest and energetic in their first attempts to make Albany an agricultural district. When they took their first survey of their new possessions, the language of many a father was, in substance—

"Hand to the labour ! *heart* and hand !
 Our sons shall inherit an alter'd land.
 Harvests shall wave o'er the virgin soil ;
 Cottages stand, and gardens smile,
 And the songs of our children the hours beguile
 'Midst Afric's Southern wilds."

But there were days of trial and privation before them. The romance of first impressions had to give place to the stern realities that followed. Crops failed. The terrible "rust" blighted the hopes of season after season, and the hearts of many began to sink with them. Want stared them in the face, and the extension of the period of Government rationing became an absolute necessity. They were pinching times when one, though not a Spartan boy, had to fast in the morning till he could shoot a wild pigeon for his breakfast; and another, being somewhat less of a sportsman, waited anxiously for the noisy signal from his solitary barn-door fowl that there was a fresh egg ready for boiling—which, like a true husband, he divided equally with his wife; and another, leaving his family to a "dinner of herbs," with as much as "love" as there might be to give it a relish, trudged a twenty miles' journey through the rain for a back-load of meal, which he managed to lose at midnight in the flooded river at his own door on his return. These are little specimens of the "hungry days," which I dare say could be easily multiplied from the memories of some of my hearers. They have served to laugh over many a time since, but they were hardly laughing matters then.

I may here introduce a little episode that belongs to the same period of our history, and presents one of the phases of early settler life. Three men went from Salem to Graham's Town to look for work. It so happened that their wives wanted a supply of meat while their husbands were away. One of the future members of parliament was then the shepherd of the ration flock, little dreaming of the distant honours in store for him. A sheep was procured. But the good women had no one with them who would undertake to slaughter it for them. What was to be done? They had no compunction about eating the sheep; but they all seemed to have qualms of conscience about reducing it to a state in which it *could* be eaten. They managed to tie its feet together, and then tried to "screw up" each *other's* "courage to the sticking point." While they were in animated discussion, however, on a subject which threatened to require the drawing of lots, the sheep, whose bonds were by no means as indissoluble as their own, suddenly started to its feet, and ran for its

life, pursued of course by all three ladies. The "situation" was by no means an ordinary one, and a view of the chase must have been very interesting. The result was that the sheep was so hard pressed as to be obliged to take to the water, and there was nothing left for the amateur lady butchers but to take to the water after it. I do not mean to say that they might have been seen *swimming* in chase of the fugitive mutton, but I believe that a step or two more would have set them floating, or sinking, as the case might be. However, they gained possession of their prize once more ; and this time they *secured* it. And then, with averted heads, the fatal stroke, or rather succession of strokes, was struck. Poor sheep ! had the good creatures been less tender-hearted it would have suffered less. But now the sheep was dead, they were still in the midst of their difficulties. They knew no more about skinning than slaughtering ; and as little about cutting up as skinning. But the indomitable "three" were not to be beaten. The skin came off at last—I rather think by piecemeal—the meat was carried home in most extraordinary joints, and the ladies ate their dinner in triumph, with appetites sharpened, no doubt, by the labour of procuring it. The skin became literally the "crowning" trophy of the exploit, for it was cut up into *hats* for the children.

To the *material* wants of the people the Government were as attentive and considerate as could have been expected ; but the supplies they had provided were not always easy to be got at. The little flocks of ration sheep used to play sad pranks with the inexperienced English drivers, and the wolves and wild dogs used to play sad pranks with *them*. As one sample out of many, take the following :—One of our old Queen's Town Field-cornets, in the days of his youth, took charge of the party's ration sheep from Bathurst to Green Fountain. The sheep numbered, probably, twelve or fifteen. Those who know that part of the country know what an excellent field it is for a sheep chase ; and how a dozen of startled hamels, just separated from a large flock, would be likely to try a driver's legs, and lungs too, in crossing it. If the course of the journey could have been afterwards traced on a chart, it would have looked like the working out of some intricate geometrical problem. Such a succession of zig-zags, angles, and arcs

of circles, no ship, beating up against contrary winds, ever described. To mend matters, after miles of open plain had been traversed, there lay a tract of "enchanted ground" in the shape of a belt of thick mimosa woodland, right across the way home. By dint of unconquerable perseverance the sheep were brought thus far; and then! one starting this way, two in that, three in the other; a rent in the coat in stopping these; face scratched and eyes endangered in turning those; a shout to his two companions to ascertain where the rest were; an impenetrable barrier of bush stopping all access to them. Before giving up all for lost, our friend declared he had run the sheep so hard that, though they had large tails at starting, they had melted away to half the size by the time he had done with them! Driven to desperation, he at length exclaimed, "Dead or alive I'll secure *one* of you at any rate!" as a discharge from the fowling-piece stretched it on the ground before him. But he was still miles away from home. Of his two companions one couldn't and the other *wouldn't* take his share in carrying the dead sheep. There was nothing left for it but to shoulder it himself; and sturdy John Staples showed that if his own staple was not very *long* it was very good, for he carried his load *home*. It was the only sheep of the lot that reached its intended destination—the wild dogs, wolves, and jackals got all the rest.

A fate equally tragical, though different, overtook another little flock. The drivers, when five miles on the road, had to turn back for something they had forgotten. Rather than drive the sheep back with them, they left them in charge of a little boy of their company. They had taken certain precautions to prevent their running away; and so they left them at the edge of the Kowie bush, tying their legs together to keep them from straying. It was not long, however, before the spectacle of the disabled sheep attracted the notice of some keen-sighted ass-vogel far up into the sky. The vulture telegraph was at once put in motion, and, appearing on all sides, as they are wont to do, like ghosts, from nobody can see where, a whole flight swooped down on their helpless victims, terrified the little shepherd from his charge, and devoured them all alive before his eyes.

Such were some of the difficulties in the way of getting

the government meat. Then, as to the bread. Twenty or thirty miles was a long way to carry a sack of flour on one's shoulders ; especially in the early state of the roads through Howison's and Brookhuisen's Poorts, and about Cadell's Hill and Blauw Krantz. The days of buck-waggons were still far off—even the block-wheeled trucks without their tiers or bushings, that wore out of the circular and jolted limpingly along, taking fire as they rolled, were to be seen only here and there. These were indeed a step or two in advance of the sledges, made of forked branches, that used to stick fast in every mudhole and sanddrift. As to the pack-oxen, they were stiff-necked in more senses than one, and managed now and then to leave both riders and loads behind them on their way home. I can testify, from the best of all knowledge, that a seat on the loose back of a fresh young pack-ox in full trot is neither easy nor safe. and it certainly puts a load of crockery in great peril, as I imagine old Wm. Lee could have testified when *his* ox shook off its burden on the Salem flats. Mrs. Lee had been assisting her husband either by leading or driving, I don't know which—wives can occasionally do *both*. He now left her to look after the load, while he set off to look after the ox that had left *him*. She in due time, feeling solitary, set off to look after the husband who had left *her*, and the load was left,—to look after itself.

The early struggles and privations of the settlers appealed to the heart of British humanity—*never appealed to in vain*. Contributions generous and hearty came from east and west. India joined the Mother Country in subscriptions which amounted to several thousand pounds. "Boards of Relief" sat, and many cases of painful interest came before them, which it would be invidious to specify now, but which stand recorded in the "Reports" and "Official Correspondence" of those days. Of course, as is usual in such cases, there were heart-burnings caused by the distribution, and some were accused of receiving most who needed least. It is not, however, to be questioned, that to many the aid was most seasonable. In some instances, like the raising of the long-winged swallow to

"The level of the daisy's head."

it proved the starting point in life to those who received it.

The testing time enabled the settlers to ascertain how far they were fitted for the work of bringing the wilderness into cultivation ; and taught some of them that it was not their vocation to till from year to year ground which refused to yield them the bread they had been accustomed to eat in the old country. The trades and professions of many had done little towards training them for agricultural life. I heard of some who sowed carrot seed at the bottom of trenches two spades deep, filling up the trenches with soil as soon as it was done. The remark of one who saw them was, "It will come up, most likely, in England about the time it does here." In another case, a man wishing to get some mealies for seed, applied to his neighbour who had obtained a supply just before, but found he had planted the whole without knocking it off the cobs ! A third person planted out a lot of young onions, roots upwards. The result of these blunders rather disgusted some of the "cockney gardeners," as the wags called them. And then they did not take kindly to mealie bread and pumpkin fritters, even when fried in sheepstail. The engraver and the copper-plate printer found little to do "on the location." Cutting initials on the bark of the wild fig-tree might look sentimental, but it yielded a poor return, and was hardly enough to keep the hand in. The coach-painter did not get much to do in the valley of the Kareiga, or on the borders of the Kowie bush. Armorial bearings on the panels of their carriages were not required by the settlers in those days. Some of them indeed had not yet found out the family crest. Even the tailor was obliged to come down from the manufacture of broadcloth swallowtails to that of leathern jackets with no tails at all. The young bucks had to dress in sheepskin. If, indeed, they could afford to sport cuffs and facings of jackal's or tiger's fur, so much the better, they might then calculate on making quite a sensation among the fair sex ; especially if the *Zumin* had done its Saturday duty, and had given the proper bright yellow to the "crackers." *Velschoen* usurped the place of Wellingtons in many quarters, and the beaver gave way to home-made palmiet, or coffee straw, and the tiger-skin cap, flat-crowned generally, though not of the Oxford university cut. So were the hatter's and shoemaker's occupation either "gone" or greatly modified. Take an

illustrative incident on this point. A "ladies' shoemaker," who had worn out his own shoes, wished to take a walk from Wilson's party to Graham's Town. A neighbour suggested that it would be easy for *him* to supply himself by making a pair of the material which the hides and skins of the ration cattle provided. He did so, and remembering his own neat style of workmanship in the "ladies' line," he seems to have applied it in his own case. The shoes, put on damp and soft, fitted "like a glove," and he started on his journey. But the farther he walked the tighter the fit grew, and the harder the green hide, now becoming dry very fast from the heat of the dusty road. His plight soon became as bad as that of the poor fellow who was sent for penance to Loretto with peas in his shoes, and hadn't the wit to boil them before starting. In fact our settler's case was the worse of the two, for when he wished to relieve himself from the torture by walking barefoot, he couldn't get his shoes off again. He had to endure his misery as far as Cadell's Hill, where a friend assisted him with his knife in the eel-skinning process of getting rid of his close-fitting appendages, and lent him a pair of his own for the rest of the journey. The ladies' shoemaker never forgot his walk, and perhaps never repeated it, for he took up his residence in Graham's Town. Bricklayers and carpenters, and men of kindred trades, were very soon attracted in the same direction. The infant metropolis gave them more remunerative employment than the "location." Indeed the tradesmen soon built a distinct "quarter" for themselves in the embryo city, and thus "Settlers' Hill" and "Artificers' Square" received their inhabitants and their names.

But there were adventurous spirits among the settlers—men with souls above shopboards, carpenters' benches, or ploughtails. There was *ivory* in the kloofs of the Kooms and the Fish River, and a bold shot from a daring hunter might put him in possession of five hundred dollars worth at once, without any labour but such as would give zest to the achievement:—for what are toil, and exposure, and even half-starvation to the man who is bent on bringing home half a score of elephants' tusks as his trophy?

And there was a more adventurous career still for such as had courage to enter upon it. There was, among the

Kaffers "over the border," ivory ready collected, as well as cattle ready reared. And for those who did not mind risking "the penalty of death," which governmental unwisdom had attached to a trade it had made contraband, there seemed to be the chance of getting rich rapidly.

Then began the romantic period of the Frontier Settlers' history, the formation of elephant-hunting parties, the wild life in the woods, the cautious tracking of the noble game, the daring venture among the monster herds, the sudden report waking the echoes of the hills, the fall of the victim, the terrific rush and ringing scream of the startled troop of giants, the crash of the trodden down forest in all directions, the hairbreadth escapes of the hunters, sometimes within a trunk's length of their infuriated pursuers—the whole crowned by the triumphant contemplation of success as the party of hunters gathered around the prostrate game, and calculated the worth of the tusks which had been the perilous attraction. Nor must the other class of adventures be forgotten—the stealthy crossing of the border, the appointed meeting place beyond it, the life-in-hand venture into the power of the Kaffers, the perilous return when dark nights and difficult ways had to be selected, and quick-sighted patrols of mounted riflemen dodged in the bushpaths.

The Scotch party in the highland had their share of frontier adventure life. They had not only the elephants as occasional visitors, but also the lions as standing neighbours, and it was not long before they came into contact with them. Pringle, in his sketches, gives a graphic description of their first lion hunt, the spirit of which is well embodied in the poetic picture of it by the same hand.

THE LION HUNT.

Mount—mount for the hunting—with musket and spear !
 Call our friends to the field—for the Lion is near !
 Call Arend and Ekhard and Groepe to the spoor ;
 Call Muller and Coetzer and Lucas Van Vurr.

Side up Eildon-Cleugh, and blow loudly the bugle :
 Call Slinger and Allie and Dikkop and Dugal :
 And George with the Elephant-gun on his shoulder—
 In a perilous pinch none is better or bolder.

In the gorge of the glen lie the bones of my steed,
And the hoofs of a heifer of fatherland's breed :
But mount, my brave boys ! if our rifles prove true,
We'll soon make the spoiler his ravages rue.

Ho ! the Hottentot lads have discovered the track—
To his den in the desert we'll follow him back ;
But tighten your girths, and look well to your flints,
For heavy and fresh are the villain's foot-prints.

Through the rough rocky kloof into grey Huntly-Glen,
Past the wild-olive clump where the wolf has his den,
By the black-eagle's rock at the foot of the fell,
We have tracked him at length to the buffalo's well.

Now mark yonder brake where the blood-hounds are howling ~
And hark that hoarse sound—like the deep thunder growling ~
'Tis his lair—'tis his voice !—from your saddles alight ;
He's at bay in the brushwood preparing for fight.

Leave the horses behind—and be still every man :
Let the Mullers and Rennies advance in the van :
Keep fast in your ranks ;—by the yell of you hound,
The savage, I guess, will be out—with a bound.

He comes ! the tall jungle before him loud crashing,
His mane bristled fiercely, his fiery eyes flashing ;
With a roar of disdain, he leaps forth in his wrath,
To challenge the foe that dare 'leaguer his path.

He couches—ay now we'll see mischief, I dread :
Quick—level your rifles—and aim at his head :
Thrust forward the spears, and unsheath every knife—
St. George ! he's upon us ! now, fire, lads, for life !

He's wounded—but yet he'll draw blood ere he falls—
Ha ! under his paw see Bezuidenhout sprawls—
Now Diederick ! Christian ! right in the brain
Plant each man his bullet—Hurra ! he is slain !

Bezuidenhout—up, man !—'tis only a scratch—
(You were always a scamp and have met with your match !)
What a glorious lion !—what sinews—what claws—
And seven-feet-ten from the rump to the jaws !

His hide, with the paws and the bones of his skull,
With the spoils of the leopard and buffalo bull,
We'll send to Sir Walter.—Now, boys, let us dine,
And talk of our deeds over a flask of old wine.

What was begun from necessity was afterwards continued from choice. George Rennie seemed resolved to avenge on the whole race the insult his brother once received when the lion put his paw upon him, looked round in contemptuous majesty, and then turned away as if he did not think him worth killing. Lion hunting parties crossed the Winterberg range, and the plains and valleys which the Queen's Town grantees are now quietly cultivating became the theatre of many a scene of adventure which ought to have been chronicled for future generations.

Most of the leaders in these exploits of bygone days have passed away. Poor old Harry Stirraker, and the cool-headed and steady-handed William Gradwell, and little John Thackwray, who engaged to write his own initials on the haunches of an elephant and shoot him afterwards, and who died the victim of his own daring. George Rennie, too, the lion hunter,—I saw the white head and broad shoulders of the solitary old bachelor not many years since. These are gone, but others remain. The elder Cawood, William Hartley, and *especially* the old veteran Edward Driver, should be induced to write the story of their early adventures, or one of the most exciting chapters of Frontier history will be lost.

I had another name on my list of survivors, and I little expected to have to transfer it to the sadder one of those that are gone. Of the romance of early settler life there was one who could have told much ten days ago. The outspoken, open-handed, generous-hearted Carey Hobson had his full share of perilous adventure in the early days, and stirring to the younger spirits of the present would a recital of them from his own lips have been.

“He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.”

Bold as a lion in spirit and bearing, he was full to overflowing of the milk of human kindness. With an energy and perseverance that never wearied, he created an oasis of civilization in what was at once a physical and a moral desert. His untimely death, while hastening to share in our festivities, has changed a time of gladness into one of mourning to every member of his family, and to all his friends has shorn the Jubilee joy of not a few of its rays.

The old settlers are not all gone, There was a muster of them on Monday ; feeble and tottering some of them were,* but others seemed to have years of life in them yet. The number might have been much greater, could we have brought together those who are at a distance. I hope no pains will be spared to complete the list of their names, not forgetting the wives and widows ; and that a marble tablet bearing them all will stand conspicuously in the grand hall of the Jubilee Memorial, to tell succeeding generations who, among the fathers of the settlement, lived to see the Jubilee of 1870.

But I must go back again to resume my narrative. Health, long life, and growing prosperity make existence pleasant. But growing prosperity brought growing peril. The little flocks and herds of the settlers were at first tended by the sons and daughters of their owners ; for Kafferland was not yet thrown open, and the time for hiring native farm servants had scarcely arrived. The rapidly increasing stock, grazing in sight of the Kaffers over the border, soon began to tempt their cupidity ; and depredators from the tribes of Eno, Botuman, Slambi and Gaika, began to make herding hazardous along the frontier. Some of the children of the settlers were murdered while herding their parents' cattle :—Garbutt and Sloman for instance. Nor did the fathers themselves escape the frontier risks of the times. The "Forlorn Hope" at the clay pits had its victims in Stubbs, and the Freemantles, father and son ; and the Irish party, with the rest of the frontier line, shared in its perils and its sacrifices, and added other names to the list of those who died for their adopted country in the early days of its history.

But all this was training a race of young frontier warriors, familiarizing the sons of the settlers with the dangers that a frontier life necessarily involves, and teaching them to unite African woodcraft with English courage. The men who were learning to cut off pauws' heads with rifle bullets at two hundred yards distance, "that the body feathers might not be soiled," were likely to become dangerous to other heads as well, in a case of emergency. And frequent practice was training young English eyes to trace a spoor with the keen-sightedness of a Kaffer or a

* Several have died since the lecture was delivered.—Dagmore.

Hottentot. The youth of the border were thus unconsciously preparing themselves for the crisis that was approaching, when,—

“ The war cry echoing wild and loud,
The war of the savage, fierce and proud,
Would burst like the storm from the thunder cloud,
Over Afric’s southern wilds.”

It must not be forgotten, however, that the first essay of the settlers in arms was not *against* the Kaffers, but in their defence. In the year 1828, a savage and very formidable horde under the chief Matiwana—an offshoot of the Zulu nation, entered the Tembuki country from the north east, having skirted the Kwahlamba mountains, and crossed the upper sources of the Umzimvubu. They struck terror throughout the frontier tribes ; for their warfare was an exterminating one that spared neither man, woman, nor child ; while the tiger-roar of their onslaught with the short stabbing spear, and the horrible “ Tah ! Tah ! ” which accompanied their death-dealing strokes in their hand-to-hand combats, were paralysing to the courage of men used only to the light-shafted and easily-evaded assegai of the frontier tribes.

The alarm they inspired threatened to drive the frontier Kaffers in upon the colony for refuge, or substitute for them, if destroyed, a more savage set of neighbours in their stead. To prevent general confusion, the Colonial Government deemed it best to help the Kaffers to repel their enemies. A body of troops was accordingly sent, under the command of Major Somerset, to prevent the nearer approach of the *Fetcani*, as they were called. A commando of Burghers was joined in the expedition with the regular troops, and numbers of active young men from among the English settlers eagerly came forward to swell their ranks, and share for the first time the excitements of a Kaffer campaign. The tribes of Hintsa and Vusani (the paramount chiefs of the Amaxosa and Abatembu tribes) mustered in force, and the young men of Albany obtained their first views of a Kaffer army,—in those days armed only with assegais, and carrying great lumbering shields of ox hide, five feet by three. I believe it was while awaiting the tardy gathering of these auxiliaries, that

Major Somerset performed the feat of riding from the heights of the Umtata into Graham's Town in forty-eight hours.

The Fetcani army was met among the upper waters of the Umtata, and the Matiwana mountains, (as they have been called ever since) resounded for the first time with the musketry and cannon of the white men. Of course the Fetcani, though very numerous, were defeated. They had never seen fire-arms before. The Kaffer auxiliaries did little but look on till the fight was over; but an impression of British prowess was made upon the minds of the Tembukis which the old men remember to this day.

Matiwana collected his scattered forces behind the mountains after the battle, and gave them a comforting harangue. "When we have fought with *men*," he said, "we have beaten them; but to-day we have had to battle with the thunder and lightning. It is no disgrace to be conquered by *them*."

When the commando returned, as many of the pressed horses as had survived the expedition were brought back to their owners by the men to whom they had been supplied. My old master, I remember, had contributed one, as he did not go himself. It was an ugly old mare, a "pas-ganger," that used to waddle along in most ungainly fashion. There were many handsome, high-fed horses on the commando, taken from the Graham's Town stables; and many a youth "spogh'd" dashingly enough upon them at starting. But long after their curvettings had been exchanged for drooping ears and a footsore pace, and the carcasses of some of them had been left for the aasvogels, old Bess waddled on as she had done at starting, and active Jerry Goldswain* (there's life in the old boy yet, I see!) brought back the old mare in triumph; and brought back this moral with her, that beauty, though lovely to look upon, is not *always* associated with strength of character, and that under a very plain exterior may exist *very sterling qualities*.

* Jerry, forty-two years after the occurrence, started up in the audience when his name was mentioned, exclaiming, amidst great cheering—"Here he is still!"—Dugmore.

THE SONG OF THE ALBANY FATHERS.

"Never Despair !" tho' the harvests fail ;
 Tho' the hosts of a savage foe assail.
 Never despair ! We shall conquer yet !
 And the toils of our earlier years forget.
 In hope's bright glory our sun shall set,
 'Midst Afric's Southern wilds."

THE SONGS OF THEIR SONS.

"Our toilworn fathers have sunk to their rest,
 But their sons shall inherit their hope's bequest.
 Valleys are smiling in harvest pride ;
 There are fleecy flocks on the mountain side ;
 Cities are rising to stud the plains ;
 The life-blood of commerce is coursing the veins
 Of a new-born Empire, that grows, and reigns
 O'er Afric's Southern wilds."*

In 1820 the Zulu Chief Umziligazi revolted from Tshaka and with a regiment of about 1,000 soldiers belonging to the despot, sought pastures new in what is now the Free State. Two of Tshaka's regiments were sent in pursuit, but Umziligazi laid an ambush, and his men suddenly jumping up with a deafening war cry rushed in close with the broad stabbing assegai, and all but annihilated the king's warriors.

After passing the Great Drakensberg Mountains, Umziligazi (contraction of Umzilayengazi, *i.e.*, Trail of Blood) threw himself upon Lehoya and other harmless Bechuana tribes, and scattering them like chaff, flung himself again upon a tribe of Zulus called the Mangwane, under their chief Matiwana. [Alluded to in a page or two back.] He also fell upon the Amahluhi tribe, then located in that part of the world. He slaughtered many of both peoples, and drove them upon the Basutos, who killed the Hlubi Chief Umpangazita, and Matiwana was also attacked by Moshesh and driven southward, where he, in turn, fell upon the Amatembu, as related, and continued a conquering career, until set upon by the Cape Government and, in fact, everyone around him, until he and his people were almost annihilated.

Many years ago, in Natal, I saw the son of Matiwana,

* This comes in very happily after the highly successful Graham's Town Exhibition of 1887-8. [And here the Settler's story ends.
 D. C. F. M.]

Zikali, who was governing the remnant of the tribe—some 5 or 600 hundred—if I remember rightly. He and they were located near the sources of the Great Tugela. He was truly a magnificent savage. Tall, fine features, commanding appearance, and polite and dignified in manner. He was afterwards murdered mysteriously in his hut, and people said it was passing strange that the Government took no steps to enquire into the matter, but merely contented itself with the report of the Resident Magistrate.

NATAL.

In a former chapter I have alluded to several early visitors to the shores of fair Natal, the lovely tropical garden of South Africa.

We must now jump to 1823, shortly after Tshaka swept like a devastating scourge over Natal, with his plumed, assegaid and terrible legions, making his name a terror to all who heard it, until no nation, then in Southern Africa, dared to stand before his wrath, but all fled like frightened birds or timid antelopes to safe retreats within the dense bush. Directly after Natal had thus been swept, Lieut. Farewell and Mr. H. F. Fynn reached Port Natal.

Mr. Fynn had married several Kafir wives, according to Native law. His "Inkosikazi" or, chief wife, I saw many years ago, ruling Fynn's tribe near the Umzimkulu. Mr. Henry Ogle had also married Kafir wives. On the death of the latter, his son, by a Kafir marriage, disputed, on behalf of his mother, his father's estate with some missionary who had, it was said, got hold of it. A brother of mine, who was a solicitor, took up the case for Ogle, and the Supreme Court found for him—that is for the Inkosikazi, *i.e.*, the chief wife, saying that the Kafir marriage was perfectly valid, and "in community of property." The late Mr. Fynn, who, in the meantime, had married an English lady, after putting away his Kafir wives, found to his horror that it was quite legally possible for his first old Kafir wife to walk, any fine day, into his drawing-room, and make herself comfortable in the best arm-chair. Mr. Fynn died in Natal.

On the 27th of August, 1827, a great battle occurred between the Tambookies (or Amatembu) and the Fetcani

under Matiwana, near the mountain Hangklip, in the Queenstown Division, and on the

Twenty-sixth of August, 1828, Matiwana again attacks the Tambookies and Amangcaleka Kafirs, and is defeated near the sources of the Bashee by a colonial force under Major Dundas. Not Somerset as the "Old Letter" has it.

Mr. Kay, in his "Caffrarian Researches" tells the sad tale of Farewell's death in a very interesting manner. Kay's mission was to Pondoland, and so, being almost on the scene, he was particularly well informed. He says that from a place called Amadolo, Farewell, and friends, went to the residence of Faku on the 26th of August 1830. Faku strongly dissuaded Farewell from going to Kweto,* but the Lieutenant, as I have said, heard that ivory was plentiful, and on he went.

"At first, all was friendly enough, but scarcely had night fallen than Qeto's mien altered greatly, as did that of his attendants also, for both words and actions then assumed an air of hostility. This was sufficiently manifest to the travellers themselves,† but more especially to the interpreters, who repeatedly hinted that the aspect of things was indicative of evil. The chief seems to have signified a wish to prevent their procedure to Natal, being fearful that they might render Dingaan the king of Zululand, assistance against him.‡ After informing them of the wound he had received from the gun of a white man, Lochenburg's horses were brought and exhibited in triumph, and in their brutal rage, the savage throng cruelly goaded, and most barbarously treated the poor animals, as if to annoy their visitors, or induce them to say something on which a quarrel might be grounded. Thackeray and Walker now became very uneasy, but Farewell was still unwilling to believe that their host would venture to do them personal injury.

"Their fears being somewhat quieted, and the natives having retired, they laid down to sleep, and all remained tranquil until near dawn of day. Their tent was then

* I am informed by good authority (Mr. Theal) that this name should be "Qeto" palatal click.

† Messrs. Walker and Thackeray accompanied Farewell.

‡ Qeto had revolted from Dingaan.

suddenly surrounded, and all three horribly massacred, together with five of their native servants who slept in a hut hard by. Three only escaped to tell the dreadful tale ; and one of these was forced desperately to fight his way through, in doing which he shot three of the barbarians, and received one or two slight wounds himself. The ruffians then set off to plunder the wagons, in which they found several thousand pounds weight of beads, more precious than gold to them, likewise great quantities of clothes, with which they dressed themselves as well as they were able. Ten of twelve horses and several good guns also fell into their hands. Qeto then attacked the mission station, but was beaten off with loss." Isaacs concludes by saying "Had Farewell been less perverse, and more wary, he might not thus have fallen untimely ; but he had not apprehension of 'roaring terrors' and was resolute to a fault."



CHAPTER XXI.

THE KAFIR WAR OF 1835.

THOSE versed in South African chronology will know that between the last date mentioned—1828—nothing very important or interesting in the way of “Battles or Adventures” occurred until 1834, in which year, by the way, the first party of Boers—consisting of Cobus Uys, Hans de Lange, Stephanus Maritz, and Gert Rudolph—first explored Natal.

In December of this year—1834—began what is known as the “’35 War.” It appears that a force had been sent to recover compensation for stolen stock—the old story. The military patrol sent seized some cattle belonging to the Chief Tyali, a brother of Maqoma.* In the scrimmage incident upon the said seizure, Xoxo, a brother of Maqoma’s also, was slightly scratched. The fact served, however, for the pretext of crying “havoc”! The blood of a chief had been shed. It was enough.

On the 22nd of December, 1834, an excited and infuriate horde of upwards of 12,000 savages, passing the broad and rapid stream of the Great Fish River, burst with irresistible fury over the frontier, and spread themselves across the entire district of Albany, murdering, burning, plundering, and spreading general horror and devastation as far as the distant village of Uitenhage. Men were butchered with relentless and savage ferocity and their helpless families turned adrift, sometimes at midnight, to crouch and huddle together in the *Veldt*, and watch the raging flames devouring the comfortable and domestic results of the toil and trouble of many a year. After thus ravaging the country, the main body of the Kafirs retreated on the last day of 1834, carrying with them an immense booty. All the inhabitants of the entire frontier

* This Maqoma was generally known as “Macomo.”

districts were thus reduced to the greatest distress. As regards the British Settlers of 1820, the fruit of fourteen years' perseverance and industry was at once swept away, and they were now as homeless and helpless as on the day they landed. From all sides the scattered inhabitants fled to Graham's Town for the preservation of their lives, and about 2,000 people, most of whom a few weeks previously had been in comfortable circumstances, were assembled there in complete destitution, all property having been necessarily abandoned in the hurry of flight from their farms. In one week 40 farmers were murdered; 450 farm-houses burnt; and 4,000 horses, 100,000 head of cattle; and 150,000 sheep carried off. At Mr. Keyser's station on the Keiskama (says Mr. Theal) a trader took refuge in the mission house. A party of men approached and asked him to come out and give them his goods, promising that if he would comply his life should be spared. Being entirely in their power, he had no alternative, and when only a few paces from the door, he was struck down with assegais. Mr. Keyser begged them not to murder the helpless man, but in vain.

Intelligence of the invasion reached Cape Town by express on the 31st of December, 1834. Orders were immediately issued to despatch every available soldier to the seat of war, and to assemble Burgher commandos and Hottentot levies to follow as quickly as possible. Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry Smith, left Cape Town the same night, and arrived in Graham's Town six days afterwards, where he assumed command and initiated measures to prevent further inroads into the Colony. Martial law was proclaimed in the ravaged districts, and every male inhabitant capable of bearing arms was called into service.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban having appointed a Provisional Government to act during his absence from Cape Town, arrived on the Frontier on the 20th of January, 1835. One of his first acts on reaching Graham's Town was to appoint a board for the relief of the destitute, giving them power to draw from the Commissariat such supplies as were requisite to alleviate the existing distress. Committees were afterwards formed in Cape Town and the principal villages of the Colony to raise subscriptions in assistance; and even in India, Mauritius, and St. Helena considerable sums

were collected and forwarded. During the remainder of the year applications representing over 8,000 persons were made to the Board for relief. As soon as the Burgher Commandos could be organized and brought to the front, an attempt was made to strike a decisive blow, but the Kafirs fell back beyond the Amatolas.

It was by this time certain that the Gcalekas, who professed to be neutral, were connected with the war party, as one trader in their country had been murdered, and two others plundered of everything, and a large portion of the stock collected in the raid on the Colony had been driven thither for security. In March, 1835, a messenger was sent by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to the Chief Hintsä, but could obtain no satisfaction. The Governor, therefore, with a small, but well-equipped force, invaded the Gcaleka's country, leaving behind him his lieutenants to cope in the Amatolas and other fastnesses with the Rarabe tribes. On the 15th April the troops crossed the Kei, Hintsä's western boundary. The advance guard was entering the river, when a solitary Kafir made his appearance on the eastern bank. True to the policy of his chief, he requested to be told the name of the stream. He was informed that the Governor knew it was the Kei, and intended to cross it in order to make some amicable arrangements, if possible. With this message he was sent to the chief, and the troops then moved on to the mission station of Butterworth.

They found the mission house and chapel in ruins, and learnt that the whites who had been residing in the country had all fled to the Tembu Chief Vusani for protection. A patrol was immediately sent to their relief, and was successful in bringing to the camp about 100 persons who had lost everything but their lives. Hintsä having declined to make his appearance, and a straggler from an express party having been murdered on the 24th, war with the Gcalekas was formally declared. Patrols were at once sent out, and, within a few days, nearly 20,000 head of cattle were seized. The rapidity with which the troops moved and the evident impossibility of successfully resisting them, struck such terror into the great Chief that, under promise of personal safety, he visited the British Camp and made terms of peace. These

were the restoration of 20,000 head of cattle, and 1,000 horses which had been driven into his country ; assistance in bringing the Rarabe tribes into submission ; the punishment of the murderers of two British subjects ; the payment of 300 head of good cattle to each of the widows ; and the delivery of two hostages to be detained until the terms should be fulfilled. This was on the 30th of April, 1835.

Upon the arrival of the British forces in Hmtsa's country they were joined by a great number of Fingoes. These peoples, as I have already said, consisted of the remnants of once powerful tribes that had been dispersed and driven southwards by the conquests of Tshaka, with whom were afterwards united a few of the Feteau who had been routed by the Colonial Commando in 1828. Since the loss of their independence, they had been living in bondage among the Amaxosa, by whom they were treated with great cruelty. Their persons and their property were alike always at the disposal of the tyrants whose gardens they cultivated and whose cattle they herded. A Fingo was commonly addressed by a Xosa as a " Dog," and was regarded exactly as if he were one.

The arrival of the British troops offered to many of the Fingoes an opportunity of escape from this deplorable position, of which they availed themselves with gladness. There were of course many others of them who could not make their way to the British Camp, as an attempt to do so would have subjected them to immediate massacre, and, of these, some were not rescued until 1851. The Governor determined to release from slavery as many of these people as possible, and to give them a tract of land on the Eastern bank of the Great Fish River, where he hoped they would, under British protection, become a thriving and friendly tribe.

On the 2nd of May, 1835, the troops commenced their march homewards, driving before them the herds of captured cattle, and accompanied by 16,000 Fingoes ; men, women and children, together with some converts from the Wesleyan Mission Stations of Butterworth, Clarkbury, and Morley. These latter resolved to accompany their teachers, who had been appointed by the Governor to be the instructors of the Fingoes in the country he intended



Murray & St. Leger.

HONOURABLE R. SOUTHEY, C.M.G

Cape Town.

them to occupy. On the 15th of May they arrived at their destination, now the district of Peddie, where a settlement was formed which afterwards became of great importance to the Colony. Hintsa (with Burn) was a hostage detained for the due fulfillment of the terms, and he, as will be seen, was shot in bolting.

But the tribes to the westward of the Kei not having submitted, the military reinforcements which had now arrived, attacked them so vigorously and their losses were so great, that they were, in turn, compelled to sue for peace. They offered to surrender the sovereignty of the country, and promised to conduct themselves thereafter as orderly and obedient servants. On these terms peace was concluded at Fort Wilshire on the 17th of September, 1835, and the district between the Great Fish and the Kei Rivers was proclaimed a British Province. A Commission was then appointed, with Col. Smith as its President, for the purpose of locating the different tribes, defining the boundaries of their respective possessions, and generally reducing the country to order.

Any account of the Kafir War of 1835 would be incomplete without the evidence of that well-liked old colonial veteran, the Honourable Richard Southey, and it will be interesting to many of my readers, to preface his account of part of that war, to give a short sketch of his career written by himself "with the modesty thoroughly characteristic of the man," at the request of the Editors of the "Cape Monthly." He is now still hale and hearty.

Mr. Richard Southey, then, is a native of Devonshire, and came to the Cape Colony with his father, who brought out a "party" of Settlers in 1820. The well-known failure of the wheat crops in Lower Albany, which were destroyed by rust, and the want of a profitable market for other descriptions of produce, soon made it apparent that to continue on the location assigned to them would lead to ruin, and that some other means of existence must be resorted to.

This caused a pretty general dispersion of the settlers as well as members of families—the younger branches having of course, to be placed in positions, whence they could make their own way in the world. It was then that it fell to Mr. Southey's lot to be placed as junior clerk in the

mercantile establishment of Messrs. Heugh & Co., at Graham's Town, where he remained five years. He left this to join his brothers, who were farming on the Fish River, between Trompeter's and Committee's Drift; but soon afterwards purchased in conjunction with them the "Kap River Farm," situated about midway between Graham's Town, and the mouth of the Fish River, where he went to reside, and had nearly completed the erection of commodious and extensive farm premises when the Kafir war of 1834-35 broke out.

It was in this war that Mr. Southey first distinguished himself as one of the coolest and most intrepid of the frontier burghers who took prominent and honourable parts in it. The history of his proceedings in connection with it extends over the whole period the contest lasted, and it undoubtedly forms one of the most interesting chapters on Cape Frontier history.

Mr. Southey says: I was in some respects more fortunate than some of my neighbours, as I received timely notice of dangers, while they were attacked unawares, and some of them fell under the ruthless assegai. One of my brothers happening to be at Graham's Town, heard of the "affair" with a patrol under Ensign Sparkes, and of some other circumstances, which left no doubt of war, and he at once determined to warn me of danger on his way home. This he did about midnight on the 20th of December, 1834; and it was arranged that I should await further intelligence from the farm ahead on the Fish River, to which he at once proceeded. At daylight on the 22nd he returned, reporting that on the previous day they had been attacked by a large body of Kafirs, who had swept off all our stock—some 900 horned cattle (many of a superior breed) 2,000 sheep, and thirty horses; and that they had only succeeded in bringing away the family, and such articles as could be hastily got into two wagons—all else was gone. I at once despatched my stock in charge of herds to Graham's Town. My wife and two children followed in a cart drawn by oxen, and a few articles of wearing apparel and bedding were lightly thrown into the only wagon I had and sent after the rest. I followed in the course of the day (warning all the neighbours I could get at, by the way, to follow my example).

On reaching Graham's Town in the evening I found that all I had sent in the morning had arrived in safety. The Kafir herds had taken good care of the stock, and they continued to do so for several weeks afterwards until the good folks at the head of affairs deemed it unsafe to have Kafirs at large amongst them. My servants heard of this, and fearing that they would get into the "Tronk" (gaol) decamped.

At Graham's Town confusion and terror prevailed to a large extent. The Kafirs were hourly expected to come down upon the place in great force, and hence all who came in from the country were expected to remain and aid in the defence of the capital and the women and children that flocked there for security.

Persons possessing a knowledge of Kafir character did not join in this feeling. They were of opinion that no attack would be made upon the town, and that it was the people in isolated positions in the country which stood most in need of aid. This was my idea, and I readily joined in every movement with this object in view. The first expedition was to the "Clay Pits," in search of the Mahoney family. We met old Mrs. Mahoney and some grandchildren on their way to town on foot, having been in the bush all night, and having walked some twenty miles over a rough and difficult road. Her husband and son-in-law, Henderson (a merchant of Graham's Town, on a visit to the country) we afterwards found murdered by the road side about a mile from their house. On our way we had fallen in with several other dead bodies.

We had left town with the intention of patrolling three or four days, but as the whole country as far as we had gone was deserted by its inhabitants, and it was thought that all had either made their escape to the military posts and towns, or been already killed while attempting to do so, it was resolved to return to town in the evening.

On parade next morning twelve volunteers were called for to carry despatches to the Kafir Drift and Gwalana posts. The latter, where a detachment of Cape Corps was stationed, was reported to be surrounded by the enemy, and unable to obey the summons which had gone forth to all the outposts to fall back upon Graham's Town. The required number (of whom I had the honour to be one),

immediately responded, and we reached Kafir Drift that evening without meeting any of the enemy, and found the Gwalana party already there.

In obedience to orders, the following morning saw the whole party on the move for head quarters, thus abandoning to the enemy a military position (Kafir Drift) which might have been, with a little addition to its force, of great protection to the coast country—and all the stores that could not be got into the few wagons at command. As we were about leaving, a small body of Kafirs passed in sight of the post, driving a fine herd, two or three head, of splendid Lower Albany cattle before them towards Kafirland. The twelve volunteers asked Major Lowen, the commanding officer, for permission to ride out and recapture them, but he refused, arguing that as they were going to leave behind all cattle belonging to the post not required for draught, it would be only waste of time going after more. It went, however, very much against our grain to see with what boldness we were bearded with impunity.

It took us two days to get to town, and we had not the good luck to meet with any of the enemy, except a few stragglers, never more than half a dozen together; and to our mortification, we found, on arriving in town, that on the previous day a train of wagons on the same road had been attacked within ten miles of Graham's Town, the oxen cut loose and carried off, and some of the drivers killed. We had longed for such an attempt upon ours, but it was denied to us.

All the out-posts had by this time been abandoned, and all the force that could be got together, military and civil, was in town, and it was resolved to commence a first invasion of the enemy's country. The inhabitants had formed themselves into corps under various titles, and I belonged to the "Albany Mounted Sharpshooters." We paraded at stated hours morning and evening. At evening parade we were told that a certain number of our corps would be required next day to form part of a patrol, and to take three days biscuit with us. It was left to ourselves either to volunteer for the duty, or for the officer to order the required number. We chose the former, called for volunteers, and the required number rode to the front immediately. Of these I was one.

The next day saw us on the road to Kafirland. Our patrol consisted of forty Cape Mounted Rifles, and 160 others of all sorts, Sharpshooters, Burghers, and native levies ; all under the command of Major Cox, C.M.R., assisted by Capt. Halifax, 75th Regiment.

At the first halt we were told that our destination was Eno's Kraal, where we arrived at sunrise next morning—having marched all night—half an hour too late to catch the wily old chief asleep.

We now had our first brush with the enemy, of whom between thirty and forty were killed—the only casualty on our side being a burgher pinned to his saddle by an assegai. This, however, rather interfered with our arrangements, as it rendered some kind of carriage necessary. We found some traders' wagons at the kraal, which had been carried off from one of the stations, and we soon selected a span (team) of oxen, and so got our wounded comrade on with us to Fort Wilshire, whence we sent him to Graham's Town, under escort of a portion of our small force, reducing us to about 180 men.

We halted at Fort Wilshire two or three days, to allow of a party from Fort Beaufort, under Major Burney,—which was to move up thro' the Kat River settlement, and pass over the Chumie Mountain—to unite with us in an attack on Tyali's Kraal, which was supposed to be the stronghold of the enemy at that time. Of course the time of attack had been agreed upon ; and we moved out of Fort Wilshire one evening a little after dark, and proceeded to a point from which the kraal could be reached at day light. The rain fell in torrents during the night ; and as we had no tents or shelter of any kind, we were soon drenched.

Our horses remained saddled during the four or five hours halt, and our orders were to stand at their heads and be prepared for an attack at any moment. No attack was made upon us, however, and at dawn of day we proceeded on, drenched to the skin, and most of our guns probably useless, if they had been needed, from wet.

Arrived at the kraal, we found it abandoned ; set fire to the huts—the heat from them being by no means disagreeable after our wet march—destroyed all that we could find that a Kafir would prize ; and then off-saddled for breakfast.

Of course all this time we had been looking for our gallant allies from Fort Beaufort, but they did not make their appearance; and later in the day we went in search of them, expecting that they might have fallen in with the enemy, and been repulsed, and so prevented from fulfilling their engagement. We found them comfortably housed and tented at the "New Post." The officer in command was asked why he had not obeyed his orders to be at Tyali's Kraal at the hour appointed, and replied something to the effect that the morning being wet and uncomfortable, he had preferred remaining under shelter. We thence returned to Graham's Town, when our detachment received a good share of praise in "general orders" and Major Burney procured a leave of absence to England.

It was now known that the Kafirs were collecting in great force in the Fish River Bush, and Colonel, afterwards Sir Harry Smith, having arrived from Cape Town and assumed command on the Frontier, ordered a strong patrol under Col. England, 75th Regt. to assemble at Trompetter's drift, to reconnoitre and report as to the position and strength of the enemy. This being done Col. Smith came down himself to take chief command with a view to dislodge him.

Our force was now in three divisions—the head quarters at Trompetter's—under Colonel Smith. The second division at Somerset Mount under Colonel Somerset; and the third at Committees under Col. England; and a combined movement of all three was to take place during the night. Guides now became requisite, and hearing that I knew something of the country, I was called to the tent of Col. Smith, and, after a little conversation, arrangements were made in this particular by which I was to act as "Guide to the Head Quarters Division." We moved from our ground about midnight—after the moon had gone down—and ascended the hills on the eastern bank of the river by a steep and rugged elephant path, towards the position, whence our operations were to commence at daylight.

During a short halt to allow the infantry breathing time, Col. Smith rode to the front and told me that, as a number of guides would be required during the Campaign, if I would undertake to collect a sufficient band, acquainted

with the country and willing to act, I should be appointed to command them, with the pay of Captain. This was agreed to and we moved on again, arrived at our ground in good time, and at day-light the six pounders opened upon the dense bush from the several points agreed upon the previous day.

We saw a good many cattle in various parts of the bush, indicating, of course, the presence of the enemy, though few of them were visible. A little later the order was issued to penetrate the bush and bring out the cattle. This was responded to with alacrity, but without sufficient precaution. The bush could only be penetrated in single file, and the Kafirs, lying concealed behind stones, and cover of every description, had greatly the advantage of us, and thus we lost several of our best men.

We continued our operations for three days, and, notwithstanding their advantages, the Kafirs found the bush too warm and quitted it for the Amatolas. It was during this patrol that a portion of the third division, under Field-Cornet Rademeyer, had a hand to hand fight with an overwhelming number of the enemy, and after a most severe struggle, defeated them ; not, however, without severe loss on their part.

It was now decided to invade the enemy's country in as many directions as possible, and with all the force that could be procured. The Governor, Lieut.-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, had arrived at Graham's Town, and assumed the immediate command. Every available soldier, and as many burghers and levies of natives as could be collected, were in front, and the corps of guides, about forty strong, had been organised.

I was now told off specially as guide to the Commander-in-Chief, my orders being that, although retaining command of the corps and being held responsible to provide guides whenever and wherever required, never to be absent from the head quarters staff. The Campaign lasted about three months, during which we penetrated to the Bashee, and scoured the country of the late paramount Chief Hintza from the sea to its northern limits, at the sources of the T'somo.

We were now in a position to punish the Kafir for his teachery, and Hintza, feeling this, made overtures of peace

which were too eagerly listened to. He, with his son Kreli (Sarili) his brother Booko, and some followers, came into our camp and concluded a treaty, binding himself to deliver a large number of cattle within a given time, upon condition of our vacating his territories ; he, meanwhile, remaining as hostage in our camp. We commenced our backward movement towards the Kei.

At this stage, the corps of guides and some of the leading burghers very nearly lost the good opinion previously formed of them. It was admitted that they had done good and gallant services, and the general orders of the day still testify to this. But they were now guilty of such an act of insubordination as regular soldiers never heard of. They actually drew up and sent to the Commander-in-Chief a *remonstrance* against his arrangements with Hintza. They represented that the old chief was only anxious to get us out of his country, and had no intention of fulfilling his engagement ; that without much difficulty, now, we could take what he engaged to give, and expressed, moreover, their willingness to remain in the field any length of time necessary for the purpose of recovering compensation for the losses of the country.

We continued our march westward, however, crossed the Kei, and on the right bank, in presence of Hintza, and with the firing of cannon, proclaimed that we had conquered and beaten the enemy, and brought him to terms ; that henceforth the river should be our Eastern boundary, and the territory between it and the Keiskama should become British, under the title of the Province of Queen Adelaide.

Hintza here beguiled our chiefs into the belief that his own presence among his people was necessary to enforce the fulfillment of his engagement, and about the half of our force was detached under Colonel Smith to accompany him and fetch the cattle. A portion of the corps of guides under its Lieutenant, my brother George, accompanied this force and in their charge was given the great chief.

He was allowed to ride his own horse, a fine animal, in good plight and wind—while those of the guides were jaded and out of condition—and to carry his arms, but they were to take care he did not escape. The result of this expedition was as many expected it would be. Hintza

never intended to fulfil his engagement ; he wanted to get away. The guides were, however, too much on the alert ; he attempted, and was killed, his death wound being inflicted by the Lieutenant, George Southey.

During this time I had charge of the other hostages, Kreli, Booko, &c., but the former was now set at liberty, under a promise never fulfilled, or intended to be, to carry out his father's engagement. We travelled westwards to the Buffalo, the present site of King William's Town, from where I was sent on to Graham's Town, in charge of the hostages. They remained under my care a month, or so, and I was then sent back with them to their own country, there to set them free.

Sir Benjamin now set about organizing a system Government for the management of the New Province and I was appointed one of the Magistrates. This ceased with the reversal of the "D'Urban System" by the "Stockenstrom Treaties of 1837," and I left the service and the Frontier to be out of the way of the wars which I believed would follow.

Here ends the interesting communication of Mr. Southey. For the succeeding ten years he resided at Graaf Reinet, until in 1847 Sir Harry Smith arrived as Governor, from whom he received the appointment of Secretary to the High Commissioner, and he accompanied him in that capacity throughout the Colony, Orange River Sovereignty and Natal. He was present at the Battle of Boomplaats (he has kindly furnished me with an account of it, which appears in its proper date) on the 29th August, 1848, after which he was left in the Sovereignty as President of the War Tribute Commission, formed for the purpose of levying fines upon the persons who had been engaged against us, both as a punishment to them and to pay the expenses incurred. Some £9,000 was collected and paid into the general Treasury within six months.

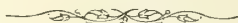
Having completed his duties there, and having visited the Transvaal Territory—notwithstanding the exasperation of the Boers against the English—at the special invitation of Commandant Potgieter, he returned to the Cape in the beginning of 1849, and at the end of that year received the appointment of Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Swellendam.

During his tenure of office there, and notwithstanding that at times political feeling ran high, he succeeded in gaining the confidence and respect of the inhabitants, as thoroughly as the approbation of the Government whom he served.

In May 1852 he was selected to act as Colonial Secretary during the absence of Mr. Montagu on leave to England. It was while holding this appointment that a collision between himself and Lieut.-Governor Darling led to a temporary suspension from office, to which, however, by order of the authorities at home he was honourably restored ; a decision that gave the most lively satisfaction to every gentleman in his department, as well as the public generally.

On the arrival of Mr. Rawson from Mauritius, as the newly appointed Colonial Secretary, Mr. Southey resumed his Magisterial duties at Swellendam in May, 1854, and in February of the following year was appointed Secretary to the Lieut.-Governor. While discharging this office he resided at Graham's Town, and honourably distinguished himself there by his ready co-operation in every movement for the promotion of agriculture, the education, and the general prosperity of the district.

In January 1859 he was selected by Sir George Grey to fill the vacant office of Auditor-General—a nomination which called forth the universal approbation of the public and the legislature. It was superseded however by another nomination from home, and Mr. Southey without a murmur returned to the duties of his own previous office on the Frontier, and continued there until called to supply temporarily the vacant Colonial Secretaryship during the absence on leave of Mr. Rawson in England.



CHAPTER XXII.

MATIWANA—*continued.*

BEFORE proceeding to the narration of the stirring events of the Kafir War of 1834-35 we must give some further information regarding that meteoric emanation of the unique Zulu power, Matiwana. This information is derived from a book containing the "Introductory remarks to a narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, A.D., 1834-35, by the Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*," the veteran Mr. Godlonton, an universally acknowledged colossal authority and the very Herodotus of Eastern Province History. He says that in May, 1828, alarming reports reached the colony, purporting that an immense horde of savages were approaching the boundary from the north-eastward; that the most sweeping destruction had hitherto marked their progress, and that it appeared very probable the Kafir tribes would either be driven upon the colony, or be speedily extirpated, unless succoured by the colonial power. These reports soon created some uneasiness at the seat of government; and at length Major-General Bourke decided upon despatching Major Dundas, the then Civil Commissioner for Albany and Somerset, with a small escort composed of active young men, partly English and Dutch, on a mission towards the scene of commotion. The express object of this journey was to gain accurate information respecting the character and apparent intentions of an enemy who was represented as so formidable, and whose progress seemed to threaten the colony with a very serious calamity.

This party quitted Graham's Town early in the month of June, and with considerable labour and difficulty crossed the whole of the Amakosa territory. On reaching the adjoining country of the Amapondas it was found almost depopulated; not, however, by the "Feteani" — the

appellation given to the stranger hordes—but by the Zulu forces under Dingaan. The Amaponda people had been destroyed in great multitudes; the country plundered of its cattle, whilst the few inhabitants who had escaped were sunk into a state of the deepest despondency. Here the party of colonists received information respecting the “Fetcani,” from messengers who had been despatched from the Amatembu tribes soliciting their assistance against this formidable foe. On receiving this intelligence the small party of colonists turned their steps to the northward, proceeding up towards the sources of the Umtata river, and shortly bivouacked near the residence of Voosani, the great chief of the Amatembu people.

It was at this spot that Major Dundas learnt the true character of the marauders who had struck so much terror throughout the whole of the Kafir country. It was here clearly discovered that they were the same people as had driven the formidable Mantatee army towards the northern frontier in 1823, and which had occasioned so much alarm at that time throughout the colony. They were described as extremely numerous and formidable, not only from their mode of warfare—making their attacks in general under the cover of night—but from their incredible cruelties, in massacring every man, woman, and child that had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The indefatigable traveller, Thompson, whose progress to the northward was stopped by the flying Mantatees at the period referred to, states that “after the repulse they received from the Griquas they appear to have divided themselves into two armies. One of them proceeded in a north-easterly direction (and of these we shall be able to furnish our readers with some account in the sequel), but the other manifestly came down to the southward, dispersing and plundering the various clans that fell in their way.” This account is a little confused, as it turns out not to have been the Mantatees who took that direction, but the victorious Fetcani, with whom they are confounded.

Subsequent events have fully explained all their movements, and it is now ascertained that the affrighted Mantatees, finding themselves stopped in their flight by the guns of the Griquas, suddenly made a retrograde movement, and succeeded in gaining the difficult mountainous country

in the rear of the Fetcani, where a great portion of them have continued to maintain themselves to the present day ; whilst their pursuers, after spreading desolation throughout the country—of which a memento remains at this hour in the human bones thickly strewn along the banks of the Caledon—remained for a time stationary near the sources of that river, occasionally making incursions into the Tambookie and Kafir country, and carrying off great numbers of cattle. At length, finding the distance a serious inconvenience, and being powerfully tempted by the large herds of cattle possessed by the frontier tribes, they moved to the southward, and at the period of Major Dundas's mission had taken up a position as stated on the sources of the Umtata River.

It has also been proved that these victorious hordes originally resided at the sources of the River Tugela, to the north-east of Natal, acknowledging fealty to the chief *Matiwana*, who was their leader in all their wanderings, and the chief actor in their savage barbarities. They were a tribe of the Zulu nation, but the notorious *Chaka* having driven a powerful chief named *Zwide* from his territory, “he in his retreat fell upon *Matiwana*, who being thus compelled to seek another settlement, first overpowered the *Amazizi*, who, on the death of their chief, united themselves with the tribe of *Matiwana*. By this accession of strength he became formidable to his neighbours, and adopting *Chaka*'s exterminating mode of carrying on war, he successfully destroyed the *Amahlubi*, the *Amanewazi*, the *Amakekyana*, and the *Amakangazitas*,—sparing neither women nor children,—as it was his custom to attack a *kraal* a short time before day-break, set fire to the huts, and stab the defenceless inhabitants as they rushed out.”

It is impossible to paint in colours sufficiently dark the atrocities committed by these cruel and blood-thirsty miscreants. The writer whom we have quoted above observes that any one travelling along the *Umtkachi* River, and along the mountains near its sources, and in the burnt *kraals* and human skeletons which he will observe on all sides, he will find convincing proofs of the desolating and savage warfare carried on by the people of *Matiwana*. Another authority, a missionary residing near the scene of these enormities, in a communication addressed to the

writer of this narrative as far back as July, 1834, remarks—“There is an old man dwelling on the ‘Bunting’ Station, or near it, who was many years with *Matiwana* during his predatory mode of living, who states that he himself saw upwards of thirty captains—whose people he had previously destroyed—brought before him and murdered in cold blood, in order that he might drink their galls to make him strong! These people and their captains inhabited that tract of country beyond *Faku* and stretching to the *Orange River*—a distance of some hundreds of miles, and which to this day remains destitute of inhabitants. The people under these captains varied as to number, but may at the lowest computation be reckoned as from three to four thousand to each captain. All these, amounting to at least 100,000 souls, were utterly destroyed by the bloody *Matiwana*.”

Such were the people who were hovering over the devoted *Kafir* tribes at the period of *Major Dundas’s* opportune mission in 1828. On his arrival within the *Amatembu*, or *Tambookie*, territories the chief *Voosanie* met him, accompanied by his warriors, fully prepared to take the field against this dreaded and formidable foe. His co-operation was earnestly solicited on the momentous occasion, and to this request the *Major*, after due consideration, acceded. Nothing could be more politic or proper than this decision. The *Feteani* were just on the eve of springing, like the stealthy tiger, upon the devoted *Kafir* tribes,—and from which they were evidently diverted by the efforts made at that very juncture by *Major Dundas* and his gallant little band. Had that assistance been refused, the whole of the *Kafir* people would have been thrown upon the colony, and the greatest perplexity and confusion—to say nothing of the pecuniary loss—must have been the unavoidable consequence. No sooner had *Major Dundas* decided, than all was bustle and exertion. Being an officer distinguished for his bravery and activity in the field, everything under his direction soon wore a new aspect, and the *Tambookie* warriors, accompanied by the little company of colonists, marched in good spirits to the scene of action. The enemy at this time occupied a spacious basin, formed by the circle of hills of inconsiderable height, and watered by a branch of the *Umtata River*. It

appears to have been a bad position for defence, and it seems clear that, flushed by uninterrupted success, they had not calculated on being required to act suddenly on the defensive. The united Amaxosa and Amatembu forces gained their position, unperceived, late on the evening, and it was decided that a sudden and simultaneous attack should be made upon the enemy at an early hour the ensuing morning. The most advantageous dispositions for the expected engagement were speedily made, and at the time appointed the attacking forces were on the brow of the hill overlooking the dwellings of the dreaded Fetcani. No sooner were they observed than the whole settlement was in commotion; the men sprung to their arms, and some hasty dispositions were made to meet and repel the attack. At this moment Major Dundas perceived that a strong band of Fetcani warriors had placed themselves in a position to cover and protect the retreat of the cattle,—a primary point in all affairs with the natives,—and pointing out to his little party the importance of defeating this object, they galloped boldly forward direct to this point, and when within about a 100 yards of the enemy, who were waiting for their approach, they hastily dismounted and discharged their guns. The effect surpassed their expectations; the Fetcani were evidently unprepared for this destructive weapon, and hence amazed at its report, and terrified at its effects, some instantly fled, and others threw themselves on the ground in a paroxysm of fear. The colonists, flushed with the success of this experiment, followed in pursuit of the fugitives for some distance, until finding that they were entirely unsupported by their new allies, they returned to the scene of action. Here it was clearly apparent they had been entirely deserted. The Tambookies having with that rapacity peculiar to the Kafirs seized at once on the cattle of the affrighted Fetcani, and leaving the Major and his party to take care of themselves as they best might, had driven them towards their own country; and with so much celerity that it was not till the following day the colonists succeeded in re-joining them.

The object of the mission had, however, been attained; and Major Dundas having so far checked the Fetcani in their approach towards the Kafir territory, and ascertained fully the cause of the existing commotions amongst the

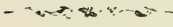
natives, proceeded on his return, and on reaching the frontier found that a commando had been organised during his absence for the purpose of supporting the Kafirs against this formidable foe, and with a view to save them from that destruction which so clearly awaited them.

No measure, perhaps, could have been devised by the Colonial Government at this important juncture more politic or seasonable than the assembling of this force for the purpose stated ; yet no proceeding has ever been more strangely misrepresented, or furnished such ample scope for the calumniators of the colonists to heap additional obloquy both on them and on the character of the Government. Without, however, waiting to examine these statements, it will only be necessary to proceed with the narrative in order to show their utter falsity.

Lieut.-Col. Somerset, who commanded the colonial forces, having been made acquainted with the exact situation and condition of the Fetcani hordes, moved with his commando to the Kei River, which he forded, and entered the territories of the chief Hintza. Here at the Wesleyan Missionary Institution of "Butterworth," the troops halted during the whole of one Sunday, attended in a most becoming manner the religious services conducted by the resident missionary at that station ; and after having collected much valuable information, and having made all necessary arrangements, they marched to the scene of action. The commando had been previously joined by the chiefs Hintza and Voosani, with a great number of their people, and on these a strong injunction was laid by the Commandant to show mercy to the women and children, and prisoners. The engagement which ensued was perfectly successful on the part of the colonial forces. The whole of the Fetcani host was overthrown and scattered amongst the surrounding tribes, and the appellation of Fetcani is now only known as designating a people that have ceased, as a body, to exist ; whose memory alone is all that remains at the present day—and which will continue to remain while that immense tract of country, overrun and depopulated by them, continues uninhabited ; and while the bones of the thousands of victims to their destructive and murderous ravages bleached by an African sun, continue to strew the ground,

and thus to point out the track of these merciless destroyers.

Such is a brief narrative of an affair which has been held up to the British public as one of the darkest and most atrocious acts of cruel perfidy recorded in the pages of colonial history. Mis-statements uncontradicted soon pass current for admitted facts ; and it has, therefore, been deemed desirable that a true version of this matter should be submitted to the public. It would have been useless to recur to occurrences of distant dates, where the actors in them have long since passed from the stage of existence, and where we must have been content to refer to such scraps of information relative thereto as might be gleaned from the official documents of the day. But not so in the present case ; the fate of the Fetcani is, as it were, an event of yesterday, and while there are numerous ear and eye-witnesses to verify every title of evidence adduced, is a time of all others the most fitting to confute unjust and daring calumnies.



CHAPTER XXIII.

PARTICULARS OF THE KAFIR WAR OF 1834—35.

WE now come directly to the relation of the exciting events of the Kafir War of 1834-5, and I have before me Mr. Godlonton's account of them. His remarks are the condensation of many articles by him and others on the particulars of this war, written on the scene of war while the warriors were red-handed. His remarks are also supplemented by the publishing of many letters in his possession written by military officers and others who were not only eye-witnesses but combatants. I have further condensed these accounts : in fact, picked the eyes out of them and herewith proceed to give them. The Kafirs, spoiled by the leniency extended to them by the Exeter Hall faction, whose minds seem to be, like a certain very tropical place, paved with good intentions, began by stealing horses right and left, and then murdered one Purcell, a trader, in cold blood. After a while, on the 20th November, 1834, a farmer named F. Scheepers, reported to the military officer commanding at Fort Wilshire that three horses and a foal, the property of a person named Joubert, had been stolen from a farm on the Koonap, the spoor or track of which had been followed until it led to a Kafir kraal belonging to the Chief Eno. The party in pursuit inquired at this place for the captain of the kraal, but was informed none exercising that authority resided there. They then requested to see Eno himself, and he being sent for, they informed him fully on the case,—showed him the spoor of the stolen horses leading to that identical spot, and agreed to wait patiently until he should have had sufficient time to follow up the inquiry and discover the actual robbers. Eno promised to make the search, and appeared so satisfied of the criminality of his people that he agreed, in the event of not producing the horses, to make compensation for them in cattle. With this under-

standing the parties remained at his kraal five days ; but finding at length that no satisfaction was intended, Scheepers, as stated, proceeded to Fort Wilshire, and reported the case.

The officer, on receiving this report, dispatched next day a messenger to Eno, informing him that he should expect him to send in either the horses, or cattle of equal value, within a period of eight days,—and that in the event of his non-compliance a patrol would be sent to take them by force of arms. This demand being equally disregarded as the former, a patrol, consisting of eleven men of the Mounted Rifles, and accompanied by four farmers—one of whom was the owner of the stolen horses—marched for Eno's kraal. This was on the 2nd Dec.—just *twelve* days after the commission of the robbery. On arriving at the kraal, the chief man was questioned respecting the lost property, but nothing could be elicited from him. Two of the patrol were then ordered to dismount, and open the cattle kraal,—on which the man sullenly observed that the horses were not there. And on the officer ordering the cattle to be driven out, he further stated that Eno himself had already seized, as compensation for the robbery, sixty head of cattle from that and a neighbouring kraal. On this he was told that he must request of Eno to return those cattle, they being about to take forty as restitution for the stolen property. This number was accordingly driven away—the Kafirs being permitted to select from the number all milch cattle.

After proceeding about a mile on their return, the officer was apprised by his men that the Kafirs, armed, and in considerable force, were following them. Shortly afterwards it was perceived from their movements that they intended to surround them. On this, five men of the party were ordered to check their advance. The officer subsequently rode to the rear himself, and finding the enemy numerous, and their gestures menacing, he ordered a volley to be fired over their heads. On this, they fell back, and the men in the rear rejoined their comrades. After marching about a mile and a half further, they were overtaken by a son of Eno's, named Stock. He was on horseback, and stated that his father was sending after them twenty head of cattle intended as compensation for

the stolen horses. He also remarked that he had turned back a great number of Kafirs who were pursuing the patrol. Immediately after this conversation, the men halted for a few minutes, and on resuming their march, Stock returned with the intention, as he professed, of bringing up the cattle which he said were in the rear. The patrol proceeded quietly after this for about seven miles, when suddenly, a number of Kafirs were seen in a kloof, a few hundred yards to the right of the road. These rushed towards the cattle and endeavoured to retake them,—the soldiers were ordered to extend themselves to the right and close in on the cattle, keeping them together. One Kafir seized the bridle of the horse rode by the corporal of the patrol, and menaced him with his assagai. By great exertion the cattle was at length disengaged from the Kafirs. Two troopers, with the four farmers, were then ordered to drive the cattle forward, while the rest were faced about and formed to resist the advance of the enemy—the officer informing them, through an interpreter, that if they persisted in advancing he should be compelled to fire on them. To this, one of them called out, “It is a lie what is said, they dare not do it.” The steadiness with which the party resisted the attack of the Kafirs, appeared to have the desired effect, as after following them for about two miles further, they retired. From this spot the patrol marched without interruption until they came in sight of the Fort. Here the cattle on crossing a ravine started off at full speed, and as the patrol had followed them closely, the officer was left a short distance in the rear. He had put his horse to a canter with the view of overtaking his party, when suddenly a Kafir sprung from a clump of bushes, and hurled his assagai. The officer raised his left arm so adroitly as to receive the assagai through it—and by this means escaped the fatal blow evidently intended. Drawing the assagai from the wounded limb, he speedily rejoined his men, and being near the fort, he succeeded in reaching it in a state of great exhaustion from loss of blood, but without further adventure.

While these proceedings were going on towards the coast, the Kafirs further to the northward manifested a most turbulent and daring spirit, continuing to encroach

upon the Colony with their cattle, in spite of all the remonstrances used to induce them to remain within their proper boundary. On the 11th December, the Commandant reported this to the government,—at the same time stating that the troops under his orders were much harassed, but that when they were rested and refreshed he should resume his operations.

In accordance with this resolve, a party of the Mounted Rifles, under the command of Lieut. Sutton, of H. M. 75th Regt., was ordered to proceed on the morning of the same day to the neighbourhood of the Umguela, and to drive from thence all Kafirs found occupying that country. On arriving at this point, he found the Kafirs collected in considerable force,—and on requesting them to move across the boundary, they manifested a very evident intention to refuse compliance. The military, however, without having recourse to actual force, rode along the ridge which forms, on the Colonial side, the banks of the Gaga. Throughout the greater part of this line there were no inhabitants, and they proceeded to destroy some kraals and huts which had been constructed by the Kafirs in a kloof near the Kat River Post,—and to which some horses stolen from Fort Beaufort a few days before had been clearly traced. Near this spot they captured a few cattle, and observing some more at a distance issuing from a kloof, the officer detached a sergeant and six men to seize them ; his orders being to secure a sufficient number of cattle, and then to inform the Kafirs that these would be detained until the stolen horses were restored.

At this time the Kafirs manifested a disposition to make a determined resistance. They attempted to surround the officer and his men during the absence of the sergeant, and which was only defeated by the coolness and intrepidity with which the attacks were received.

The sergeant having at length succeeded in capturing some of the cattle he had been sent in quest of, rejoined his party ; at which moment a general skirmish commenced,—the Kafirs fiercely attacking the soldiers, and taking advantage of the broken and sheltered country to assail them with their assagais. In this manner the military endeavoured to make good their retreat towards Fort Beaufort, keeping the body of the Kafirs at bay by using

their fire-arms. In spite, however, of every effort, the gallant little party was completely nonplussed,—the cattle were driven down upon them and re-captured. The night had come on as they approached a spot where the road is flanked on both sides by woody ravines, and here the Kafirs suddenly appeared in such great numbers, that it was found impracticable to proceed ; still, by a steady fire they kept off their assailants,—until at the very crisis of their fate the musketry was heard at the Fort, and from thence they received an immediate rescue. During this skirmish one of the Cape Corps was wounded by an assagai,—two Kafirs were killed and two wounded. One of the latter, named Xo Xo, was a brother of Tyali's.

The proceedings immediately consequent on this affair are detailed by the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, then Missionary at the Chumie, in Tyali's territory ; and from his statement it appears, that on his return from Graham's Town—whither he had been on business—on the evening of the following day, 17th December, he was surprised and alarmed to find the whole population in the state of the highest excitement. Nothing particular transpired that night, but the next morning Tyali waited on him, accompanied by his counsellors, and commanded him to write to the nearest Military Post, and to inquire why Xo Xo and his people had been killed.* This order was obeyed ; but as nothing satisfactory was elicited, Mr. Chalmers entreated the Chief to proceed to the Post, and hold a personal interview with the Military Authority there. But this his counsellors, evidently prepared for mischief, dissuaded him from doing, telling him that no faith was to be placed in the white people.

During the whole of this and following day, the people were making every preparation for their intended attack. "Messengers," says Mr. Chalmers, "were running to and

* This is not to be understood in a literal sense, as the following account given by Mr. Chalmers will sufficiently show :—"Hearing Xo Xo was most severely wounded in the head, I thought it necessary to request my assistant, Mr. Weir, to accompany me to visit him. We were never more astonished when we entered Xo Xo's hut and found him looking as healthy as usual, having no badge round the head, nor any appearance of a wound, although his head was shaved. We asked to see the wound, and were surprised to find it a mere scratch. If anything like shot had penetrated the skin it must have been very small indeed."

fro across the country in every direction,"—whilst a deep-laid and daring scheme was planned to entrap and get into their power Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, the Commandant of the Frontier. The particulars of this transaction are detailed by Mr. C. in the following terms:—

"On the 19th December, Col. Somerset arrived at the Kat River Post, and sent down a messenger requesting me to desire the chief to wait upon him on Saturday. Accordingly I despatched a man to Tyali, but he remained so long that I could not communicate with Col. Somerset that evening. The message of the chief was, 'Col. Somerset, I cannot see you nor speak with you until you explain to me why Eno's son was murdered by your men; and why Sikou was killed by the boers? and why my brother is killed in the head?' I wrote this communication expecting to send it early in the morning of the 20th. But about two o'clock in the morning, a Kafir came to my house, as sent from Tyali (I learned afterwards that he had been despatched by the confederate chiefs). I was directed by him not to transmit Tyali's former communication, but to write to the Colonel, and to inform him that Tyali would hold a conference with him at Chumie. That Tyali would only come with two attendants, and Colonel Somerset must come with the same number, and they would talk over the matters in dispute,—as Chumie was a place of peace where God's word was preached, but the *post* was a place of war.

"Judging no evil, I wrote as requested, and despatched the messenger at half-past five o'clock in the morning. Scarcely had he got out of sight when the Kafirs came pouring into the village from the direction of Tyali's kraal. In the course of a very few minutes the institution was surrounded by eight hundred or a thousand armed Kafirs, yelling and shouting as if they were triumphing over a fallen victim. I was astonished at this conduct, and proceeded to the foot of the village to ask what it all meant—and why they had broken the word of their Chief? when, to my great astonishment, Tyali himself stood forth in the midst of them. I remonstrated with them on the deceitfulness of such conduct, and intreated them to go home; but they answered me only with a horrid yell, and withdrew about four hundred yards, and sat down in ambush

until the messenger returned. Fortunately the Colonel did not come; and his answer being unsatisfactory, I had to write to him in the name of Tyali, challenging him 'to come and punish him, and take away his cattle.' This was about about 9 a.m. and forthwith the Kafirs commenced a general slaughter of cattle and goats, which continued the whole of that day (Saturday 20th), and during the greater part of the following Sabbath. In the meantime they had scouts sent out to watch the movements of Col. Somerset. On this Lord's day they did what they pleased at the institution. On this day I heard that Macomo and other chiefs had been lying behind Chumie on Saturday morning, waiting the arrival of Col. Somerset, and in the evening of this day (21st) Macomo sent out his men against the Colonists on the lower part of the Kat River. On the 22nd, all the Kafirs round Chumie were busily engaged in making shoes. In the afternoon the chief Tyali sent a messenger to me to state that 'the country was now *broken*, but that Kafirs would do no injury to the traders or missionaries. Scarcely had an hour elapsed after this communication when intelligence was received by me that the traders Rogers and Budding were murdered. On the 23rd and 24th, large bodies of armed Kafirs passed towards the colony: and a report was spread in Kafirland that Col. Somerset had been killed by his own soldiers. On the 26th, 27th, and 28th, the Kafirs returned with their booty highly elated with their success, and 'speaking great swelling words of vanity.' So great was their arrogance that they came and told me to take charge of their wives and children, while they proceeded to the Salt Paus, near Port Elizabeth, where they had determined to construct their cattle kraals and erect their huts."

In addition to this statement given by Mr. Chalmers, some further light has been thrown upon the proceedings of the Kafirs by a Gonaqua or Kafir woman, named Jacomina, formerly one of Gaika's wives, but since married to one of Macomo's warriors. From her evidence it appears that the Chief Macomo sent for her husband early on the morning of the 20th December, and informed him that the Hottentots were going to join in an attack upon the Colonists. It does not indeed appear that there were any just grounds for this report—or that it was anything

more than a mere rumour propagated by the confederate Chiefs to inspire their followers with confidence—still it is quite certain that it was very generally circulated amongst and believed by the Kafir people.

On Sunday, the 21st December, the work of devastation and murder was commenced. The first victim was a respectable Dutch farmer, named Buys, residing on the lower part of the Kat River. Towards midnight of the date named, a party of the barbarians reached his place,—they surrounded his house,—and on his going out and asking them what they wanted there at that late hour, a ruffian seized him by the collar while another plunged an assagai into his body. Having dispatched their victim, they pillaged the house and drove off the cattle. In the meantime, while engaged in this diabolical work, his wife with her six little children escaped by the back of the premises, and lay concealed in an adjacent jungle all night,—from whence the next day she succeeded in reaching a place of comparative security.

The marauders next attacked the farm of the Provisional Field-cornet Marthinus Wessels, a short distance lower down the Kat River. Here they carried off upwards of 360 head of cattle about 20 horses and mares, set on fire and destroyed his house, with all its furniture, and killed one of his domestics named October. Having saved one horse from the general wreck of property, a servant was dispatched shortly after midnight to Fort Wilshire, with the intelligence of their disastrous condition. This man on the way fell in with several large bodies of Kafirs on their march into the Colony. When they approached him he secreted himself until they had passed, and then, by carefully listening for the advance of the marauders—whose footsteps and the rattling of their assagais were perfectly distinct amidst the stillness of night,—he succeeded in reaching the Fort. Here, however, he found the enemy in great force on the side next the river—and it was only after the lapse of several days that he was enabled to return in quest of his unfortunate master.

Reports of the most distressing character now kept pouring into town almost every hour. Not only were the excesses on the upper part of the Albany district confirmed, but it was fully known that large bodies of the enemy were

ravaging the country and murdering the defenceless inhabitants along the whole line of boundary. At the farm of Mr. J. Howse, at the ford, of the Fish River, called Trompetter's Drift, they had swept off upwards of five hundred head of cattle and 2,600 sheep ; whilst the messenger, who arrived breathless with the intelligence, stated that the hill descending to the farm from Kafirland was literally covered with the marauders.

As this farm lay on the direct route to Graham's Town, the most energetic measures were considered essential for its preservation. A public meeting of the inhabitants was, therefore, hastily announced, to be held at the Freemasons' Tavern, at which the Civil Commissioner and the military officer in command both attended, and explained minutely the exact state of affairs. From this moment decisive steps were taken. The people at once saw their danger and prepared to meet it with sternness. Measures, both offensive and defensive, were instantly adopted. The church was appropriated as a magazine and dépôt for fire-arms, and as an asylum for women and children. The avenues around it were blocked up with wagons and defended by cannon, whilst night piquets of the inhabitants were despatched, well mounted and armed, to watch the main roads leading to Graham's Town from the Kafir country. Arms were issued to all who were able to use them, and, before the close of the day, the confusion had in a great degree given away to order ; whilst the whole town resounded with the din of martial preparation, and the brazen note of war.

On this day some of the Kafir traders residing in Kafirland were barbarously butchered by the enemy. Amongst these may be named Robert Rogers, residing not far from the Chumie, in Tyali's country. This ill-fated man was murdered in the presence of his three children ; the eldest of whom, a daughter, got between the assassins and her parent, and endeavoured by her tears and cries to soften the obdurate hearts of the savages ; but they forcibly thrust her away, beating her with their kieries (or knob-sticks) while they perpetrated the wanton and savage butchery. The night previous to this Col. Somerset had passed at the Kat River post, situated on the Chumie heights, and commanding a view of the Kafir country. From this elevated height it was observed, on looking over the hills

and dales below, that the numerous herds which usually graced and enlivened that neighbourhood had entirely disappeared, with the exception of a few head belonging to the missionaries at the Chumie institution. The Commandant, before his arrival, had been traversing the country in every direction, endeavouring to check the advance of the enemy ; and this morning he again started—having been reinforced by a party of mounted civilians from the Kat River, under the command of Field-cornet Groepe. He proceeded in the direction of Block Drift, but the Kafirs had shifted their ground, and were only to be seen in detached bodies ; and these, from the nature of the country, it was very difficult to come up with. Having bivouacked that night on the Mancanzana, Colonel Somerset resumed his march early the next morning, using the same exertions, but with the same ill-success, to stop the advancing enemy. Leaving the Field-cornet Groepe at the Mancanzana, in order to defend that pass into the Colony, the Colonel himself rode to Fort Beaufort. Here he procured some fresh men, with whom he continued his route across the country to Fort Wilshire, using every endeavour on the way to intercept some of the numerous bodies of Kafirs which were pouring into the Colony in that direction. It was not, however, the tact of the Kafirs to come into collision ; their aim evidently was to pass the colonial boundary in force, and to avoid any engagement until their plans were matured. The nature of the country was favourable to the success of this ; and though pursued with great gallantry and zeal by the Colonel's party, yet no effectual check could be given ; while the officers and men were repeatedly thrown from their horses in consequence of the broken nature of the ground, and the obstructions which presented themselves to the rapid movements of cavalry.

On arriving at Fort Wilshire the Colonel was informed that the enemy had that morning presented himself in great force on the hills around the Fort ; but the garrison was too weak to admit of any offensive operations, except firing a few rounds from a piece of artillery, which, however, were perfectly futile, the enemy being beyond its range. At this Fort the Commandant received a despatch from Graham's Town, stating that the Kafirs were pouring into

the Colony on that part of the frontier in numbers quite as formidable as we have described further up. The men who rode this express stated that it was with the utmost difficulty they had made the journey, as the bush, throughout the extent of country crossed by them, was in possession of the marauders. In addition to this, intelligence was received at the Fort of the massacre of some of the traders in Kafirland, as well as of several farmers within the Colony. No time was to be lost ; and as nothing could be done at Fort Wilshire, the Colonel resolved to return to Beaufort. Here despatches awaited him from Graham's Town of a still more pressing character ; these stated that the greatest alarm prevailed there, and that the scattered farmers and their families were flocking thither from every direction.

It was now fully ascertained that the extensive and rugged country on both banks of the Fish River from De Bruin's Drift to the sea, a distance of forty miles, was infested in every part by the barbarian tribes. Messrs. Southey, respectable and enterprising traders and farmers residing at the fort called Trompetter's Drift, finding the danger imminent, had, at an early period, applied for and obtained the assistance of a military guard, consisting of five of the Mounted Rifles, under whose protection they endeavoured to effect their escape ; but in spite of every effort, the Kafirs surrounded them,—drove off their cattle, amounting to 800 head, and way-laid and murdered a young man named John Shaw, a near relative of the family, who had quitted town to their assistance on the first news of their perilous situation. Further up the river, the farm of Mr. E. Driver and the premises of Mr. Tomlinson were attacked during the night. Fortunately they both happened to have patrols there at the time, and they defended themselves so gallantly that the assailants were forced to retire into the woody fastnesses adjacent. All this day the affrighted women and children kept pouring into town from the surrounding country. Property of every kind was abandoned,—and many had so little time for escape that they arrived with scarce any more property than the dress in which they were clad at the moment of alarm.

Before the close of the day, information was received of

the murder of a poor man named Robert Cramer. He was driving a few head of cattle along the road leading from the farm of Mahony to that of a settler named Purcell, where he resided, when he was suddenly attacked, and quickly butchered by the savages. Two little girls, daughters of Purcell, were in his company; but in the confusion they fortunately escaped. It is supposed that the same barbarians, reeking with the blood of their victim, repaired towards the farm of Mahony at the very moment that he was endeavouring to escape to the Military Post of Kafir's Drift, accompanied by his wife and son-in-law, Mr. H. W. Henderson, a respectable merchant from Graham's Town. Observing the Kafirs emerge from the thicket, Mahony alighted from the wagon, and, finding that flight was impossible, he accosted the Kafirs with kindness, in hope of softening their obdurate nature; but vain was the expectation! The uplifted assagai too well indicated their murderous intentions, and in the next instant he was stretched, before the eyes of his distracted wife, a lifeless and bleeding corpse. The wretches next proceeded to the wagon, where Mr. Henderson, with two of his infant children and Mrs. Mahony, was seated, and, in spite of their cries and tears, despatched him in the most appalling manner. While engaged in this work of blood, Mrs. Mahony escaped from the wagon with one of the children, and a female Hottentot servant with the other, and by taking refuge in the adjacent thicket, they, almost as by miracle, escaped; but in a frame of mind which may be imagined, but which it would be in vain to describe. A day or two following these tragical occurrences, the child, an interesting boy of three years old, that had escaped with the servant, was brought into town by a Kafir, who was in the service of Mahony at the time he was killed, and who thus generously exerted himself to serve the grandson of his unfortunate master. The health of the poor child had, however, received such a shock from the privations it endured, while wandering through the rugged thickets towards a place of safety, that he did not long survive after being restored to the arms of his disconsolate parent; and the same grave, within a period of a few days, closed over three generations of one family.

Lower down, at a place called Waai Plaats, another

barbarous and unprovoked murder was perpetrated on the person of an industrious shoemaker, named A. Forbes. The savages attacked him near his dwelling in open day, despatched him by numerous assagai wounds, and then fired his dwelling, which was speedily reduced, with all it contained, to a heap of ruins. His wife, with a family of seven young children, fortunately escaped.

On the afternoon of this day further reports were received from various quarters of the daring advance of the Kafirs, and that in such numbers that successful resistance to their progress was utterly impracticable. The scattered inhabitants in every direction were compelled to fly from their dwellings, either to an adjacent village, or to concentrate in some spot where they might act on the defensive with some prospect of holding out for a short time against the invaders. Before night every precaution was taken at Graham's Town for a determined stand in case of attack; most of the women and children were received into the flat-roofed houses around the Church-square, or took refuge in the church; wagons were drawn across the different entrances; guards and patrols, both mounted and on foot, posted around the Town, and every man was under arms.

On Friday morning a party of twenty of the inhabitants, mounted and well armed, proceeded to the scene of the savage butchery of Messrs. Mahony and Henderson—one of the most intricate and dangerous defiles along the frontier line. No opposition was offered to this little band of volunteers, and they at length reached the spot where the deed had been perpetrated; but here a scene presented itself of the most appalling description. The wagon in which these unfortunate individuals were proceeding to Kafir's Drift had been overturned; the property it contained had been carefully examined—apparently for arms and ammunition—the beds and bolsters cut open and the contents scattered around; near the hind wheels lay the body of Mr. Henderson, his head apparently fractured with an axe, whilst his body was covered with assegai wounds; at a short distance in advance lay the corpse of poor Mahony, who had received a frightful wound in the neck, into which he had endeavoured to thrust a portion of his shirt, in a vain attempt to staunch the blood. The party having covered the bodies with bedding from the

wagon, proceeded to the dwelling house of the deceased, Mahony, which had been completely sacked by the marauders ; they then examined the scene of the murder of Cramer, the corpse of whom they interred in a wolf hole. At night the party reached Town in safety.

The next day another party proceeded from Town with a wagon, determined to bring in the dead bodies. They succeeded in their object, as also in recovering the body of a trader named Kirkman, who had been murdered near the Fish River Drift.

On Saturday a mounted patrol, consisting of twenty-one persons, proceeded to scour the country through Howison's Poort along the skirts of the Kariega River. They had dismounted for the purpose of grazing their horses for a few minutes, when their attention was attracted by the cries of females proceeding from a farm house immediately below them. Observing a man galloping furiously forward, and beckoning them to follow, they instantly rode after him, and shortly came to a spot where a party of three farmers were then defending themselves against about 300 Kafirs, who had attacked them. The farmers had taken refuge in a thick clump of bush, and with the most determined gallantry were defending themselves by keeping up a fire upon the assailants. At the approach of the patrol the Kafirs scampered off to the adjoining jungle ; and they found the three brave men—two brothers, named Ferreira, and one named Jacobus Buurman—in a most pitiable condition. One of them had received numerous severe wounds, particularly in the abdomen ; his brother was also dangerously wounded ; whilst the third, who had no gun, was uninjured. The bush was thickly strewed with assagais—most of them new and of a very superior description—53 of which were collected and brought into town. The wounded men were placed in a wagon and arrived there in the evening. The bravery with which one of these men, who shortly afterwards died of his wounds, defended himself, is remarkable : several of the assagais which pierced him he drew from his own body, and hurled back upon his savage assailants. Information was also received from two persons of colour, wagon drivers in the employ of Messrs. Simpson and Ford, Kafir traders, of the ingress into the colony by the pass at

Trompetter's Drift of large bodies of the enemy. They had been attacked at that spot: their wagons had been plundered—their oxen taken, and a young Englishman in charge of the property, named Albert Kirkman, whom we have before named, murdered. They had made their escape into the dense jungle, and having afterwards ascended an eminence overlooking the pass, they had there counted the number of Kafirs passing into the Colony. For every hundred they had made a notch on a whipstick, —and by this mode of computation, it appeared that 1,000 warriors had passed while they remained on that spot.

William Lynx, a Hottentot, who had just arrived from Kafirland, reported also that at the trading station of Mr. Southey, called Buck's Kraal, he saw an Englishman named William Hogg lying murdered, and the station plundered; he saw also a party of more than 100 Kafirs, who were driving a large herd of cattle and horses on the main road from the Colony towards the Kafir territory. These cattle were driven in four divisions. He likewise saw a party of Kafirs in hot pursuit of a trader named G. Iles, who was overtaken and murdered.* On reaching Waai Plaats he saw six divisions of Kafirs, each about 100 strong, crossing the country towards Bathurst.

The next statement was made by John Brown, the proprietor of a farm adjoining Mahony's,—and who was in his company at the moment he fell a victim to the savages. His account of this melancholy occurrence was as follows:—That on the day in question, he was on his way towards his own farm, when, on passing the residence of Mr. Mahony, that person came out in great alarm, declaring it to be his intention to proceed with his family towards Graham's Town. He suggested that as Kafir Drift Post was nearer, it would be better to remove thither. Mahony, after some little discussion, agreed to this; but they had not proceeded far when a body of

* The wife of this unfortunate young man had fled about this time from her residence to Bathurst. Here she found refuge in the unfinished church, and there gave birth to her first child. Only four days afterwards the village was abandoned, when she was compelled to undertake a journey to Graham's Town, a distance of 26 miles.

Kafirs appeared about 100 yards in advance, and whose intention it evidently was to surround them. He was a little before the wagon, and on looking back, he saw that the oxen had been cut out ; and that Mr. Mahony was lying on the ground weltering in his blood. He and his son fled into the bush. Here they dismounted from their horses—threw the bridles and saddles away, and turned their horses loose. Whilst they remained concealed in the thicket, a party of about fifty Kafirs crossed towards the Colony, and returned soon afterwards with at least 400 head of cattle, which they divided into different lots, and proceeded with them towards the Kaap River heights. They heard Kafirs all night around, and it appeared to him that they were in considerable force. After several hair-breadth escapes, Mr. Brown and his son, in a state of great exhaustion, fell in with the party who went out to recover the bodies of Messrs. Henderson and Mahoney, and were conveyed by them to town.

From Bathurst the accounts were equally distressing. A communication from a Committee of Safety which had been appointed there, remarked that in consequence of the alarming state of the country, the inhabitants of that part had abandoned their homes and property and fled ; that the new church at Bathurst was filled with those unfortunate and destitute people ; and that those who could not find shelter there were exposed in their wagons. It went on to state that on Christmas Day the Kafirs attacked the cattle in the most daring manner, and succeeded in carrying off a great number ; that they were kept in a most feverish state of excitement in consequence of their very insufficient means of defence, being but few in number, whilst many had no other weapons than pitch-forks or bayonets. Those who had horses were constantly on duty patrolling ; and that many of their horses were knocked up ; and that these and other exertions could not be continued unless they received assistance. This despatch concluded by stating it had been reported to them that the Kafirs were approaching in considerable numbers, and that consequently their position would be quite untenable ; as their supply of water, allowing they could defend themselves in the church, might be cut off. Under these circumstances advice was requested as to the propriety of

retiring on Graham's Town with their families, and sending their cattle in the direction of Algoa Bay, or elsewhere, as might be eventually decided on. They implored a reinforcement of men, which was the more necessary, as a patrol under Lieut. Forbes, which had been sent thither with ammunition, and which had been extremely active, was about to return to Graham's Town.

The reply to this communication was of the most heart-rending character. It stated the utter impossibility of affording the assistance prayed for; and it recommended them to abandon that beautiful and interesting village, and to avail themselves of the communication then open with Graham's Town. This advice was followed; the whole of that part of the British Settlement was abandoned; large herds of cattle and valuable flocks of Merino sheep were left a prey to the wolves, or to the still more savage hordes of barbarians. It was truly affecting to witness the melancholy cavalcade as it reached town. Families who a few days before were living in peace and in comfort were suddenly plunged into a state of utter destitution—the proceeds of fifteen years' arduous and incessant exertions swept off at one fell swoop—and they themselves cast upon the world, houseless wanderers. A communication from this place, stating the determination of removal, contained the following affecting passage: "I have much pleasure in mentioning the good feeling which exists amongst us under all these distressing circumstances. We leave behind the whole of our property and cattle, the result of fifteen years' hard labour and perseverance, and are reduced to mere baggage. The conveyances we have will not contain the women and children, many will have to walk, as some of the wagons are without oxen, the Kafirs having stolen them." On their route several parties of Kafirs presented themselves on the plain, and were gallantly pursued by the young men who formed the escort. In these skirmishes two Kafirs were killed and several wounded.

The situation of Bathurst is extremely unfavourable for defence against such an enemy as the Kafir. It is embosomed in the immense thicket which lines the banks of the Kowie River, thus affording secure cover to the enemy until within a few yards of the dwellings of the

Inhabitants. Independent of this, the mode of warfare adopted by the enemy was judiciously planned—their operations were well organized—and their proceedings accurately and boldly executed. Masses of Kafirs appearing at distant points, and making demonstrations of attack, wherever there were any inhabitants to intimidate or property to seize ; and then to retire into the fastnesses of the immense bushy ravines which intersect the country, was a system well calculated to tire out the patience and wear out the strength of the most persevering and enduring troops.

The following extract of a letter from Lieut. Forbes, who gallantly volunteered his services in the defence of this village, will give a good illustration of this. “I had scarcely sent off my note to you yesterday when I heard that the cattle we had recovered from the Kafirs the night we arrived from Graham's Town had been again taken by them. Unfortunately I had, previously to this, been obliged to send a strong escort with wagons to Graham's Town ; and as Lieut. Gilfillan's patrol, consisting of about eighteen men, together with five or six of my own party, were rendered unserviceable from their horses being knocked up, it left me with only seven mounted men. These I immediately took out to reconnoitre, and we were not long before I discovered a party of twenty or thirty Kafirs, who upon seeing me approach fled to the bush. We had no sooner driven them off than I discovered another body of Kafirs making towards a number of cattle feeding very imprudently about two miles distant, and to this point I took my patrol as soon as I possibly could. Previous to this, when I first discovered that the Kafirs were so numerous, I sent one of my party back for assistance from the foot patrol, which came up to us before I discovered the other party of Kafirs going to take the cattle. We just got up when the Kafirs were in the act of surrounding them ; but as our party consisted of only six, and two of them had not come up, we did not at that moment make an attack, but waited a few seconds until we were joined by a reinforcement of horsemen, which were seen riding to our assistance. On their arrival we immediately pursued them, killed one of the enemy, and retook a number of the cattle. At this time Kafirs were approaching

from all sides, and formed a strong force to protect the cattle in their possession. Myself and Mr. C. Bailie rode off to attack them, and were followed by two or three more. We got up in time to kill three or four before they reached the cover of the bush. Two or three were armed and mounted, and fired on us. I had a narrow escape from one of them, and they succeeded in getting off with a great many cattle. Mr. Gilfillan's patrol also took some cattle and killed four or five of the enemy. My opinion is changed very much respecting the number of Kafirs in this neighbourhood ; I now think them very numerous."

On Sunday St. George's church presented a scene equally novel and affecting ; instead of being used for Divine Worship, as usual, nothing was heard but the din of arms, and the noise and bustle of a guard house in a time of war. About nine at night Divine Worship was performed by the Acting District Chaplain amidst an assembly which presented a scene that could not fail to awaken the most painful and interesting associations. The gallery was principally filled with women and children, driven from their homes,—reduced from comfort to absolute destitution by the savage enemy, whilst the floor was occupied by men leaning on their arms. The morning lesson (Isaiah xxxvii), was singularly appropriate to their situation ; and the minister, instead of sermon, made a few remarks on the several passages, pointing out their applicability, and encouraging the people to trust in HIM before whom all the nations of the earth are but as the dust of the balance.

On Monday a communication was received from Salem, stating that on the day preceding, as several farmers who had taken a position about three miles from that village were preparing to move forward, they observed a number of Kafirs very near them ; and no sooner had the wagons proceeded a short distance, than they rushed down and seized the cattle. The farmers in charge of them fled to Salem, where they were joined by some of the inhabitants, forming a party of about 20 mounted men, and these, placing themselves under the direction of an active young man named Barend Woest, started off in pursuit. They soon came up with the marauders, and succeeded in re-capturing cattle to the amount of 400 head. Four Kafirs were killed in this affair.

A short distance eastward of Salem a party of about 60 men had posted themselves at the farm of Mr. G. Gilbert, defending themselves against all the attempts of the enemy to dislodge them. Several night attacks were made without success ; but being encumbered with a herd of 800 cattle and 70 horses, the enemy at length, watching a favourable opportunity when these were in the field, poured down suddenly upon the herdsmen, whose guns they seized before they had time to defend themselves, and succeeded in driving off the whole of this valuable booty.

A similar effort was made by Mr. G. Tomlinson, residing at the junction of the Fish and Koonap Rivers—at a pass which may be pronounced as one of the most intricate and dangerous in the country ; surrounded by ample cover for myriads of the enemy, and affording in every direction a retreat where it was impossible for mounted men to follow, besides many situations which are quite impracticable to any but Kafirs, or other natives accustomed to thread the mazy thicket, or climb the rocky precipice. Still, notwithstanding these advantages, Mr. Tomlinson bravely defended himself against the repeated night attacks of the savages ; and it was not till he had lost his cattle that he abandoned his dwelling.

The intelligence received this day from the immediate frontier was distressing in the extreme, and well calculated to fill the mind with indescribable horror, as well as to rouse every latent spark of energy to the most stern and uncompromising resistance. It stated that at present all the missionaries in Kafirland were safe ; but that many of the traders had been put to death in cold blood. A communication from Fort Wilshire stated that Macomo had declared that the missionaries and their families should be spared, but that all the traders must die. It went on to say that they had no accurate information of the number actually massacred, but they had heard of Edwards, at Burn's Hill ; Warren, at the Rev. Mr. Kayser's station, belonging to the London Missionary Society ; Rogers, at the Chumie ; and several others. The poor man Warren was dragged from Mr. Kayser's house, taken a few yards off, and then murdered.

Monday night Lieut.-Col Somerset arrived at Graham's Town from Fort Beaufort, and on Tuesday, at noon, in-

spected the municipal force. The intelligence communicated by this officer corresponded in every respect with that previously received ; or rather it was, if possible, of a still graver character. He stated that the Kafirs were moving into the colony in such large masses that no military force then at his command was able to offer them any effectual resistance. He had no apprehensions for Graham's Town, but he urged the necessity of the greatest vigilance and exertion.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, eight wagons which were on their way from Graham's Town to Kafir Drift, under an escort consisting of twelve men, were attacked immediately after they had descended the Graham's Town hill by a large body of Kafirs, of whom *fifty, who were in advance, were clothed, mounted, and armed with guns*. These were at first taken to be a patrol of colonists, but as they came nearer, several Kafirs on foot were observed amongst them. On this the escort halted, and was immediately fired on by the enemy, but at too great a distance to be effective. After a slight skirmish, it was observed that a large body of Kafirs on foot were running swiftly, making a *détour*, with an evident intention to cut off the retreat by the road descending to the plain. As their existence depended upon securing this pass, the escort instantly retreated ; this was no sooner done than the Kafirs rushed upon the eight wagons, cut out the oxen to the number of ninety-six, and drove them into the bush. An Englishman named James Jenkins, the owner of one of the wagons, fell a victim to the fury of the enemy, his body being found the next day lying on the road covered with wounds. The escort kept up a skirmish with the enemy for some time, and an express was immediately forwarded to town for assistance, on receipt of which Lieutenant Ross, and about forty men, instantly galloped towards the scene. They, however, fell in with the escort on its retreat to town, and it being too late to engage in any general operation that day they returned to head quarters.

At the village of Salem the inhabitants had determined to make a stand ; and being reinforced by many farmers from the surrounding country, they were enabled to present a tolerable front to the enemy. The chapel (belonging to the Wesleyans), the mission house, and the school of Mr. Matthews, lying contiguous to each other, were appropriated

for the reception of the inhabitants, and as a citadel for the protection of the place. Palisadoes were hastily thrown around of such materials as were at hand, and everything put in the best possible state of defence their circumstances would admit. Several parties of the enemy were seen adjacent to the village, and several skirmishes had taken place during the day between them and the patrols of the inhabitants. At length, however, the Kafirs collected in force and resolved on a night attack ; accordingly, about nine or ten o'clock, a large body of the enemy, amongst whom were many mounted and armed with guns, suddenly poured down on the village. The people defended themselves with spirit, but from the confusion caused by the rush of the cattle, amid the darkness of night, the Kafirs succeeded in capturing five hundred cattle, and in making good their retreat with the loss of only one man. On receiving this information at Graham's Town, as also that the village was surrounded by the Kafirs, and consequently the communication with the authorities cut off, a strong mounted patrol, composed jointly of the Rifle Corps and civilians, was ordered to its relief, and to clear the country of the marauders.

An incident occurred at the village which is worthy of record. An inhabitant, named R. G***—an excellent man, but of great eccentricity of manner, who held the notion of the unlawfulness of war even in defence of person and family, and who was so far consistent as to refuse to take up arms even at this perilous crisis,—observing a number of the enemy at no great distance off, resolved upon attempting to effect by persuasion what force had not hitherto been able to accomplish. He accordingly sallied forth perfectly defenceless, and accosting the marauders, enquired if they knew who resided there ? Whether they were aware that it was a people who had been long employed in endeavours to benefit them ? That the minister who resided in that house—pointing to the mission house, and referring to the Rev. S. Young, Wesleyan missionary—had formerly lived amongst them in peace and harmony in their own country, had there taught them the “good word,” and done much to benefit them and advance their interests ? Was it right, he demanded, and they should requite this kindness by those outrages which they had recently com-

mitted ? We are not informed of the exact tenour of the replies to these pithy enquiries ; however, we are aware that the conference ended by Mr. G*** presenting the enemy with a good supply of bread and meat and tobacco ; with a parting injunction that they would immediately take their leave of that neighbourhood. Every one will perceive the rashness of this conduct : in a similar case of Mr. Brown, which occurred subsequently, although he was invited to a parley by the barbarians, yet he was no sooner in their power than they mercilessly dispatched him. Fortunately in this instance they permitted the return of the individual ; and it is even said that his arguments and persuasions had a considerable effect in rendering less frequent those harassing attacks to which they had been before exposed.

At the missionary institution of THEOPOLIS, the inhabitants had likewise maintained their ground ; serving, like Salem, a point of retreat for the neighbouring farmers. Here, however, in spite of every effort, the enemy captured a large proportion of their cattle. Still the position was maintained to the last, and the enemy's movements considerably checked by the daily patrols sent out to scour the country around the village.

Further to the westward—to a distance far beyond the limits of the Albany district,—the progress of the invaders was equally irresistible and destructive. On the 26th December a party of Burghers, as the Dutch Colonists are accustomed to style themselves, quitted Uitenhage to meet and assist in repelling the enemy. They first proceeded to the Zuurberg, where many outrages had already been committed ; but not falling in with the marauders there, they turned towards the coast. On reaching the Field-cornet Buchner's, at Quagga's Vlakte, they heard that the farmers of Oliphants Hoek had been attacked in great force, and had fled from their habitations and taken refuge in the church ; after having lost cattle to the amount of six thousand head. This part of the Uitenhage District is one of the most fertile sections of the Colony. It contained before the irruption, about 100 farm houses,—the proprietors of which were men in prosperous circumstances. The country hereabouts presents great capabilities for grazing, whilst the soil is eminently suited to the growth of grain and other marketable produce. Possessing these advantages, most of the farmers

of this division were not merely in comfortable but opulent circumstances : in one short week how changed the scene ! Their houses were pillaged and burnt—their church, in which they had piled up their furniture, shared the same fate,—their stacks of corn were either fired or scattered,—and their cattle and horses swept off by the barbarians in spite of every effort to protect them. Men who on Christmas Day might be considered in independent circumstances, found themselves, before the year had closed its round, reduced to the absolute want of the bare necessities of life. On no part of the frontier was the destruction of property so extensive, and the ruin so complete as here. It will be imagined that this did not take place without a struggle. Skirmishes with the invaders were of daily occurrence, in which thirty or forty of the enemy fell ; but their numbers were so considerable, and the woody, intricate nature of the country gave them such facilities for conducting their peculiar mode of warfare, that the farmers, almost harassed to death by incessant watching, were at length compelled to abandon the country, even as far westward as the Sunday's River, to the savage invaders.

The booty which had fallen into the hands of the enemy up to this period must have been immense, as the whole country comprised within a line drawn westward from the Winterberg to the Zuurberg, and southward from the latter to the sea, had, with the exception of Graham's Town and one or two minor positions, been completely laid waste. Notwithstanding this, the insatiable cupidity of the enemy urged them to proceed : some of their parties accordingly crossed the Sunday's River, and a few even penetrated to within a very short distance of Uitenhage a distance of 140 miles from the Kafir boundary.

A curious circumstance occurred during a night attack on the farm house of the Field-cornet Niekerk,—situated on the right bank of the Sunday's River. This attack was made about 10 o'clock on the night of the 30th December. The enemy having approached close to the house, commenced yelling and whistling in the most terrific manner—hurling their assagais and endeavouring to intimidate the inmates from quitting the cover of the buildings,—whilst a second band of marauders was endeavouring to demolish the kraal and capture the cattle. They, however, met with so warm

a reception that they were soon glad to sheer off, leaving two of their number killed on the spot, and three severely wounded. One of the men killed was observed standing at the kraal gate, and was fired at repeatedly before he fell. He appeared perfectly insensible to danger, calling out in his native dialect, "you may fire as long as you please, you will not hit me." The infatuated creature had been persuaded by the wizards or "rain-makers" that he was invulnerable to powder and ball, and his life was the penalty of his credulity.

On the morning of New Year's Day it was ascertained that some of the enemy had had the audacity to enter the precincts of the town, though guarded by a strong chain of piquets. In their approach they unfortunately fell in with a Hottentot in charge of a flock of sheep. This poor fellow was immediately dispatched, his body being found in the morning covered with assagai wounds. Others of the enemy were approaching the Cape barracks, but were fired on by the sentinel with such effect that one man had his thigh fractured by a musket ball, and was conveyed into town the next morning. Little information could, however, be elicited from him, and though every attention was paid him by the district surgeon, yet his wound proved fatal. Another attempt was made to pass, during the night, the line of sentinels, but it was detected by the vigilance of the men on duty, though the enemy were successful in making a precipitate retreat. After this period it does not appear that any serious intention was entertained of attacking the town.

In the north-west part of Albany, and adjoining district of Somerset, it appears that the barbarians were in full possession of the country as early as the 24th Dec. Accordingly on that day we find them attacking the farmers in every direction. The situation of the inhabitants may be well understood by the following statements made by the parties to the Board of Relief, when applying subsequently for some assistance under their necessitous condition :

"Mrs. Van de Venter, from Fonteyn's Kloof, a farm on the left bank of the Fish River, states that the Kafirs attacked them suddenly after sunset on the 24th of December. In the early part of the day they had felt a

little alarm at a rumour which had reached them of the murder of Stephanus Buys; but an Englishman, whose name she does not recollect, called at their place in the course of the day, and assured them that it was all false, and that the Kafirs were perfectly quiet. When the attack was made, there were only three persons on the place capable of offering any resistance. Six of the enemy were shot, as they afterwards discovered; her husband received an assagai wound in the knee, and the Kafirs succeeded in driving off all the cattle, including those of her brother, Jan Delpont, amounting to 216 head, together with 60 horses. Three of the most valuable horses were tied up very close to the windows of the house, but the Kafirs drove down the cattle upon the house, exclaiming in Dutch, 'Let us murder them every one,' and succeeded the rush and confusion in cutting them all loose. When they had driven the rest of the cattle a little way, they sent a party back to fetch the calves, which were kept in a separate fold, and these called out to the women in the house, as they drove the calves away, 'What will you do now for milk for your children?' and added, 'when we have secured the cattle we will return and burn the houses.'

"Conceiving that the Kafirs might carry this threat into execution, and fearing that their fire arms might be getting out of order, as it was a rainy evening, the farmers advised the women to take the children and to flee. They accordingly set out in the opposite direction. The women and children, about 24 in number, went first, and the two men with guns brought up the rear. In this manner they walked about 12 miles in a dark and rainy night, and waded the Fish River, which was considerably swollen, and arrived at J. J. Lombard's place, destitute of every thing except the clothes upon their backs."

"Joachim Espag, from Buffalo Fountain, on the Fish River, states that the invaders attacked his place in the dusk of the evening of the 26th December, he cannot say exactly in what force, but thinks there were between 70 and 80, and all mounted. They took from Mr. Espag on that occasion 404 head of cattle, 19 horses, and upwards of 840 sheep and goats, and left him (at that time) 1 heifer, 1 ox, 18 horses, and 880 sheep and goats, which

are partly his own and partly the property of his children ; he has a wife and three adult daughters, and 18 slave apprentices, great and small ; his house has not been burnt, but part of his furniture, including 2 beds, was destroyed. When the Kafirs attacked his place, a young man of the name of Frederick Silverhoorn, who had only been married four days, was killed in the horse-kraal ; this was not ascertained till next morning, when he was found lying with a javelin through his body. The women and children had all fled into the thickets, and the man who remained in the house supposed that Silverhoorn had gone to them."

These examples will suffice to show the situation of the inhabitants occupying this part of the Albany District. But while the enemy were thus desolating the country here, the very same process was going on along the more immediate boundary to the eastward. In the fine and extensive tract of country watered by the streams which flow from the magnificent Winterberg, every farm had been abandoned and the people driven from place to place by the barbarian hordes. Their perilous situation, as well as their gallant resistance to the invaders, is well detailed by Mr. Pieter Retief, one of the most intelligent men on that part of the frontier, in a statement of which the following is the substance :—

"On the 22nd of December," says the narrator, "I was informed that the Kafirs had attacked the lower part of the Kat River,—that they were entering the Colony in great numbers, and had already committed several murders. I and my son-in-law, Jan Greyling,* hereupon made such arrangements as were deemed necessary to repel the expected attack.

"On the 24th, the Field-cornet Viljoen wrote that the Kafirs were attacking the place of the Provisional Field-cornet W. Bear, and requested assistance. Being only thirty men strong, we could spare but a few hands ; however, J. Greyling, Abraham Greyling, P. Greyling, B. Greyling, Johannes Rensburg, Jacobus Hugo, P. Potgieter, Jacobus Breed, Dolph Jonker, Johs. Jonker, and Johs.

* This brave young man fell afterwards by the assagai of the enemy.

Dreyer, went off on horseback. These proceeded without obstruction to within half an hour's distance from their place of destination, when they observed a large body of Kafirs marching towards them. The enemy immediately halted, and formed into a compact body, detaching a party of about 150 men to attack them. The Kafirs rushed forward with great impetuosity, and threw their assegais, when five of the farmers fired with such steadiness and effect that seven of the foremost men fell. The engagement continued some time, and the Kafirs endeavoured to hem them round ; but they failed in the attempt, and were themselves compelled at length to fly for shelter to a large bush immediately adjacent. The farmers observing that a steep hill adjoining would command this defile, rapidly proceeded there, opening a most destructive fire upon the enemy, who finding themselves thus exposed, broke short the shafts of their assegais and attempted to storm the position. The farmers, however, by a well directed fire, killed at the first discharge eleven of the foremost Kafirs, upon which they halted—made a precipitate retreat, and tried to shelter themselves from the destructive fire of the farmers behind the trees and rocks in the thicket ; the farmers, however, had selected so good a position that although the main body of the Kafirs came sufficiently close to see the fight, yet they were unable to assist their comrades. From this point they kept up a steady fire on the enemy with slugs, until their whole stock of ammunition was expended. On visiting the spot some days afterwards, seventy-five dead bodies were observed, and among the slain the karosses (cloaks) of four chiefs.

“ The evening after this engagement the farmers in that neighbourhood assembled on the place of J. Greyling. Here a body of Kafirs attempted to cut off the wagons and cattle in the rear, but were beaten off. The women and children 202 in number, were lodged in an unfinished house, and the wagons were drawn round in a circle, and formed a temporary kraal for the cattle. All the armed men were placed outside of this enclosure, awaiting in silence for attack of the enemy. The night was excessively dark and cloudy, so that objects were perceived but very indistinctly. However, about ten o'clock the attack commenced,—but the Kafirs were repulsed ; though not before

they had succeeded so far as to get into the kraal among the cattle, which they endeavoured, as is their usual custom, to drive in upon the farmers, who were obliged to fire at random amongst the herd. The overwhelming force of the cattle obliged the farmers at length to retreat, and the Kafirs succeeded in carrying off 2,000 head.

“The next morning, as soon as daylight enabled them to discern objects, a party of twenty men followed on the track of the cattle, and retook a part of them, but were unable to continue the pursuit from the jaded condition of their horses. At the very moment of their return to their post in the evening the Kafirs were in the act of attacking the sheep kraal, in which attempt one of them was shot by A. Greyling. That night, which, like the former, was very dark, the guard, consisting of fifty-three men, was placed as before outside the enclosure, with orders that, for better concealment, the men on duty should lie down. During the night the Kafirs came in great force, and were allowed to approach very close, when a destructive fire of slugs was poured amongst them. Many must have been wounded, judging from the traces of blood observed the next morning. Shortly after this they attacked the cattle guard, and were successfully repulsed four times, but on the fifth they succeeded in carrying off part of the herd ; so that out of 2,600 head of cattle they only retained 250. Eight Kafirs were left dead on the spot in these two night attacks, and the arm of another was found among the slain. On the side of the farmers one slave boy, and a bastard named P. Eckstien, were severely wounded.”

From one poor man, named Joseph Bourne, formerly a soldier in H. M. 38th Regiment, and who, almost as by miracle, escaped their hands, though at the expense of living the remnant of his days a pitiable cripple, we have heard the following recital :—

“On the 23rd of December,” says he, “Soudis, alias Kasana, son of the late Dushane, and about 100 men and women, the former armed with assagais, came to my shop, situated on the Tamacha, between the Buffalo and Keiskamma. This chief came into the house and sat down. After sitting a few moments he commanded me to open my boxes ; this was done ; when he said that all the property they contained belonged to him ; then giving a whistle his

men rushed into the shop, and those who could not get in at the door pulled down part of the wall to obtain ingress. After they had taken away all the property they stripped me naked, in which state Kasana himself forced me to carry part of my property to his kraal, significantly saying he would there dispose of me. On putting down the property I succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the guard which had been sent with me, and escaped into the bush. I heard them soon after seeking for me in the thicket with a number of dogs, on which I slid down a steep rocky precipice into a thick bush, and here I lay concealed while my pursuers passed. During the night, which was very wet, I left my hiding place, and endeavoured to make for the Buffalo River. At daylight in the morning I fell in with a body of 20 Kafirs, armed with assagais; these seized me, and then, forming a circle, sat down on the ground with me in the midst of them. After some talk and dispute amongst themselves they permitted me to depart. About twelve o'clock that day I met with seven more Kafirs; these also stopped me, and one of them was about to dispatch me with an assagai, when the others said—'Stop, we will beat him to death with our kerries.' They accordingly held me out at arm's length for some time, and I expected every moment to be put to death. After being kept a few minutes in this dreadful suspense, they said they would make me walk through a pond of water adjacent; accordingly they took me to a large pool a short distance off, but when there I refused to go into the water, telling them they might murder me on its bank. After some dispute, the purport of which appeared to be whether they should kill me or leave me to die from the cold and injury I had already endured, they resolved on the latter, and departed, leaving me in a most pitiable and almost helpless condition. At length, summoning up my little remaining strength, I crawled from the spot, and wandered I scarce knew whither: I came, however, at last in sight of the missionary institution of Mount Coke. Here Mr. Dugmore, the missionary, clothed me and gave me every attention, by which my life was saved; though from the exposure naked to inclement weather, and the hardships I endured, I have lost the use of my limbs, and am now compelled to use crutches."

Information now reached town of the murder of several

of the defenceless and unresisting inhabitants. A poor man named Turner was found lying in a house on the Bathurst road with his head nearly severed from his body, besides numerous other wounds in different parts of his person. The corpse of another Englishman named Newman was mutilated in the same savage manner at the farm of Woodlands, on the Kariëga, in which neighbourhood every dwelling had been plundered and nearly all destroyed. Their next victim was a respectable farmer near Fort Beaufort, named Blakeway; and the fourth was a Dutch settler named Liebergeld. The latter was proceeding with his wife from the Orange River to Graham's Town; they had proceeded safely till within about seven miles of their destination, when they observed the barbarians pouncing down upon them from the adjacent heights. On this they, with their servants, fled to a thicket for concealment, but here the unfortunate man was soon overtaken and murdered; but while thus wreaking their vengeance on this poor man, his wife and servants succeeded in eluding detection, and eventually in finding a shelter at the neighbouring farm of the late Mr. T. C. White.*

The information of these sickening atrocities was, however, somewhat relieved by the first arrival of reinforcements from the neighbouring districts. A small body of Hottentots had arrived from Port Elizabeth, having marched through a country occupied by the enemy in force, but without meeting with any adventure beyond a slight skirmish in the Bushman's River pass, and in which one man was wounded in the arm by a musket ball. From Graaff-Reinet the Civil Commissioner Van Ryneveld, in command of a party of 100 inhabitants of that district, arrived at Graham's Town on the 10th January. This detachment had been particularly active on the route to head quarters. Instead of taking the direct road they had struck off to the eastward, scouring

* Mr. Godlonton always puts down the escape of the women and children to accident, but it is due to the Amaxosa Kafirs to say that all reliable witnesses of this and other Xosa wars, have given these barbarians great credit for not dishonouring women, or killing them and their babes, as the Zulus did in Natal in 1838. But the latter stand higher in the scale of social morality.—D. C. F. M.

in their progress the country along the Kaga, Mankanzana, and Koonap Rivers. All this part of the colony was described as being in the most deplorable condition ;—houses destroyed and pillaged, and the whole country swept of its flocks and herds. In the forest which stretches up the sides, and crowns the summit of the lofty Kaga Berg, several parties of the enemy were discovered, and also a large herd of cattle, which had been secreted by the enemy in a chasm amongst the precipitous crags of the mountain, so difficult of approach that it was found utterly impracticable to dislodge them that night. On the following morning, having obtained a reinforcement, they marched to the same point through the almost impervious and tangled thicket ; and on gaining it found that during the night the enemy had decamped with their booty. The cattle had been placed in a situation so surrounded by perpendicular and rugged masses of rock that the farmers had found it utterly impossible to dislodge them. But the Kafirs, even amid the darkness of night, had succeeded better ; their method under such circumstance is to goad cattle with their assegais, by which means, accompanied by shouting and whistling in a peculiarly shrill and vehement manner, they excite them to such a pitch of desperate frenzy that they will rush forward even upon certain destruction. Thus in this instance a large number of the herd had been forced over the rocky precipices, at the foot of which the poor animals were found lying in a heap, maimed and dead, or dying.

At the moment of these operations at the Kaga the enemy were ravaging the country far in the rear. At the Zuurberg several farms were destroyed and the inhabitants killed. The occurrences which took place in this neighbourhood cannot be stated better than in the artless and affecting narrations given by the surviving sufferers :—

“On the 24th December,” says the widow of Carel Matthys, “I and my husband were at Somerset to receive the Sacrament, when we heard that the Kafirs had entered the colony and committed murder, &c. We returned immediately to the farm, and my husband was called upon by the Field-cornet a few days after to go out on commando. He went to the Field-cornet, but returned the same day, and told us that the neighbours were preparing their houses against fire, in case the Kafirs should come. We remained

quietly on our farm, and heard nothing of them until the 6th of January, when the two sons of L. Van der Linde called, and informed us that their father had left his place some days ago ; the young men had returned the preceding day to see if all was undisturbed, had stayed all night in the place, and shot a few birds, but had neither seen nor heard of any Kafirs. Their farm is in a deep ravine, about seven or eight miles from ours ; that night they remained with us.

“ After supper and family worship, my husband went out as usual, leaving the door open. I was sitting in my bed-room waiting for him, when a pane of glass was smashed in the window, close to me, and immediately a knob-kierrie flew into the bed-room through another pane ; turning toward the window, in alarm, I saw a musket pointed through it directly at my breast, but it did not go off. I put the candle out as quickly as possible, and stood a little on one side of the window. There was another candle still burning in the front room, and I saw a Kafir come and light a bundle of straw at it, and apply it to the thatch.

“ Proceeding into the front room, I saw my eldest son Charles with his gun. He asked me if he should fire on the Kafirs, I told him not to do so, but to go to prayer, which he did. After this my youngest son, 13 years of age, who was asleep in bed, being roused by the noise, went towards the door, and immediately received an assagai in his right side, and fell into the house. L. Van der Linden took him up and brought him to me in the bed-room. The Kafirs then set the house on fire a second time on the opposite side, and I got part of my property conveyed to the door, ready to be taken out in case the Kafirs should retire, and the house be consumed. While I was in the front room with the children and the two Van der Lindens, a ball was fired in at the door, and lodged in a partition wall, but did not touch anybody. The house was now full of smoke. I desired the two Van der Lindens to take some of my goods outside the house, but they were afraid. Cornelius put his head out at the door to see if the Kafirs were gone, but an assagai was immediately hurled at him, and stuck in the door. Immediately after this the Kafirs set up a hideous noise, and drove all the cattle out of the fold, which was only about 100 yards from the

house. All this time my second son was asleep; I now awoke him to assist in bringing my property out of the house. It was soon discovered, however, that the fire might probably be extinguished. While they were fetching water for this purpose, I went out to see what was doing, and perceived a man coming towards the house; it proved to be Samuel Prince, a bastard from Enon, who formerly had lived for some time on our farm, cutting wood, and owed my late husband about 400 dollars. He stated that himself and three Hottentots from Enon, who were out on patrol, had been taken prisoners by the Kafirs in the course of the day. The Kafirs having surrounded them took their arms from them, and asked whether there were any farmers remaining in the Zuurberg, and being told that Carel Matthys was still there, the Kafirs ordered the prisoners to conduct them thither. I asked him if he had seen my husband? he said 'No.' I then requested him to assist in putting out the fire, which he did. When the fire was extinguished, and the property carried into the house again, as my husband did not make his appearance, my eldest son again enquired of Prince if he had not seen him; Prince replied that he had seen something lying in the kraal, but did not know what it was. Being informed of this, I questioned him again, and sent the children with him to see what it was; it proved to be the corpse of their father. They brought him into the house, and then I sent for my mother from an adjoining house, where she and my father were living, both of them helpless from age. My father is 86 years of age, and my mother is 76. They were not further molested than by the noise. When we had washed my husband we found he had received no less than 13 assagai wounds. The following day, with the assistance of my children and the two Van der Lindens, I buried my husband, and sent Jeremias, a baptized Kafir servant, to inform Mr. Hart, of Somerset, what had happened, and to solicit assistance.

"On the 9th of January the Field-cornet, Johan Van der Vyfer, came, with some burghers and a span of oxen, to my assistance. I put a few things into the wagon as quickly as possible, and proceeded towards Brack River, and after we had travelled about four hours my son William died of the wound he had received."

“Cornelis Joh. Engelbrecht was killed under the Zuurberg on the 12th of January ; he was on patrol with eight others, when a body of Kafirs came unexpectedly upon them about sunset ; (he was riding an English mare which knocked up). Seeing the enemy advancing in great numbers, his companions made off, and suffered the Kafirs to surround him ; and though he called to them for help, and implored them not to leave him, yet they went on. Engelbrecht, after receiving an assagai in his leg, which he pulled out with his own hands, dismounted, and tried to lead his horse but it would not move ; he then strove to escape on foot, but while running received another assagai in the back of the loins, and fell, and the Kafirs dispatched him with 14 assagai wounds, and took his horse, saddle, bridle, and his gun, &c. He was not quite twenty-two years of age, and has left a widow and one young child.

“On the occasion referred to, the patrol of eight men had divided themselves into two parties, and had also left a party of four men to protect P. R. Botha’s house, where they were stationed ; the Kafirs were apparently making an attempt to surround them, and cut off their retreat to the house in question, and at the same time another party of Kafirs surrounded the house and set fire to it ; of the four burghers left in charge three got away, and one of the name of Nienkerk remained alone, until he found the house beset with Kafirs all round and in flames above his head. When he came to the front door and reconnoitred he found it beset, and when he tried the back door it was the same ; he therefore returned to the front door, and setting it slightly ajar, stood inside with his gun cocked, ready to shoot the first person who should attempt to murder him. In this predicament he stood until the burning roof fell in about his ears, when the wind blew the smoke in such dense masses out at the door that he passed in the cloud quite through the Kafirs unperceived, and got into the jungle, where he remained all night. Early next morning he re-visited the smoking ruins, and sought among the ashes until he found his bridle, bit, &c. ; he then proceeded on foot to join the rest of the party at Brak River, and when he told them the story of his extraordinary escape they could not believe it, or that he had re-visited the ruins, until he took off his hat and produced the bit of his bridle.”

At Mooimeisjes Fontein, about twenty miles to the S.E. of this, a large party of farmers had assembled, resolved to make a determined stand against the invaders. Their wagons were drawn around the buildings, so as to form a strong barricade, and sentries were posted at night outside of these. In spite, however, of every precaution the enemy succeeded in capturing their cattle; and continued to make such determined night attacks upon them that at length, harassed and worn out by incessant watching and fatigue, they were compelled to abandon their position and take shelter at Graham's Town.

While these proceedings were going on at distant points, the military authorities were acting with the greatest energy and activity at head quarters. Colonel Somerset, with a detachment of the Cape Rifles, was likewise so successful as to fall in with and rout a considerable force of the enemy near Roode Draai, sixteen of whom were killed.

It was also resolved to make a diversion in favour of the colonists by a sudden inroad into the enemy's territory, and thus carry the horrors of war to their own doors. This had been suggested some time before, not only by sound policy, but also by that part of the Kafir nation which had maintained its alliance with the colony. Accordingly a force of 400 men, conjointly civilians and military, well mounted, was ordered to make a rapid march into Eno's territory to surprise his kraal, if possible, and from thence to proceed to Tyali's with the same object. The proceedings of this commando are well described by an individual employed on this service, and from whose account we make the following extract :—

“ On the morning of the 10th January, by four o'clock we marched off in the direction of Kafirland, our party consisting of seventy-six English, ninety from Uitenhage, and forty of the Cape Corps, the whole under the direction of Major Cox of the 75th Regiment, assisted by Capt. Hallifax. Much speculation was afloat as to what point or object the expedition was directed, until we reached Mr. Driver's farm, distant twelve miles, on the road to Commetjes Drift, on the Fish River; here we were informed that the kraals of Eno and Tyali were our destination. Having breakfasted we moved forwards, and presently saw

a body of about ten Kafirs making their way to the colony, who, on perceiving us, ran off to the bush adjacent. Our journey continued through a country replete with bush, intersected by passes, along which the foot marks of our deadly foe, and the thousands of beasts he had driven before him, were to be seen. We crossed the river about mid-day, and ascended a more pleasant country, but still bushy. Here we discovered the fresh traces of sheep, and obtained permission for twelve men to push forward in hopes of overtaking them, as we only supplied ourselves with biscuit previous to our marching. Our road being steep and narrow, the day was far advanced before we reached the level ground. At length we came up with about a dozen Kafirs, having in their possession about 300 sheep and forty horses, which we re-captured. It was now nearly sunset, and we prepared to dine on Mr. Tomlinson's mutton, which had been taken the day before from Hermanus kraal. Having received orders to proceed onward at eleven o'clock that night, we snatched a short repose, and at the appointed hour all were in readiness. Our march now lay through kloofs and ravines. At length we reached the open plain, and shaped our course direct to Eno's. Not a sound was heard but the tramping of horses' hoofs, and a veil of dark clouds obscured the moon, so that we were in a manner obliged to feel our way. At length the first glimmering of morning appeared, and before the sun had risen we came in view of Eno's kraals, still pushing forward to a central position, and the Chief's own residence. The Kafirs fled to the bushes. Eno himself, it is reported, fled in the disguise of his daughter. The enemy threw some assagais and fired a few shots, but without effect; about thirty of them fell; they were Eno's Counsellors and picked men, and kept near his person; among them were two of his brothers and a son. The object of the expedition being thus far accomplished, and ourselves and horses requiring rest and refreshment, we saddled off in the midst of this scene of action, while the enemy's spies, stationed on distant eminences, continued to watch our motions. About mid-day we retraced our steps, inclining to Fort Willshire, which place we reached about sunset the same evening (Sunday). Here we hoped to recruit our supplies in all things necessary, as we had

started with only three days' biscuit ; but our mortification was extreme on discovering that the enemy had removed everything edible ; every object bore marks of their savage brutality ; nearly one-fourth of the buildings were destroyed, fire having been applied to the bottoms of the rafters, which giving way brought down the roof ; but this proving a tedious process they appear to have abandoned it. We had, however, the consolation of finding plenty of forage corn for our horses, or our stay here would not have been of any duration from the want of pasture and the density of bush. The morning after our arrival a party of about twenty Kafirs came within pistol shot of the fort, as is believed, for the purpose of plunder. These proved to be Macomo's people, who, in a short parley, demanded what business we had in Macomo's territory ; prudential reasons prevented us from firing upon them, and they sheered off to the bush in time to defeat our plans of circumvention. We resumed our march at three o'clock on Wednesday morning, and at sunrise found ourselves among the mimosa groves of this charming portion of the neutral territory. The lofty Chumie, and its still loftier neighbours, lay before us, and every turn discovered new beauties for our contemplation. About mid-day we rested at Block Drift, on the Chumie River, and about ten miles from the kraal of Tyali. At night we formed a hollow square with our horses, and slept at their heads, to be in readiness for any emergency. At four the following morning we commenced our last march in advance ; the rain continued, and the thick mist which enveloped us seemed well to conceal our movements ; while, notwithstanding the weather and the want of provisions, our people cheerfully pushed forward in hopes of chastising the prime mover in this sanguinary drama. Through a lane of thickly studded mimosas and other ever-greens, we came to an open space, and at this moment, as if by magic, the vapours ascended, and disclosed as fine a nook as ever the imagination formed of fairy-land. Surrounded by huts of greater magnitude, and better construction, than any we had yet seen, that of Tyali's rose superior, and bespoke its master the chief of chiefs. Its interior was ornamented by a double row of pillars of straight smooth wood, carefully selected, which supported

the spherical roof: this being composed of compact materials bid defiance to the rain, and the whole being plastered, conveyed an idea of neatness which we did not expect to find among Kafirs. This spot, so late the scene of activity and clamour, where the great spoliator issued his mandates to his myrmidons, was now become the abode of solitude: its inhabitants had long fled, and it now remained for us to extinguish the last hope that Tyali could have of re-possessioning himself of this retreat. Columns of smoke soon indicated that the whole had been fired. We then climbed the Chumie to the New Post, where we joined a party of Hottentots and the Cape Rifles, under Major Burney, amounting to 140 men. The post had been destroyed, and the weather continuing unfavourable, we found no shelter from the cold of those high regions. Here we passed the night of Thursday, but the next day, shortly after sunrise, we descended to the valleys on our return home, where we arrived on the morning of the 18th inst.

“It is but just to observe that if the regularity and discipline which are observable in regular troops were not conspicuous in the body that formed this expedition, yet the alacrity to act, and the submission to obey, were features strongly prominent during the whole of this harrassing duty.”

During these operations in the enemy's territory, Col. Somerset was no less usefully employed within the colony. He had been directed to proceed to the Bushman's River, where the enemy had presented himself in considerable force. Here he was to be joined by a burgher force from Graaff-Reinet and George, under the Civil Commissioner Rynveld and Field-commandant Rademeyer. The Colonel having accordingly taken up a position in the Commadagga, detached patrols in every direction around, and these very soon brought him certain intelligence that a large body of the enemy, both horse and foot, had passed through the Bushman's River Poort; at the extremity of which it had separated, moving in two divisions, one part in the direction of the Zuurberg, and the other towards the neighbourhood of “Vaderlands Wilge Boom.” In the course of the day a smart skirmish took place between his patrols and the enemy, in which the latter lost twelve men, and had 400 head of cattle and 130 horses captured.

On the 15th January the enemy showed himself in some force on the skirts of the bushy ravines which line the banks of the Bushman's River. An attack was immediately commenced by the Colonel, and a smart fire was kept up on both sides for about three hours. At length the enemy was dislodged from his position with the loss of forty killed and several wounded. The colonial force did not consist of more than 100 men, whilst that of the enemy was estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500, of whom about 100 were mounted. In this affair Ensign O'Reilly was severely wounded, a musket ball passing through both thighs.

The day previous to this affair a distressing occurrence took place at Mahony's farm, a spot which has already been referred to as the scene of several fatal disasters. Here an inhabitant, named John Brown, whom the reader will remember as being with Mahony at the time of his murder, had taken up a position with a mounted patrol of twenty-five men, consisting, with the exception of one man, of Hottentots and persons of colour. He had been selected for this duty in consequence of his accurate knowledge of the intricate fastnesses which are met with in that direction ; and he had very judiciously established his quarters in a double-storied, flat-roofed building, formerly belonging to the deceased Mahony. Here they were not long before the enemy emerged from the surrounding thicket in considerable force : but soon perceiving that this post could not be carried without inevitably sustaining loss from the muskets of the patrol, the wily natives endeavoured to accomplish by stratagem that which could not be effected by force without incurring such imminent risk. Accordingly they signify their desire to hold a parley with the little garrison ; and after some deliberation, an Englishman named Whitaker, who had volunteered to accompany Brown on this service, agreed to venture himself amidst the throng of barbarians. With great intrepidity he, in view of his comrades, approached the savages ; who, on finding he was not the commander of the patrol, requested him to return and inform Brown that he must himself receive their communication, and that it could not be made to any other person. This unfortunate man had for many years been intimately acquainted with the Kafirs. Living on the borders of their

country, and being the owner of the Kafir Clay-pits—from whence was obtained the red earth, or ochre, so much in request amongst that people—numerous opportunities had been afforded him of becoming acquainted with their true character,—of appreciating fully their duplicity, their cruelty, and their utter want of honest principle,—and yet, strange to say, he laboured under so much infatuation as to resolve to risk his life, and trust to the tender mercies of the barbarians before him ; and that at a moment when, flushed with success, they were revelling in the desolation they had caused and the blood they had spilled. Sallying out, therefore, in company with Whittaker, he approached the savages, who stood ready—like the ravenous beast of the forest—to seize on their defenceless prey. Though within view of the patrol the distance was too great, and the enemy too numerous, to afford the two unfortunate men any assistance. Hence they were seized and forced to a conspicuous height, beyond the range of the musketry at the house ; and here, amidst fiendish shouts and vociferations, were both mercilessly butchered. On witnessing this horrid occurrence, two Hottentots succeeded in escaping from the back of the premises, and having gained the forest, they soon arrived at Graham's Town with the fatal intelligence. Major Lowen, at the head of a detachment of the Rifle Corps, immediately proceeded to the scene of this tragic occurrence. Here the bodies were still found lying, covered with innumerable wounds and bruises ; the enemy had, however, moved off in the direction of the Kap River, by a route in which it was not possible for cavalry to follow them. After the murder of Brown and Whittaker the command of the patrol had devolved on a Hottentot, formerly a soldier in the Cape Corps, named Piet Lowe. This man had adopted such prudent precautions for the safety of his party, and had shown so much determination at a most critical moment, that, on his return to town, he was promoted by the Chief of the Staff to the rank of Ensign in the newly raised levies.

Fort Adelaide, as already stated, had been established in the heart of the Kat River Settlement, where, for some little time after the commencement of hostilities, the inhabitants had been left unmolested. Previous, however, to the date at which we have now arrived the Kafirs, what—

ever, their former hopes, had abandoned all expectation of coalition with the Hottentots, and had commenced a series of vigorous inroads into the settlement, burning the crops and houses, and sweeping off the cattle in large numbers. These attacks had been met on the part of the colonists with great energy and bravery. In a few instances, several of the inhabitants particularly distinguished themselves ; amongst whom may be named a son of the Field-cornet Groepe. He and his uncle were the advanced guard of a herd of cattle, and had off-saddled their horses for refreshment ; but the weather being cold, with drizzling rain, they had selected a bushy avenue on account of the shelter. This thicket, however, at that very moment afforded concealment to a party of eighteen Kafirs, and who, at the instant the others were about to proceed, started up and instantly encircled them. The two Groepes, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up their guns, placed themselves back to back, and levelling their pieces, prepared to discharge them on the first assailant. The enemy recoiled for a moment ; at length one of them sprang from the circle and instantly stabbed the younger Groepe severely ; the assegai entering below the right shoulder blade, and passing out in front under the right nipple. Finding himself wounded he called out "Fire now !" at the same moment discharging his own piece, and bringing down the man in front. With the assegai still sheathed in his body he sprang through the opening thus made, retreating with his face to the enemy, who recoiled whenever he presented his gun, although it was unloaded. In this manner the attack was continued, one part of the Kafirs pursuing the uncle, and the other part—and by far the greater number—the youth. During his retreat he attempted to re-load his gun ; but on lifting the powder-horn for this purpose he received an assegai through the left fore arm, which quite disabled him from using it. Another assegai passed through his hat, but this he pulled out, threatening the pursuers with it whenever they approached him. Thus he retreated for the distance of a mile, till, faint with loss of blood, he sank down in an open ravine ; but still had sufficient presence of mind to lean his back against an abrupt bank. At this critical moment the other cattle guards came up, upon

seeing whom the enemy speedily retreated. On the arrival of the guards, the assegai was still sheathed in the body of the youth, and they extracted it by grasping the iron end and drawing the entire length of the haft through the breast. The uncle escaped without a single wound ; and the lad, under the care of Dr. Caw, the military staff surgeon at Fort Adelaide, eventually recovered.

At this time, January, 1835, nearly two thousand persons had sought refuge at Graham's Town from the invaders. Many of these were in extreme destitution. But beside this number, the remainder of the population of the surrounding districts was in a still worse condition. Having assembled at certain points for mutual defence, as already described, the people were exposed to the inclemency of the weather, without the means of obtaining an adequate supply of food of any kind. Sickness began to make its inroads upon those thus situated, and it was quite evident that the Government would not, with every disposition to attend to the numerous calls for relief, be able to meet these numerous cases, or afford any effectual assistance to the deep and extensive distress which prevailed in every direction.

The intelligence received from Kafirland at the period at which we have arrived was by no means calculated to relieve the mind from apprehensions respecting the safety of the missionaries beyond the colonial boundary. At the institution of Mount Coke the chief Umkai had shewn an unswerving regard to the British cause ; but his power and influence were comparatively inconsiderable, and it was evident that without aid from the colony he must be overwhelmed by superior numbers. Mr. Dugmore, the missionary, at length resolved upon removing to Wesleyville ; and after his departure the chief directed a guard of four men to occupy the mission house ; but this was of little avail, as the next day the whole village was in flames, and the mission property, consisting of a large mission house, a chapel, a school, schoolmaster's dwelling, and workshop, entirely consumed. The incendiaries in this case were Kafirs of Slambie's tribe, then residing on the Debe, a stream in that neighbourhood. From Hintza's territory the information received was to the effect that the colonial cattle were there in great numbers, but that

the chief having heard of the attack on Eno's kraal, and of the numbers of Kafirs killed in the colony, began to manifest great uneasiness, and an anxiety to make it appear that he was unconnected with the confederacy against the colony ; and this although it was well known that besides receiving the stolen cattle, a large force of his people was in the ranks of the invaders.

At the period to which we have now brought our relation, March, 1835, nearly all the cattle on the frontier had been swept off by the enemy. A few thousand head had been driven to Graham's Town for security, and which were depastured under the protection of a strong guard from the civil force in its environs : but these were fast decreasing in number ; grass and water became scarce ; and the cattle could not, without kraals, be kept together at night. Numbers of them died, others strayed, and were either captured by the enemy or lost ; and thus those who had saved their cattle in the first instance were ultimately in nearly as bad a condition as those who had been plundered at the first rush of the invaders.

There being so little temptation for further incursions, the enemy was fast retreating within his own boundary, intent either in preparing for the anticipated struggle, or in securing, by driving into the fastnesses of the interior, the immense booty of which he had possessed himself. At this time Fort Wilshire had been re-occupied by a detachment of the 72nd Regiment and the Mounted Rifles, and on these the Kafirs determined to make an attack ; not however, by attempting the Fort, but by cutting off the supplies, an undertaking equally mischievous and far more practicable. Accordingly, a corporal and three privates of the 72nd Regiment, together with two armed Hottentots, having been sent out on duty, as usual, had proceeded about a thousand yards from the Fort when a body of Kafirs, about 300 strong, and partly mounted and armed with guns, rushed down from a neighbouring hill. The guard fired eight or ten shots, but were soon overpowered by numbers and killed. The affair was witnessed by the troops in the Fort, and immediate assistance was afforded, but the enemy succeeded, notwithstanding, in making good their retreat, driving off the sheep which had been in charge of the men whom they had slain. Having so far

succeeded, they assembled in a vaunting manner on the side of a hill in view of the Fort, but were quickly driven from this position by a few shots fired from a nine-pounder. The Fort was extremely weak from the number of men absent on commando, and an effective pursuit was thereby rendered utterly impracticable.

This audacious attack of the enemy was, however, very speedily punished ;—and, indeed, at this very moment of time the operations had been commenced which led to the loss on their part of many men, and of a very large number of cattle.

It has been already mentioned that in consequence of Capt. Harries having received certain information that the enemy had occupied the drifts and bushy defiles of the Fish River, he had been induced to make a *détour* by the mouth of the stream, where he had successfully crossed, and from thence over the flat country to Graham's Town. This being communicated at head-quarters, Lieut.-Col. England, 75th Regt., and Major Gregory, 98th Regt., with a detachment of 300 men, were directed to proceed to that neighbourhood, to examine carefully the rugged kloofs on the Committee's and Trompetter's Drifts—at which points the main roads from the colony to the Kafir country cross the Fish River—and report accordingly.

On reaching the river it was found considerably swollen by the heavy rains which had fallen in the upper country. There were no boats or rafts, and the current at such seasons is extremely rapid. The duty, however, on which this force was employed was important, and Col. England determined to cross the river at all hazards. Fortunately this was accomplished with no other mishap than that of several horses and men being swept down the stream ; but these were rescued ultimately from their dangerous situation. On reaching the left bank of the river, the troops were halted from ten to two o'clock,—during which interval dogs were heard to bark, and cattle to bellow, to the right of the road, plainly indicating that the enemy had taken up a position in that direction. The force remounted at two and halted again at four o'clock, in consequence of seeing a column of smoke issuing from a large kloof. To this point Lieut. Sutton, 75th Regt., with a party of Hottentots, was ordered.

He returned shortly after, accompanied by several Kafir women and children whom he had captured. The men who were with these women escaped into an immense thicket adjoining, where it was evident the enemy had established themselves in considerable force. These women, on being interrogated, stated that they belonged to Dushanie's tribe; but they were recognized by several Kafir traders present as belonging to Eno. The women were released unhurt. On receiving this information, Col. England immediately arranged his plan of attack, and at six o'clock the next morning the column moved down the kloofs. At this time cattle were seen in the wooded ravines in countless numbers, spread so completely amongst the bushes as to give to the whole the appearance of a living mass; but scarcely any of the enemy allowed themselves to be seen during the advance. It was indeed very evident that they had determined not to expose themselves to the attack of our force; and, in furtherance of this, the difficulties and general features of the country afforded them every advantage. The column, however, succeeded in capturing a considerable number of cattle, with which they returned to their position; a small body of the enemy keeping up a fire upon the rear guard, but at too great a distance to be effective. The next evening the troops again marched, but to a different part of the kloof occupied by the enemy. At sun-rise an attack was commenced on our part; but the Kafirs still refused to show themselves, and the position chosen by them was of that character, that it was impossible for the small force employed to bring them to action. A desultory fire was kept up on both sides for some time, in the course of which we had one Hottentot killed and another wounded. The result of this day's operations was several of the enemy's huts destroyed, and the capture of 135 cattle.

To go back to Colonel Smith. When day dawned 12th February, the enemy were perceived in numerous small parties, with great numbers of cattle, which they immediately drove out of their kraals, evidently ignorant of the position of the infantry upon that side; a fire was then opened upon them with a six-pounder and howitzer. The troops under Lieut.-Col. England, Major McLean, and Capt. Hallifax having the guns in the rear of the enemy, pushed forward

up the steep, rugged, and bushy hills, with the wonted vigour and determination of British soldiers; the Hottentot Sharpshooters, both foot and mounted, boldly aided their advance, and skilfully scoured the thicket upon their flanks. As the troops ascended the cattle poured forth from the ravines and passes, the Kafirs bravely using their utmost endeavours to prevent their being driven into the open country above, but being fired upon both front and rear, they soon retreated into their holds and fastnesses.

In this operation the enemy is supposed to have had 100 men killed, and a considerable number wounded. About 2,500 head of the cattle, and large flocks of goats and sheep were captured.

On the 14th the infantry under the command of Major McLean, Capt. Hallifax, and Major Bagot crossed the Fish River at Trompetter's Drift, and inclining to the left, moved much farther to the enemy's right than on the 12th, and at day-break commenced their attack. The cavalry made the passage higher up, at a narrow and rugged pass called Sheffield's pass. A six-pounder, and the force at Committee's Drift, also crossed at that point, and concentrated with the other division somewhat to the right and to the rear of that part of the bush which had not yet been scoured.

After a long night's march the troops moved with much accuracy on the points to which they were ordered, and a six-pounder gave the signal of a general advance. It was soon obvious that the result of the action on the 12th was more decisive than had been supposed, as but few of the enemy were visible; and such was the rapidity of their retreat that they had left a considerable number of their cattle behind them in charge of a few herdsmen, who attempted to retreat with them on our approach.

The troops pursued through deep and bushy ravines, and ascending a ridge of hills scarcely accessible, succeeded in capturing about 1,200 head of cattle, and two large flocks of goats. Upwards of thirty women and children of Dushani's tribe also fell into our hands. Several of the enemy were killed and wounded in this affair.

While the struggle was going on in the kloofs and rugged banks of the Fish River, Col. Somerset was no less

actively engaged on the heights in rear of the position ; of which a good detail is given by the writer from whom we have already quoted : "At daylight," says he, "parties from our division moved off to the head of the Fish River-kloof ; at six, the sound of firing of great guns indicated the attack had commenced by the advancing columns up the kloofs, and our division marched (a strong party being left in position) to the westward, along a tongue of land that enabled them to bring the Artillery to bear with good effect on the enemy in the bush ; while the troops, except those detained for covering the gun, were detached into the bush, to attack and dislodge the enemy. The attack was briskly performed, and continued for three or four hours, during which the enemy, notwithstanding a most determined resistance, was driven from position to position until they fled, leaving their cattle to be brought out by the victors. This was effected on our side without any loss, but the enemy sustained much both in lives and cattle ; 750, chiefly milch cows and calves, fell to our lot. The centre division, under Col. Smith, had a more arduous contest, the enemy being stronger, though with a severe loss in killed and wounded, chiefly from guns. This was a most fatiguing day for the troops, all up hill and bush work. When collected together we changed our position a little to the Guanga, for the benefit of water and shelter from a cold and strong wind then blowing. Pato and Kama came to the reserve while the attack was going on : they had with them about 30 mounted men with guns, and about 400 others armed with assegais. They sat all the time of the attack, only uttering a slight exclamation when they heard the report of the distant cannonade. They remained with us all night, during which Col. Somerset went over to the camp of the Commander of the Forces."

Our loss amounted to twelve killed, of whom eleven were either Europeans, or of European lineage ; and the same number wounded (5).

Amongst the former were two volunteers, named Goodwin and Bland. The first an enterprising, brave young man from Beaufort, who had only arrived as the troops were about to take the field, and who had joined them with enthusiasm. In an attack on the enemy in the

bottom of a deep and tangled thicket, he and Bland, and one or two others, had pushed forward in advance of their companions, until they suddenly found themselves surrounded by the enemy. Goodwin prepared to defend himself with intrepidity, when a shot struck his gun, and knocked off the stock; and he and Bland almost immediately after fell into the hands of the savages, and, though unresisting, were despatched by them. Bland left a widow and several young children to deplore the loss of a husband and parent.

Amongst the killed four men of the 72nd Regt. unfortunately fell by the fire of their own comrades. It appears that a detachment of this regiment had been placed in position for the night, and were lying under arms in momentary expectation of an attack by the enemy. During the night one man, either from hearing a noise in the bush, or from the working of the imagination whilst half asleep, suddenly became alarmed, called out "Kafirs!" and instantly fired his piece. The consequence was that general consternation for the moment seized the men near him; their muskets were discharged, and with the fatal result above mentioned. We have not heard the name of the man who caused this commotion; but if he be a *young* soldier, the circumstance may be easily accounted for. This fine body of men had just arrived on the frontier, and the scene in which they found themselves so suddenly placed was calculated to have a powerful effect on the imagination. None can form any conception of a night bivouac in the kloofs of the Fish River but those who have actually been in such a situation. The gloomy and profound thickets—the rugged and frowning precipices—and the lofty heights which bound the view on every hand,—the natural gloom, heightened by the shadows of night, and that restless watchfulness which must necessarily be induced from a knowledge that a treacherous cruel enemy was lurking around, watching for an opportunity to spring upon his victim;—all these circumstances in combination are sufficiently powerful to account for the fatal accident described, without attaching undue blame to him by whom it was inadvertently caused.

Another incident which occurred during this commando is worthy of being recorded. Col. Smith, Major Cox, and

several other officers, had assembled one evening round their night fires, when some of the enemy's marksmen stole quietly under cover of the thicket, to within a very short distance of the spot, and fired upon the party ; the balls whistled past their heads, but fortunately missed them. A detachment on the spot was instantly formed into line, and rushed to the point whence the firing had proceeded, but the enemy had retired into the intricate bush, and every attempt to discover them was fruitless.

Immediately before the troops commenced their march homeward from the Fish River Bush two deserters from the enemy, armed with firelocks, came into the camp. One of them was a Bechuana who had formerly been in the employ of a shopkeeper at Graham's Town, and the other was a Bastard Hottentot who likewise belonged to the colony. These men stated that they had been forced to join the enemy after having been taken prisoners at the attack on Mr. Howse's farm, and had not till that time been able to effect their escape.

A shocking instance of the ferocity of the invading savages was exhibited in the case of Corporal Robinson, of the 75th Regt., who was among the slain. His comrades had consigned his remains to the earth ; but the spot had been afterwards discovered by the savages—the body torn from the grave ; and it was found with the head greatly disfigured, apparently by beating it either with bludgeons or stones.

We have detailed these operations at some length, it being the first general engagement between the opposing forces, and, as it will give a correct idea of the character of this warfare, and of the difficulties presented by the country to the movements of European troops. If these points are considered in connection with the due concentration of the troops at the time calculated, although the extremities of the ground occupied comprised a distance of about fifty miles ; the rapidity of the movements, and the boldness, energy, and perseverance with which they were executed ;—it will readily be conceded that the plan of operation, and also its successful result, are alike honorable to those engaged, and important to the country (6).

At the Kat River the enemy attacked the colonial force with much determination, and were as bravely repulsed at

every point. The most strenuous effort were made to capture the cattle ; but in spite of all their attempts the people of the settlement succeeded ultimately in saving the whole of them. In the various skirmishes sixty-seven Kafirs were killed in the course of the day, besides many wounded. The loss on our side was two killed, and one man and a woman severely wounded.

During the engagement the Field-commandant Van Wyk arrived at the settlement with a small party of men, and finding that a determined attack was making on it he returned to his encampment at the close of the day, and before day-light the following morning appeared with a reinforcement of 240 mounted burghers ; but the enemy had retired, having been defeated in all his attacks. This force was, however, dispatched forward immediately for the purpose, if possible, of intercepting him ; and hence it was to proceed in a certain direction, with a view of gaining unperceived a place of concealment ; towards which point all the cattle of the settlement were driven under the protection of a strong mounted force. It was hoped that the Kafirs would be lured by this stratagem to attempt the capture of the cattle, and thus fall into the hands of the force which had just placed themselves in position in their rear ; but this expectation was not realised, as the enemy did not make any further demonstration than by his night fires, which were seen in so many different directions as to lead to the opinion that there were large bodies of Kafirs around the British force. On the night after this engagement, before the moon rose, an attempt was made by the enemy to break into one of the kraals ; several shots were fired, and the assailants were driven back with the loss of one man who was shot dead. An attack was also made by the Kafirs the same day upon fourteen wagons which were on their way from Fort Beaufort to the settlement for barley. The enemy attempted to surround them, but a brisk fire was kept up by the escort, which was distinctly heard at the camp, whence a party of mounted men galloped forward and by whose assistance, the whole succeeded in reaching their place of destination in safety. On all these occasions the conduct of the officers and men of the Beaufort Levy, under Major Blakeway, and of the Kat River force, under the Field-cornet Groepe, was spoken of in the highest terms for their gallant exertions (7).

With the reinforcements which arrived at this period, was the Field-commandant Linde. He had marched with his burghers from Swellendam ; and although in consequence of his great age, near 80 years, permission had been given him to retire from the active duties of the field and remain at home, yet he declined to avail himself of the indulgence. His venerable appearance, his zeal and activity, and his anxiety to meet and repel the barbarian invaders of the country, were the theme of general remark on his arrival at head-quarters.

It is but justice also to state that in several other instances the conduct of the Dutch-African colonists was beyond all praise. Several of the most gallant affairs which took place during the war were those in which the Dutch farmers particularly distinguished themselves. It is as pleasing as it is just to accord this meed of praise. Much has been done to excite between the English and Dutch inhabitants a suspicious jealousy, but we are happy to say that late events have discovered the injustice of the attempt ; and it may be confidently expected that the only rivalry between them in future will be a generous emulation as to who shall most efficiently advance the true interests of this land of their joint adoption.

We have already noticed the gallant conduct of the Ferreiras, the Winterberg farmers, and those of Oliphant's Hoek ; and we have now to record another affair which, for gallantry, is fully equal to any recorded during this unsettled period. On the 6th March a patrol of farmers under Field-cornet Nel, employed in the ceded territory, came upon the spoor of Kafirs leading into the colony by Committy's Bush, and from the beaten appearance of their track it was estimated that their numbers could not be far short of 3,000. The next day Capt Jervis, 72nd Regiment, joined the Field-cornet, and, with a strong party of burghers, proceeded in search of the enemy. A party was sent forward at the same time to Field-commandant Rademeyer, requesting that he would send them a reinforcement. In the direction of Committy's Drift the smoke of several fires was observed, and parties of Kafirs were seen on the clear spaces on the top of the hills. These were charged at full speed with the intention of cutting them off from the bush, but they succeeded in gaining it.

Cattle were observed in the bush, and shots were continually fired at the patrol from two or three individuals, but without effect. On Rademeyer's arrival the patrol entered the bush (the artillery firing an occasional shot over their heads from a three-pounder), and cleared it at once, the enemy retreating in the direction of Trompetter's and Committy's Bush. Three Kafirs were killed, and 5 horses and 83 head of cattle taken. The number of Kafirs appeared to be about 700.

The enemy, after being thus defeated, moved lower down the Fish River Bush, to the same point from whence they had been dislodged with so much difficulty by the colonial forces a few weeks before.

In this neighbourhood a party of 40 men of the civil force from Port Elizabeth, under Capt. Harries, had taken up a position, being placed there as a post of observation. At an early hour on the morning of the 7th inst. an alarm was given to this party that a body of Kafirs, about one hundred strong, had just seized the draught oxen, feeding on the opposite bank of the river. The horses were immediately called in, and a patrol of twenty men ordered out to endeavour to re-capture the cattle. Just as the patrol had saddled up for this purpose, and in less than half an hour from their first appearance, the enemy was seen issuing in considerable force from all the paths and defiles on the opposite side of the river, and, descending rapidly from the heights, began to cross the river at various points. The number at this moment in sight might amount to from one thousand to fifteen hundred, but as they still continued to pour forth from the bush, it was impossible to judge of the force which might still be in the rear. The patrol proceeded with promptitude in the direction where the enemy were crossing the river in greatest force, but after firing a few rounds, they deemed it prudent to fall back upon the encampment.

Capt. Harries, suspecting that the enemy's object was to surround the camp, detached a small party to observe their movements in the rear, who immediately reported that his suspicions were well-founded. This movement, which was evidently preconcerted, was executed with indescribable rapidity. From the moment that the enemy first issued from the bush, until they all but succeeded in

hemming in the party, occupied a space of only ten minutes. Capt. Harries having ascertained from personal observation that the report of his scouts was correct, and being satisfied that the post, which afforded no cover, was not tenable, then withdrew the remainder of his men from the camp. They had to make their way with considerable difficulty through bodies of the enemy, who were fast closing in, under cover of a dry ravine, lined with detached clumps of bush ; and in doing so, nine Kafirs were killed and eight colonists, viz :—

Thomas Titterton,	} Burghers of Port Elizabeth.
Francis Clark,	
Sergeant Thomas Bilston, formerly of the Royal Horse Guards (blue). This was an industrious deserving man, and much esteemed by his fellow townsmen. He received a shot through the leg while charging the enemy at Waterloo.	
R. Shaw, of Graham's Town, wagon owner.	
Four Hottentots.	

The two men, Titterton and Clark, owed their fate to accidents with their horses. The saddle of the former turned with him, and his horse made its escape. The latter had a severe fall, and his horse also got away from him. In both instances their companions rendered them every assistance in their power, but Titterton was struck in the back with an assegai immediately after his accident ; and Clark was so disabled by his fall that he made several ineffectual attempts to mount behind his companions. Jan Tys, a Hottentot, had a most narrow escape ; having been hotly pursued, he jumped into a porcupine hole, where he lay ensconced while his pursuers actually passed over the spot, treading the dust into his face.

The tents, four wagons, and the baggage and supplies unavoidably fell into the hands of the enemy.

Several of this party are highly spoken of for their gallant conduct, particularly Messrs. Bance and Van der Kemp ; the latter was made instrumental in saving the life of a young Englishman named Randall, who was in charge of a wagon ; he was in the rear, and was on the point of being overtaken by three Kafirs, when Van der Kemp (a son of the late Dr. V. K.), levelled his gun and brought

down the foremost man, thus effectually ridding him of one enemy, and deterring the other two from further pursuit. The enemy, after burning the wagons, retired towards their own territory, in the direction of the Keiskamma.

On receipt of the foregoing intelligence at head-quarters, Lieut.-Col. Somerset, who happened to be in town, immediately proceeded to the scene of action, together with as many men as could be hastily collected together at the moment to accompany him. Major Bagot, with the Hottentot Provisional Infantry, was also directed to move towards the lower part of the district, and to occupy the defiles leading out of the Kap River Bush, in the direction of Bathurst. The supplies for the army, which were at the point of being sent forward, were ordered to remain in town, and all the movements connected with the commando to be delayed until further orders.

No certain information was gained of the further movements of the enemy, although Col. Somerset was using every exertion to overtake him, until the afternoon of the 9th March, when, as the Field-commandant Rademeyer was returning from Trompetter's Drift to his camp on "Moordeleyke Kop," he observed a column of smoke to issue from a rocky kloof; he proceeded there with 40 men, and had no sooner entered the thicket than he found himself in the midst of a large body of the enemy. The gallant defence made on this occasion, and in particular the intrepidity of the leader of the colonial force, is well described in a letter addressed to the author by an officer serving at the time in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of action, and of which the following is an extract:—"Early on the day mentioned, Rademeyer, not hearing from the Chief of the Staff, proceeded with 175 men towards Trompetter's Poort, patrolling the heads of the great kloof of the river. Here he fell in with the spoors of cattle and horses, followed by some Kafirs, who had entered the defiles to the right of the scene of action on the 12th February. Observing a fire in the bush, he, with a party of 40 men, descended into the kloof by a track which he followed until the pass became exceedingly narrow, the rocks on each side nearly touching each other, and the bush so impervious as to present an almost

impassable barrier to further progress. On reaching this point he was suddenly attacked by the enemy in force ; in fact he was completely surrounded before he had any intimation of the presence of an enemy. A fire of musketry was poured from the rocks around them, and the enemy rushed boldly on and among them, assegai in hand, from the bush, stabbing and bearing down every thing before them. The little band of colonists, gathering together and sustaining each other, poured a steady and continued fire upon their assailants ; and with such deadly effect that the bodies of those who fell on our side were covered by those of the slaughtered enemy. In one instance three of the enemy met their death whilst endeavouring to drag away their slain. Poor Bernard, the first who fell, was literally covered with the bodies of the opposing Kafirs. The main body of the patrol, hearing from the open country above the firing and shouting of the battle, dispatched a reinforcement to the aid of their comrades. Twenty men accordingly descended the kloof, and attacking the Kafirs with spirit succeeded in joining or being joined by the rest ; on which the enemy, daunted by this bold resistance, retired from the field of slaughter—as it might justly be called—for our slain lay on the ground covered by more than fifty of the enemy.

The following are the names of the brave men who fell in this affair :—

Adam Boshoff,	Andries Van Zyl,
Jan Bernard,	Johannes Roelstaff,
Jan Meyer,	Hermanus Wessels.

Those wounded were—

Frederick Keyser, his arm broke very severely with a gun shot.

Petrus Swart, gun shot through the thigh, very dangerously.

Marthinus Bernard, shot above the heel.

William Botha, assegai wound in the thigh.

Henry Pienaar, gun shot in the thigh.

Several had assegais and gun shots through their clothes, and among them the Commandant Rademeyer. Others had their apparel clotted with the blood of the enemy,

some of whom met their death at the muzzle of the gun, fired in the very act of pushing them away from the attack. It was indeed a most desperate affair, every one having to fight for his life, being encompassed by a host of infuriated enemies."

Such is the account furnished to us of this sanguinary affair, and which reflects so much credit upon the Commandant Rademeyer, and upon those who so ably seconded him in this gallant defence; and by which they extricated themselves from a situation where, to all human probability, the destruction of the whole party appeared inevitable.

While these proceedings were going on Col. Smith, having quitted Graham's Town on the evening of the 7th March, had established himself at Fort Wilshire, for the purpose of forming a central camp, and superintending the various operations in progress along the ridge of the Keiskamma, with a view of intercepting the enemy who was known to have entered the Fish River Bush. The determined repulse met with from the Field-commandant Rademeyer had dispersed a large part of that force, which had returned towards the Amatola, whither they were pursued by Col. Smith, with a mounted patrol. Several of the enemy's stragglers were shot by this patrol, and some of their huts destroyed, but the main body escaped owing to the tired state of the horses, which rendered further pursuit impracticable. It was quite evident at this time that the enemy was not in any force within the colony; patrols of his stragglers were occasionally seen, and some mischief done by them. A farmer named Andries De Lange had been killed by them while seeking his horses on the Fish River, and a mill just below Bathurst had been fired and destroyed; but still it was apparent that the main body of the enemy had retired into his own territory, and that his skirmishers were following as fast as possible.

On Monday, March 2nd, Col. Smith, accompanied by the Field-cornets Greyling and Nel, and ten other burghers, proceeded from Fort Wilshire towards Block Drift, where they forded the Chusie River. From thence they took the direction of the Chumie Institution to Lovedale—a station formerly belonging to the Glasgow Missionary Society—

and which they found had been fired by the enemy. Here an athletic Kafir, fully armed, was observed to run into the ruins of a house, which was immediately surrounded ; and he was called upon through the medium of a Kafir guide to lay down his arms and surrender ; but no inducement could prevail on him to comply : on the contrary, he threw an assegai which nearly proved fatal to one of the patrol. The infatuated savage was ultimately fired upon from a height above the Lovelale Institution, and killed. Col. Smith then proceeded to reconnoitre the position occupied on the Amatola by the enemy under Tyali.

The intelligence which reached the colony at this period, end of March, 1835, from the interior to the N. E. was of a suspicious character, and such as to induce His Excellency the Governor to use every effort to bring Hintza to an unequivocal declaration before commencing operations in the enemy's territory. Accordingly, about the middle of March the Field-commandant Van Wyk, a man of distinguished steadiness and bravery, was dispatched, by way of the Tambookie country, on a mission to him. This officer was instructed to state, in the name of the Governor, that he would be treated as an enemy to the colony unless he "should unequivocally cease to countenance the hostile chiefs ; neither affording them harbour, residence, or protection ; and should send back all the colonial horses and other plunder which had been received into his country." Hintza declined the proposed interview, contenting himself with sending his principal chief, Klabaklaba, who, in answer to the demands of the Field-commandant, stated that before Hintza could give up the colonial cattle he must confer with his chiefs on the subject. Throughout this conference nothing decisive or satisfactory could be elicited. It was evident that the crafty and dishonest chief was exercising the utmost duplicity ; and that whilst he was secretly inciting the other chiefs to hostility—receiving the plunder and furnishing them with reinforcements of men—he himself had not the courage to expose his own person, or to declare openly his hostility to the colony. From the moment of this interview the Governor appears to have been decided as to the course to be pursued, viz., that of viewing this chief as combined in the confederacy, and his people actually engaged in hostilities against the colony.

At this time unfortunately one English trader, named Rawlins, an intelligent and active young man, was killed. In the hurry of retreat his horse came upon a shelving ledge of rock, which it would not descend: here the barbarians overtook and dispatched him. The wife of this unfortunate man was at the institution adjacent, she having fled with her husband a short time before from the missionary station in Hintza's country; and she now found herself suddenly bereaved of her protector; far from home; surrounded by difficulties and danger; and with several young children depending upon her for support.

The result of this attack was the entire destruction or dispersion of the tribes under the chiefs Fooboo and Diko; all their huts burnt, and 2,000 cattle carried off. A tract of country, in extent twenty by ten miles, was completely devastated. It does not appear that this body of marauders were acting in concert with the confederate chiefs. They were supposed at the time to be a people who had joined a notorious character named Capaai, a renegade Zoola, who, having become disaffected to the sway of the ruling chief, had fled to this part of the country, where he had firmly established himself in a difficult and mountainous position to the N. E. of Amapondaland. It turned out, upon better information being obtained afterwards, that a large proportion of these marauders were Amapondas; nor was Faku, their chief, altogether free from suspicion of being concerned in the affair.

It is a remarkable circumstance that within a few days after the death of Rawlins in the Tambookie country his brother was slain by the Kafirs at Fort Beaufort under the following circumstances:—At this post the farmers of the surrounding country had assembled for protection; their cattle and sheep being sent out for pasture in charge of four or five armed men. On the day of the fatal occurrence the cattle had been placed, as usual, under charge of two young Englishmen named Rawlins and Carpenter, and two Hottentots. They had proceeded a few hundred yards from the post so as to be hid from observation by an intervening hill, when a party of Kafirs rushed down upon them, speedily killed two of the party, wounded the third, and drove off the cattle. One man succeeded in escaping to the camp, where a party was ordered to follow the

marauders ; the pursuit however, was ineffectual. One hundred head of cattle were carried successfully off, and the plunderers escaped. The bodies of the men killed were found pierced with innumerable assegai wounds, and conveyed into Fort Beaufort ; the wounded man was found lying in a state of insensibility at the bottom of a ravine to which he had fled from his pursuers, and where he had sunk down perfectly exhausted.

From an account, furnished us at the time, of the proceedings of the 2nd division, under Col. Somerset, we make the following extract :—

“ Amatola Mountains, February 3, 1835. Having proceeded some distance, we observed a strong body of the enemy assembled on the summit of a mountain which bounded our view in that direction. On a nearer approach this mountain was found to present a sort of natural bulwark, and was joined by a small low neck of forest country to another range a little in the rear, proceeding to the eastward, and describing a large nook, from whence issue the several springs which form the source of the Buffalo. From this lofty position the enemy continued watching our progress, and he must from thence have had a view also of the whole of the country subject to the simultaneous attack of the several divisions. Suspecting that the enemy might be concealed in the adjacent kloofs, the howitzer was moved to a commanding ridge, and several shots and shells were fired, but without effect. In the meantime several parties were detached to endeavour to bring the enemy to action, but these only succeeded so far as to capture a few cattle. In the afternoon we returned to Pirrie, remained there half an hour, and then continued our march, in thick misty rain, to the camp, which we reached about 9 p.m. excessively hungry and fatigued, having been on horseback nearly eighteen hours.”

During these operations, the 4th division, under Field-commandant Van Wyk, had been extremely active and successful : 2,400 head of cattle had been captured, and several Kafirs killed. A considerable force of the enemy had taken shelter in a kloof, and, in expectation of surrounding them, the 3rd division, under Major Cox, was immediately ordered to move to the same point. In the course of these proceedings Van Wyk was stabbed in the

hand with an assagai, and a farmer severely wounded in the thigh by a musket ball. In spite, however, of the utmost vigilance on our part, the enemy effected his retreat ; and it being probable that he might retire towards the colony, Major Cox was directed to connect his division with that under the Field-commandant at a given point towards the head of the Chusie.

During the night of the 5th April two Kafir spies entered the camp of the 1st and 2nd divisions, but they were detected, and one of them was shot by a sentry of the Mounted Rifles. At day-light on the 6th the camp was broken up, the whole of the troops moving in one column as far as Pirrie ; here the two divisions again separated, the 2nd, under Col. Somerset, moving towards the Buffalo ; the first continuing along the base of the mountains, taking the direction of the Buffalo Poort, an opening in the mountains within seven or eight miles of the sources of the river. The troops bivouacked on its eastern bank. The mountains, which were kept close upon the left hand during the whole of this day's march, are thickly clothed with large trees, and rise to a considerable elevation. The country immediately at the foot of the mountains is perfectly open, and was at that time clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation. The huts were more numerous than during the first day's march, and the patches of Indian corn and millet were more frequent than between the Keiskamma and the Debe. At the distance of seven or eight miles towards the coast the mimosa again appears thinly scattered over the face of the country, but there is no bush visible in that direction capable of affording shelter to marauders. The streamlets from the mountains are numerous, perfectly sweet, clear as crystal ; and the principal bank of the Buffalo, on which the troops encamped, presented a scene which all agreed was particularly beautiful.

On the 7th, three hours before day-break, Col. Smith moved with one company of the 72nd Regt., three companies of the 1st Provisional Battalion, comprising 280 men, and 100 Swellendam burghers, by the back of the lowest ridge of the Buffalo mountains, with the view of intercepting any of the enemy or cattle which might be retiring before the 3rd and 4th divisions, then on their

march higher up the mountains. On arriving at an elevated point he observed, on a distant mountain, a large number of cattle and many Kafirs emerging from the bush ; and to this point he immediately detached the three companies of Provisionals, under the command of Capt. Crause. The range of mountains on which the enemy was posted extends from the Buffalo Poort about nine miles in a northeasterly direction, and is, for the greater part, covered with a dense forest, broken near its edge by occasional green patches of pasturage, and everywhere intercepted with deep ravines, presenting in many places inaccessible precipices ; the mountain ridge being in every respect adapted to the peculiar warfare of the wily Kafir, and for the concealment of the only wealth he possesses—his flocks and herds. The course lay through a deep valley, at the bottom of which the force was divided ; Captain Crause and his company ascending one side of the mountain, which was almost inaccessible, and Captains Cowderoy and Bailie the other. They arrived at the summit, after hard toil, and approached nigh to the entrance of the forest containing the booty. At this instant, on the right of an opening in the forest, a party of Kafirs appeared nearly within shot, when an officer and thirty men were directed to enter the bush on that side, so as to intercept any cattle which the enemy might attempt to drive further into the thicket. In their progress this detachment fell in with the enemy's parties ; some skirmishing took place, in which several Kafirs were killed, and on our side a Sergeant named Cobus fell by a shot fired by the enemy. The remainder of the two companies boldly penetrated the bush, and here, being joined by Capt. Crause, they drove the enemy, who were numerous, before them, and succeeded ultimately in capturing and bringing out 5,000 head of cattle, besides goats, &c.

While these movements were executing on the enemy's flank, the rest of the division had moved up the mountain direct towards the enemy's position, and which was found to be perfectly inaccessible on the side by which they had approached it. Capt. Murray, of the 72nd Regt., advanced with his company to the assault with the utmost gallantry. The enemy showered down assegais and immense stones upon their assailants, and that with such effect as to

repulse them : Capt. Murray and four of his men being severely wounded in the assault (10). Finding this side of the rock so perfectly impregnable, the troops were withdrawn and directed to assault it in a different direction. To do this it was necessary to make a considerable circuit, during which a reinforcement of men arrived from the camp. Still the enemy defended the rock with great determination, frequently cheering, and throwing down large stones and assegais. At this moment the three companies of the Provisionals, with the cattle they had captured, approached the rock by the only accessible point, and finding what was going forward, immediately attacked the enemy with spirit ; about 100 women, and a considerable number of men, rushed forward and endeavoured to escape, but many of the men were killed. The rest kept up a constant but ineffectual fire for some time ; at length their courage failed them, and they fled with precipitation, leaping over the rocks and precipices in every direction. So difficult of access was this rock, even at the point where most accessible, that the assailants were obliged to pull each other up by their muskets. It was defended by the chief Teyolo, son of Dushanie, and nearly 600 of his chosen warriors. Thirty-seven of the enemy were killed and many wounded. In the forest the enemy were headed by the chief Eno in person. The result of this spirited affair was the capture of 4,000 head of cattle and goats innumerable, all of which were driven into the open ground on the side of the mountain, and taken possession of by a force stationed there to receive them. A Hottentot deserter, named Louis Arnoldus, who had served many years in the Cape Regiment, was taken prisoner ; he was surrounded in a cleft of the rock, where he had sought concealment ; and his gun having received a disabling shot on the trigger-guard, he surrendered. He was clad in a Scotch 42nd plaid by way of kaross, and was taken to the camp to be hanged ; but having been in Eno's confidence, his life was spared on his promising to point out the enemy's exact position, and give such other information as might be required of him on future occasions. The gun which this man was provided with was of the largest description of elephant gun, and its loud report marked it to be the same as that distinguished in the affair on the Fish River, as before mentioned.

During the time occupied by these proceedings the enemy had been actively employed in driving the great proportion of his flocks and herds far into the interior of the country ; and he had also made several incursions within the colony, apparently with the object of diverting the attention of the colonial force from penetrating further into the Kafir territory. Accordingly small bodies of Kafirs had shown themselves in various directions, and succeeded in capturing and carrying off several hundred head of cattle. At Mr. Collett's, on the Koonap, where, during the whole of this arduous struggle he had maintained his ground, though, repeatedly threatened and attacked, they succeeded in driving off his cattle and in killing his herdsman, a Hottentot who had distinguished himself by his bravery and fidelity, and who fell while defending his master's property against the attacks of the marauders. At the Kaga the enemy had attacked a party of farmers with great intrepidity, and had carried off upwards of 100 head of cattle ; and even as far within the boundary as Assegai Bush river they had made their appearance, wounded two servants of Mr. W. R. Thompson there, and escaped with sixty head of cattle. Every endeavour was made by Col. England, commanding the first line of defence, to check these inroads, but it was impossible, with every exertion, to guard effectually against these sudden attacks, or to capture the marauders in a country which afforded so many facilities for escape and concealment.

From the Kat River an excellently planned and well executed incursion was made into the enemy's territory by Capt. Armstrong, and a party of the burgher force under his command. Information having reached that officer that the enemy was in some force in the Chumie Hock, he resolved on an immediate attack. Accordingly, on the 10th April he marched from the fort with 100 men of the Kat River burgher force and a small field piece. He gained the brow of the mountain above the Chumie Hock before day-break of the 11th, and as soon as day dawned, and before the cattle were driven out of the kraals into their hiding places and fastnesses adjacent, descended into the plain. The attack was perfectly successful ; the enemy were completely surprised ; and the result was six of them killed, and nearly 800 head of cattle, thirty horses, and many goats

captured. The Kafirs made a faint demonstration to intercept his retreat, but a reserve of men had been posted on a commanding height with the piece of cannon, a few shots from which effectually checked their advance.

On the 17th April, 1838, no communication having been received from Hintza, the troops moved forward and reached the Missionary Institution of Butterworth, where the Mission House and Chapel were found in ruins. The Kafirs had knocked in all the doors and windows, and pulled down the bell and broke it on a stone. On the arrival of the troops, a great many Fingoes visited the camp, among whom were three chiefs, who stated their determination not to remain in the country after the departure of the colonial forces, and that they were resolved to throw off their subjection to Hintza. They offered to place themselves and their followers to the number of 970 men at the disposal of the Governor. The history and condition of these people excited very great interest, and much information having been obtained at the time, and since, on these points, we now place a brief outline of it upon record for the information of the reader. Their appearance, when equipped in their war dresses, is thus described by an officer present:—

“I witnessed this evening a beautiful scene : at a drift we met 47 Fingoes in their complete war equipments, with ornamented head dresses, shields, bundles of assegais, &c., singing in chorus a war song, the most harmonious thing I ever heard. When they came through the drift they held their shields over their heads, so as to cover and protect the whole person from any thing thrown down upon them while crossing it. They first quivered an assagai in their right hand ; then collected in a dense mass ; formed in a line two deep ; then in three divisions ; collected again ; danced ; whistled, from a faint soft strain, until it ended in a roar ; shook their shields and assegais in such a manner that at first it seemed like the wind rustling a few leaves, until it rose to the deafening noise of a storm raging amidst the dense foliage of a large forest.”

An account of a proceeding on the part of Hintza's killing these Fingo people, in express contravention of the treaty just made with him, was immediately forwarded to the Governor by express, and perhaps nothing could have

so keenly aroused his indignation as the contents of this despatch. The very feelings which had actuated Sir Benjamin in deciding upon the important step of rescuing, at their earnest entreaties, this degraded people from their cruel state of bondage, were outraged by this wanton massacre. Throughout this trying war benevolence had been the peculiar trait in all His Excellency's measures, and hence the duplicity of Hintza, which was now conspicuous, his utter faithlessness, and the ferocity of the Kafir character, appeared to burst upon him with resistless effect. Hintza and Bookoo who had now come in were immediately summoned to his presence, and the purport of the express communicated to them. The answer of the chief was characteristic—"Well," said he, "and what then; are they not my dogs?" The scene which ensued is thus described by an eye-witness: "This was beyond all endurance. His Excellency gave immediate orders that Hintza, Kreili, and Bookoo, and all the people with them, amounting to about 150, should be guarded; and told them that he should keep them as hostages for the safety of the Fingoes. He desired them instantly to dispatch messengers to stop the carnage, and said that if this infamous proceeding of their people continued after three hours had elapsed, he would shoot two of their suite for every Fingoe that was killed; adding, that if he found any subterfuge in the message they sent—as he had discovered to be the case in some of their former messages—he would hang Hintza, Kreili, and Bookoo themselves to the tree under which they were sitting.

"The Chiefs saw they were in jeopardy, and in less than ten minutes their most astute messengers were seen scampering off at full speed in different directions, with orders which were evidently given *this time* without subterfuge; for within the limited period it was officially announced by Colonel Somerset that the Kafirs had ceased to attack the Fingoes.

Hintza having accompanied Col. Smith on a pretence to hand over cattle, Godlonton says: On gaining the summit of the mountain from the Kye, Hintza requested, through the interpreter, to know in what position he stood, both as regarded himself and his subjects. The answer of the Colonel was distinct and candid: "Hintza, you have lived

with me now nine days ; you call yourself my son, and you say you are sensible of my kindness ; now I am responsible to my King and to my Governor for your safe-custody. Clearly understand that you have requested that the troops under my command should accompany you to enable you to fulfil the treaty of peace you have entered into. You voluntarily placed yourself in our hands as a hostage ; you are, however, to look upon me as having full power over you, and if you attempt to escape, you will assuredly be shot. I consider my nation at peace with yours, and I shall not molest your subjects ; provided they are peaceable. When they bring in the cattle according to your commands, I shall select the bullocks, and return the cows and calves to them." To this, Hintza replied, "He came out to fulfil his treaty of peace, and with no intention to escape ; and the fact of his son being in our hands was a sufficient guarantee of his sincerity." The Colonel then added, "Very well Hintza, act up to this and I am your friend ; again I tell you, *if you attempt to escape, you will be shot.*"

Notwithstanding these specious professions, the Colonel had his suspicions aroused by the following circumstances : In the afternoon, about four o'clock, the troops reached a streamlet running into the Gona, when one of the Corps of Guides reported that two Kafirs, with five head of cattle, were near the camp, and that Hintza, on the plea of their being afraid to approach, had sent one of his people to bring them in. In place, however, of these Kafirs coming into the camp, they went off, taking with them a horse which had been sent to them by Hintza, and who declined to give any explanation on the subject. The suspicion excited by this circumstance was increased by the evasive answers given to the Colonel's repeated inquiry as to the point on which he desired the troops to move. On this subject nothing more could be elicited than "we are going right."

Early the next morning the troops were in motion, passed the Guadana hills, and bivouacked on the Guanga late in the afternoon. Here Hintza was again requested by the Colonel to state explicitly where he wished them to proceed. On this occasion he was much more communicative than before, and desired that they would march

towards the mouth of the Bashee, by a route which he would point out ; and he further requested that they would move at midnight. This request was the more readily acceded to, it being evident that all the cattle from the kraals in the neighbourhood had been driven in the direction pointed out. Accordingly at twelve o'clock the troops resumed their march, and continued to move forward until eight o'clock in the morning. At this time the spoor of numerous cattle driven in that direction was quite recent ; but as the men had been marching for eight hours, it was necessary for them to halt and take some refreshment.

At breakfast the chief appeared particularly uneasy ; he evidently felt disappointed at the vigilance with which all his actions had been watched, and he observed peevishly,—“What have the cattle done that you want them ? or why must I see my subjects deprived of them ?” Colonel Smith observed in reply to him that he need not ask those questions ; he well knew the outrages committed on the colony by his people, and that it was in redress of those wrongs the cattle were demanded. At ten o'clock the troops were again on the march. At this time Hintza appeared in high spirits, observing rather sarcastically—“You see how my subjects treat me, they drive their cattle from me in spite of me.” “Hintza,” replied the Colonel, “I do not want your subjects' cattle ; I am sent for the *colonial* cattle which have been stolen, and which I will have.” “Then,” said the chief. “allow me to send Umtini, my principal counsellor, forward to tell my people I am here, that they must not drive away their cattle, and that the cattle of your nation will be alone selected.” This proposal was immediately agreed to, it appearing to hold out a chance of success ; although it was quite evident that Hintza was meditating some mischief, and that the utmost caution was imperatively necessary. On the departure of Umtini, he was particularly enjoined to return that night, and which was faithfully promised. He quitted the camp at full speed, accompanied by one of Hintza's attendants, the chief exclaiming in high spirits,—“Now you need not go to the Bashee, you will have more cattle than you can drive on the Xabecca !”

On the approach of the troops to this stream, it was found that the great spoor of the cattle branched off in two directions ; one track going to the left, up a high mountain ; the other to the right, up a very high, abrupt, steep, and wooded hill upon the banks of the Xabecca, below which its bed is rugged, precipitous, and covered with brushwood. Hintza here said they must follow the track to the right, the cattle up the mountain being lost to them.

It had been remarked that this day Hintza rode a remarkably strong horse, and which he appeared particularly anxious to spare from fatigue, leading him up every ascent. The path they were now in up the hill from the bed of the Xabecca was merely a narrow cattle track, winding up the hill side, through the tangled brushwood, and occasionally passing between a cleft in the rock. Up this steep ascent the troops were leading their horses ; Col. Smith, who was at the head of the column, being the only person mounted : behind him came Hintza and his followers leading their horses, the Corps of Guides following in the same order. On arriving near the summit of the hill, Hintza and his attendants silently mounted and rode quickly up to the Colonel, whom they passed on one side through the bushes. The Guides observing this immediately called out to the Colonel, who instantly exclaimed,—“Hintza, stop !” At this moment the chief, having moved on one side of the beaten track, found himself entangled by the thicket, with no other resource but to descend into the only path by which it could be cleared. The Colonel on the first alarm had drawn a pistol, on observing which the chief smiled with so much apparent ingenuousness, that the Colonel felt regret at his suspicions, and he permitted the chief to move on in front of him, preceded by three of the Guides, who mounted and pushed forward on witnessing the suspicious circumstances above detailed. On reaching the top of this steep ascent the country was perfectly open, with a considerable tongue of land running parallel with the rugged bed of the Xabecca, gradually descending for about two miles, and terminating at a bend of the river, where were several Kafir huts. On reaching this tongue of land, the Colonel had turned round to view the troops in the rear toiling

up the steep ascent, when the Chief instantly set off at full speed, passing the guides in front, towards the huts in the distance.

The guides (*viz* : Messrs. G. and W. Southey, and W. Shaw) uttering an exclamation of alarm, pursued, but without the most distant hope of overtaking the fugitive. Col. Smith was, however, better mounted, and spurring his horse with violence, he succeeded, after a smart run, and with the most desperate exertion, in overtaking him—he called to him to stop ; but he only urged his horse to greater exertion, stabbing at the Colonel with his assegais. The Colonel drew a pistol, but it snapped—a second was used with the like ill success. The pursuit was continued for some distance further,—the troops following in the rear as they best could. At length the Colonel, by a desperate effort, again reached the Chief and struck him with the butt-end of his pistol, which he then dropped. The Chief smiled in derision. The second pistol was hurled at him, striking him again on the back part of the head ; but with no other effect than causing him to redouble his efforts to escape. They were now within about half a mile of the Kafir huts. The Colonel had no weapons whatever, while the Chief was armed with assegais,—the case was desperate, and there was not a moment for reflection. Urging, therefore, his horse to its utmost energy, the Colonel again got within reach of the athletic Chieftain, and seizing him by the collar of the kaross or cloak by a violent effort he hurled him to the ground. At this moment their horses were at their utmost speed ; and on Hintza being thrown, the Colonel's horse refused to obey the rein, carrying his rider forward in spite of every endeavour to stop him. The Chief, though thrown heavily, was instantly on his feet, and drawing an assagei, threw it after his assailant with so much steadiness and accuracy that it only missed him by a few inches ; he then instantly turned off at a right angle, and fled down the steep bank of the Xabecca. The momentary delay caused by the incidents detailed enabled the foremost of the guides to approach to within gunshot distance ; and their leader, Mr. G. Southey, instantly called out to the Chief in the Kafir tongue to stop ; no heed was given to this, and he fired, wounding him in the left leg. Hintza fell, but in an instant regained his feet, and

continued his flight swiftly down the hill. Southey discharged his second barrel, and the Chief again pitched forward ; but once more recovered himself, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the cover of the thicket which lines the banks of the river. Southey and Lieut. Balfour followed, leaping down the shelving bank ; the former keeping up, the latter down, the stream. They had thus proceeded in opposite directions for some distance, when Southey was suddenly startled by an assegai striking the stone or cliff on which he was climbing ; turning quickly round at the noise, he perceived a Kafir, his head and an uplifted assegai being only visible, so near him that it was only by his recoil that he had room for the length of his gun. At the impulse of the moment he raised his piece and fired ; and Hintza, the Paramount Chief of Kafirland, ceased to live. The upper part of the scalp had been completely shattered and carried away by the discharge. Southey hastily divested the body of a brass girdle, and snatching up the bundle of assagais, which the Chief had retained during the whole of this arduous struggle, quitted the spot and rejoined the troops, reporting the occurrences to the officer commanding.*

On receiving this information, Lieut. Poulestone, 75th Regt., was directed by Col. Smith to proceed with a party of men to the fatal spot in the ravine where the chief had fallen, and to convey the corpse from thence to the Kafir huts which we have before mentioned. This duty was punctually performed. The body was found by this officer lying in the situation pointed out ; and being carefully wrapped in the chief's cloak or kaross, was borne out of the thicket by the men, and deposited near the huts stated, in view of numerous Kafirs, who were observing the proceedings from the surrounding heights.

From a *post mortem* examination of the body, taken by Assistant Surgeon Ford, 75th Regt., soon after it had been deposited by Lieut. Poulestone, the following appearances were observed :—The top of the head was completely shattered, and the brains gone ; there was a laceration on

* The whole of the above details are given, nearly in the very terms of the official report made by Col. Smith at the time, and from a statement published by Mr. G. Southey.

the chin, and a fracture of the lower jaw ; a ball had entered the back part of the left side, and another wound in the calf of one leg.

Nothing perhaps can be considered more untoward or more to be deplored than all the circumstances connected with the death of this chief ; who never ought for one moment to have been trusted. Perfidy was the distinguishing mark of his character ; and his intention in proposing the expedition evidently was, not to fulfil his treaty, as he proposed, but to lead Col. Smith into the midst of danger, and if possible sacrifice him to his revenge and disappointment. This aim was defeated by the description and strength of the force employed, and by the extreme caution with which the expedition was conducted ; and hence the chief had recourse to every subterfuge to get the cattle out of reach, and when he had accomplished this, to escape himself. In this attempt he fell, and that with a credit which by no means comports with the baseness of his character, and the inglorious career which had marked his conduct through life.

A considerable number of cattle had been seen passing over the mountains in the direction of the Umtata, and in pursuit of these Col. Smith started at 3 o'clock the next morning, leaving his least effective men, jaded horses, and captured cattle in charge of Captain Ross, of the Mounted Rifles. It was here, during the Colonel's absence, that the lamented and gallant Mr. T. C. White, Major of the Graham's Town Volunteers, and Acting Dep. Qr.-Mr.-General to the burgher force, met his death by the hand of the barbarians. This public-spirited officer had been actively employed during the whole period of the campaign in making an accurate topographical survey of the Kafir territory, and in prosecution of this his favourite object he had ascended an eminence near the encampment for the purpose of sketching the surrounding country. Four men of the Cape Corps, had been ordered to accompany him, and these were posted at different points of the hill to guard against surprise. In spite, however, of this precaution, the wily Kafirs, crouching stealthily in the long grass, succeeded in approaching the spot unobserved, and suddenly springing upon the Major and the Corporal,

despatched them with their assegais before the other men could afford them the slightest assistance, or even apprise them of their danger. On the first alarm a party proceeded from the camp to the spot, where the body of the Major was lying pierced with many wounds on the head, loins, and back. His remains received a soldier's grave, dug under the shade of a bush with no other implements than the bayonets of his companions.

There can be no doubt but the death of this distinguished man must be viewed as retaliation for the death of Hintza. His deportment and his attendants marked him as a person of consideration, and his death was resolved on as a sacrifice to the manes of the departed chief. The death of this officer has been justly considered as a public loss. He was no ordinary man. To talents of a high order he possessed the nicest sense of honour, perfect independency of mind, and inflexible integrity. With an intellect of uncommon grasp, he displayed on all occasions an indomitable spirit, which no opposition could subdue, no difficulties discourage. As a practical farmer, and as the grand promoter of every undertaking which could add to the comfort of the inhabitants, and promote their general prosperity, the eastern province of this colony has lost in him one of its most valuable members.

Mr. Collett, of the Koonap, describes the next important event, which occurred on May the 19th, 1835.—About half-past 6 on the evening of Wednesday, the 13th, says he, and just before the moon rose, one of my people ran in to inform me a body of Kafirs were coming on. I immediately took up my gun, and ran towards the kraal, (not anticipating an attack on my house,) but not finding them there, I collected my people, whose apartments are at some distance from my own, and flew immediately back to my own dwelling, in which the Kafirs had by this time entered; but it would appear that three of the Kafirs, who remained outside at one of my windows, informed those within of our approach. Those rushed out, and ran instantly off. I, however, took the precaution to divide my people; so that whichever door they came out of, we might be ready to receive them: on approaching the front of my house, they came out from the kitchen, just as my men were coming up, and who immediately fired four

charges of heavy shot among them ; although not one of them was shot dead. We then pursued them into a small enclosure ; but the moon not being quite up, we could not well see them under the fence ; but as they were heard to say when in the house, they came to put us to death, we challenged them in their own tongue to come on, which they, however, declined, and ran off with inconceivable swiftness across the enclosed field. On returning to the house, I found, to my inexpressible grief, they had severely stabbed Mrs. Jacob Trollip in the right side, who with her husband were living with me, wounding also her infant, which she held in her arms, slightly in the leg. On examination I soon perceived Mrs. Trollip's wound was of a serious nature, and at day-break in the morning I sent to Beaufort for medical assistance. I bled her meantime myself, but it soon became evident her recovery was hopeless, the assegai having pierced nearly through her body. She expired the following day about one o'clock p.m., and before any medical aid could be procured, leaving her husband and one child about fourteen months old to lament her loss.

The following night the Kafirs again attacked my kraal, and in spite of every effort, got off with sixteen oxen and cows, so that I have now been compelled to send away my remaining track-oxen, although requiring them for immediate use, and also the one cow which we had in milk ; nor have I now a single beast on my farm."

About the time of the above fatal occurrence, two young men, named Chipperfield and Bentley, were proceeding towards the Nottingham party, when they were way-laid and murdered. Not making their appearance, a party of volunteers was sent in search of them, and the body of Bentley was found pierced with numerous assegai wounds. The remains of the other was not found until a considerable time afterwards. Another youth named Jubber, was sent out at Bathurst in search of horses, and when only a few yards from the village, over the brow of the hill on its eastern side, he was assegaied. The corpse was found the following day full of wounds.

Perhaps, however, the best idea of the state of the country may be formed by the perusal of an account,

written by Mr. M. Bowker and published at the time, to the following effect :—

About the 18th of this month the Kafirs carried off four of our best horses and three spans of good oxen. A few days after they attacked Philip Hobb's place (about three miles S.E. of Bathurst), threw an assegai at his wife's head, which cut through part of her cap, and carried off his cattle. On the 23rd, as two of my sons were returning in the evening from their duty of inspecting the captured cattle in this quarter, they observed the spoor of seven Kafirs on the sand before them, at the mouth of the Kleinemond, whom they presently perceived ascending an adjacent hill, where they sat down. My two sons rode up to them, and they ran down the hill, and just before they got into the bush, one of them fired a long shot, which was returned by the marauders, who then plunged into the bush. We gave notice of this to our only two neighbours, Williams and G. Smith; the former immediately set off for Bathurst, and the latter came with his family, people, and cattle under our protection, and we all removed to my son Miles's place, with our cattle and sheep, as less encumbered by bush, and where we could better protect them. The second day after our removal the Kafirs, to the number of twenty-five or thirty men, attacked us at half past six o'clock, being Sunday evening. About half of them had got over the rail of the cattle kraal, when one was shot by a spring gun placed at the kraal gate; and though he had a broken thigh, and was wholly unable to move, he threw his assegais at every body that approached him, and called out to his comrades not to mind, as there were few to contend with. The Kafirs, however, made off, and were fired at from one side of the kraal by my four sons, and from the other by six of our black people and two boys, all of whom behaved well, with considerable effect, being very near. One Kafir was observed, during the firing, creeping on his hands and knees to the nearest kloof with a broken leg. The Kafirs that had got into the kraal, finding themselves so warmly assailed, poured out, throwing their assegais on every side, wounding two of the black people. My sons had very narrow escapes, the assegais passing them close in every direction, whilst they

were firing with good effect ; so that the whole were driven off without getting a single head of cattle, though several broke out during the affray. The first that was shot was naked, and another must have gone off in a sad plight, as a kaross was taken up at a distance covered with blood, and many were severely wounded. In the morning my sons, following their spoor, found they had separated, and gone off in four different parties. They had previously attacked the three separate divisions of captured cattle in small parties, and been repulsed, without driving off any of them. My sons again this morning, on going on their inspection, met the principal officer coming to report that they had been again attacked with some success on the part of the Kafirs, who had got off with some cattle. All this, and official orders being issued that all were to repair to close protection, have induced us most reluctantly to take refuge at Bathurst, but which we purpose leaving again as soon as possible.

The following account from the published proceedings of the day will give a good idea of the nature of the struggle maintained at this period, June, 1835, within the New Province :

“At 2 o'clock on the morning of 18th June, Lieuts. Bailie and Biddulph, with thirty of the Provisional Battalion each, were directed to march again to penetrate the deep recesses of the ravines, near the Line Drift road over the Keiskamma and the woody heights of the Umdezzeni, extending towards the *poorts* of the Buffalo, and to return to King William's Town. On this day five Kafirs were killed, many wounded ; one gun and many assegais taken ; four horses, thirty-five head of cattle, and great number of goats. The Kafirs appeared so numerous that Lieut. Bailie, conceiving it advisable to penetrate the woody kloofs of the Umdezzeni with a more efficient force, detached Lieut. Biddulph to head-quarters for a reinforcement. Col. Smith immediately directed Capts. Craven, of the 1st, and Rawstorne, of the 2nd, to march at 2 o'clock, when the moon was up, Lieut. Biddulph proceeding as the guide. In two days' operations, most judiciously and spiritedly conducted by these officers and their soldiers, the Kafirs had twelve killed and many wounded ; two guns, and many assegais were taken ; together with eleven horses,

forty-five head of cattle, and upwards of 1,000 goats ; a great quantity of corn was also destroyed. Our loss was one lieutenant, 1st Provisional Battalion, slightly wounded in the hand, and one Fingo shot through the thigh. The Fingoes behaved well, and several had bullets through their karosses. On the 18th Lieut. Biddulph's party had a very severe skirmish with the enemy, who were well armed. On the arrival of Lieut. Biddulph, orders were sent to Capt. Jarvis to detach Lieuts. Sutton and Granet, ten mounted and 50 dismounted men, to act in the rear of the heights of the Umdezzeneni, and to cut off any fugitives which might be driven over the Deba flats. This patrol, as was anticipated, fell in with the enemy, killed three, took many assagais, wounded several, and brought out of the dense bush twenty head of cattle, many goats, one Hottentot man, four women (one the wife of the celebrated Baba, captain of the Kafir-Hottentot company) and sixteen children ; the Hottentot states that Eno's white son was in the party attacked ; that the Kafirs are reduced to great extremity for want of provisions ; and harrassed and distressed beyond measure.

"The same day a patrol of twenty men, with Lieuts. Kelso and Puleston, succeeded in taking from T'Slambie's people, near the Kye, 157 oxen (fifty of their own cattle and the rest colonial) and four horses. The enemy were daring and numerous, attempting to retake the cattle, in which attempt several were wounded ; ten were armed with guns ; but as they never fired a shot, it is presumed their ammunition had been expended. Seven hundred head of captured cattle have this day arrived at the district head-quarters from Fort Warden and Wellington ; and 1,400 head of captured cattle marched yesterday for Tambookie Vlei (Kat River Settlement).

"On the 25th June, Lieuts. Baillie and Biddulph, 1st Provisional Battalion, with thirty men each, again marched for the woods of the Umdezzeneni. Lieut. Biddulph has, however, since returned to King William's Town ; but Lieut. Baillie is still out ; his firing was heard this day near the Tabendoda Mountains."

This gallant young officer never had the good fortune to return. For some considerable time his fate, and that of the men with him, was enveloped in considerable mystery.

It appeared improbable that the whole party should be cut off, and not even one escape to tell the fate of his companions ; equally unlikely did it appear that the enemy, if he were so successful as to destroy the whole, would not vaunt of the exploit, and be encouraged to make his sallies from his fastnesses in the mountains with greater audacity. Subsequent events, however, sufficiently cleared up all the circumstances of this fatal occurrence, and which were as follows :—

The whole of this detachment marched from headquarters at four o'clock P.M. of the 25th June, and on approaching the kloofs, Lieut. Baillie directed Lieut. Biddulph to march upon them, to bivouac for the night, and penetrate them at daylight ; whilst he (Lieut. Baillie) would march by the Tabendoda mountains, enter the bush there, and intercept any of the enemy who might fly from the Umdezzeni in his direction : both to concentrate the following day under the Tabendoda mountains, from whence they were to return to the camp together. Whilst at the place of rendezvous, early on the evening of the 26th June, eleven shots were distinctly heard by Lieut. Biddulph's party in the direction of the thorny wooded country which skirts the base of the Tabendoda hill. This was answered by five guns, as agreed upon for the signal. To the surprise of Lieut. Biddulph the party did not join him that evening. The next morning they again heard firing in the direction of a ridge which divides the streams that fall into the Keiskamma on one side, and into the Buffalo on the other. During the whole of this day the firing was heard at short intervals, and Lieut. Biddulph waited for some time, expecting Lieut. Baillie to join him. Finally, two scattered volleys were heard, and no report afterwards. Lieut. Biddulph having waited the time they were ordered to continue out, then marched to headquarters, and reported his proceedings to the Commanding Officer.

It appears that Lieut. Baillie, on separating from this officer, soon entered the woody country which surrounds the Tabendoda. Here he was observed by the enemy, who was in great force in that immediate neighbourhood. On the afternoon of the 26th June, the Kafirs gave him “a fresh spoor ;” or, in other words, they walked before him

for the purpose of leading him into a difficult and rugged part of the mountains, where they had assembled in great numbers with the intention of attacking him. In the ardour of his pursuit he crossed the Tabendoda, and descended the valley of the Keiskamma ; coming so close upon the enemy by the evening as to wound some of them. After the close of the day, he commenced his retreat towards the place appointed for rendezvous ; but was unable to reach it, and slept on the top of a ridge, sheltered by the ruins of a dwelling, in which a trader named Kent, on the breaking out of the war, was barbarously murdered. At dawn of the following day, the Kafirs attacked the little party with great impetuosity, killing one man ; but were repulsed with determined bravery and with considerable loss. The chiefs, however, succeeded in rallying their followers, and in again leading them on to the attack. During this time Lieut. Baillie and his men were endeavouring to force their way through the wooded broken country down the face of the mountains, direct for the camp. At every step they were fiercely assailed by the barbarian foe ; who, however, paid dearly for his temerity. On reaching the base of the mountain, seven of this gallant little band had fallen by the assagai of the enemy.

Still the remainder made progress, and a part of them at least, would, there is every reason to believe, have escaped, having nearly reached the open country ; but on reaching the valley of the Maleendee (about two miles south of the Missionary Institution of Perrie), the enemy received a considerable reinforcement. This enabled them completely to surround their victims, and at the moment they were in the act of crossing a small stream, called the Umxesha, a large body of the enemy sprang up from the long grass in which they had concealed themselves, and made a desperate rush upon them. This was met by two volleys. But being at the moment compelled, from the nature of the ground, to separate into two parties, the whole, with the exception of their gallant officer, fell, pierced with innumerable wounds. He did not fire with his men on their making their final effort, but sprang into a small thicket near the spot, where with matchless heroism he met his fate. Three of the enemy rushed upon him, two of whom were shot dead by a discharge from both barrels of his gun. One of these was

a chief named Tchalecsay ; but he then, having no further means of defence, was instantly overpowered and slain.*

The fate of Lieut. Baillie was not only deplored by his brother officers and by the men with whom he served, but by all who knew him. The high esteem in which he was held by the Commander of the Province may be gathered from the following extract from a "District Order" published on the occasion. Although his death had been then fully ascertained ; the particulars we have narrated above were not known for some time afterwards, and which will account for the phraseology made use of.

"Lieut. Baillie was an officer of the most cautious, though enterprising character, bold and undaunted, discreet and judicious, possessing every qualification to render him hereafter one of the brightest ornaments of his profession ; he had more experience in this desultory warfare than almost any other officer ; had frequently distinguished himself in his rencontres with the enemy ; and such was the unlimited confidence placed in him by the officer commanding the Province, and whatever was the number of men given him to command, complete success was anticipated. Some disaster of no ordinary cast, over which human foresight has no control, must have occurred to this officer and his gallant band ; and whatever it may have been, most assuredly he fell as he had lived—a soldier and a CHRISTIAN : affording a bright example of both.

On the 4th and 5th July, very extensive operations were directed by Col. Smith from the mouth of the Kye to the mouth of the Kahoon. These movements were not made without considerable resistance ; and in one instance, a detachment of the Colonial force had a most narrow escape from being cut off by the enemy. This party, under the command of Capt. Ross, of the Mounted Rifle Corps, having entered the Gonube bush, suddenly found themselves in the presence of a very superior force of the enemy, who attacked them furiously. At the very first

*The spot was subsequently visited by the father of this gallant and amiable young man, who collected the remains of the brave men who fell, and consigned them to one common grave on the spot, which is now marked by a heap of stones. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers was present on the occasion, and offered up, with the little party who had assembled, a most impressive prayer.

onset, Capt. Ross's horse was wounded under him, and several others belonging to his men captured. The defence, however, was no less determined than the attack ; a steady, well directed fire was kept up, which being heard by other parties in the same neighbourhood, reinforcements arrived just as Capt. Ross, hard pressed by the enemy, had made good his retreat to the edge of the bush. With this addition to his force, the enemy was attacked in turn, and with so much success that six horses were re-captured, and a considerable number of cattle taken. In this affair, two of the colonial force were wounded, whilst many of the enemy were slain.

Towards the end of July, 1835, the following fatal occurrence happened on the coast, about 100 miles further to the eastward.

The *James*, a small coaster, newly-built in Table Bay, sailed thence on the 9th July, on a coasting voyage. On the 19th they lay to off the Kowie, and a boat was sent on shore for wood and water ; but finding the village abandoned, they returned on board without either. The next day they hove to abreast of Red Hill River, and the boat was again sent ashore for a similar purpose. While engaged in procuring a supply, a party of about fifty Kafirs came suddenly out of the bush, but seemed at first very friendly, shaking hands, and showing other demonstrations of kindness. The head of the party, however, an old man with very white hair, seeing some arms in the boat, proceeded to seize them, and immediately a scene of disorder commenced. The master, uttering an exclamation of alarm, jumped into the boat ; but instead of being followed by the others, they fled along the beach. One of them, the steward, being soon exhausted, was overtaken and dispatched it is supposed by the savages, a fate which also happened to the master, who was seen by the survivors lying on the beach, his body pierced by the assegais of the barbarians. The two men who escaped swam the river, keeping along the coast until abreast of the schooner, when they plunged into the surf and succeeded in gaining the vessel, which shortly afterwards returned to Table Bay with the intelligence of the disaster.

During the time of these occurrences, the enemy was

pursuing his plan of operations with varied success. On several occasions he suffered severely for his temerity ; but still the troops and the inhabitants were greatly harrassed, and in several instances sustained considerable loss. Some stragglers from the army, and in one instance a foraging party of seven young men, were cut off, and this so far emboldened the enemy as to tempt him to attack one of the newly established posts, named Fort Wellington. The assault was made with great spirit, but it was met with no less determination, and with much greater success, the enemy being repulsed with the loss of several of his bravest men.

Within the colony they were more successful. At Blue Kraans, 14 miles S. of town, an attack was made on the cattle herds of Mr. Carlisle. They had just been kraaled for the night, and the herdsmen were seated on the ground, when they were fired on by the marauders, and one of them killed on the spot. A party of the enemy then rushed forward, and wounded another man with their assagais. The cattle to the amount of 200 head were surrounded and driven off, first taking the precaution to post men in the public roads to prevent, if possible, the transmission to town of the intelligence. The men, however, who escaped, contrived, by taking bye paths and scrambling on the rocks, to reach their master's dwelling with the report of the disaster.

But not only was the enemy particularly active, by means of numerous marauding parties, in making sudden incursions upon the colonists, but he also displayed considerable activity in his movements within the New Province,—plainly showing that the British forces would have much more work to perform, in fully subduing him, than had been calculated upon. On the night of the 5th August, a body of about 200 vigorously attacked the Fingo location near King William's Town. Two of these people were killed in their huts at the first onset, and a third severely wounded. The Fingoes, however, turned out in a moment, and the fight was furious on both sides. The shouts and yells of the combatants being heard by Col. Smith, a company of the Provisional Battalion, under Capt. Baillie, was ordered out to their support : whilst a nine-pounder was fired amongst the assailants, which, if

it had no other effect, inspired the Fingoes with confidence, and they attacked the Kafirs with so much bravery that they at length succeeded in driving them over the ford of the Buffalo. Here, however, they again rallied, and disputed the passage ; but on the approach of Capt. Baillie they precipitately fled,—leaving 14 of their warriors dead on the field, amongst whom was a son of the chief Dushanie.

The next evening a strong patrol, under Capt. Baillie, marched to scour the ravines of the Keiskamma at the Tamegha, and from thence through the Umdezzini, to which point Capt. Jervis, with another detachment, moved on the 8th to co-operate. These parties not falling in with the enemy, as was expected, they returned to head-quarters, which they had scarcely reached when reports arrived that the enemy had attacked the Fingoes in the ceded territory, and with so much success as to capture all their cattle.

“ Perhaps in no one week, since the commencement of hostilities—if we except a few of the first days of July—has there been more depredations committed by the Kafirs than within the last seven days. They appear to have spread themselves out in small parties from the sea nearly to the Winterberg, and have, with various success, carried off a considerable number of cattle from the frontier farmers. One herd was carried off from Eland’s Kloof, a farm situated within three miles of Graham’s Town. On Manley’s Flat, about ten miles south of the town, the enemy succeeded in capturing and carrying off about 400 head of cattle ; but being speedily followed by a patrol of the Graham’s Town Mounted Volunteers, guided by Messrs. Driver and Manley, the owners of the stolen cattle succeeded in overtaking a part of them in the Kooms bush, near the residence of the unfortunate Mahoney, and in retaking about seventy-five head. In this thicket they fell in with another patrol of the Provisional Corps from Waai Plaats, which, having observed the spoor of the enemy, had followed on it until they came up with a few horses and cattle, also driven by the marauders, two of whom were killed in the rencontre which ensued, and the cattle and horses were re-captured. The Kowie Bush, up to within four or five miles of Graham’s Town, is supposed,

from the foot-marks, to be infested by the enemy in scattered parties ; and although several patrols have been out in quest of them, yet they have succeeded in eluding their utmost vigilance. In the upper part of the district the enemy have been less fortunate. A party of them having captured some horses from the Koonap, were followed so successfully by a few farmers that at length, after a most intricate pursuit, during which the Kafirs had made an abrupt double and returned into the colony, they were overtaken near De Bruin's Poort, and four of them shot dead in the affray which followed ; a fifth was severely wounded."

At this very period, while negotiations were going on, hostilities, on the part of the Kafirs, were carried on with as much activity and fury as had been experienced since their commencement. Amongst other exploits, they succeeded in capturing near 200 head of cattle belonging to the Government contractor, on the way from Cradock to the Kat River Settlement. Emboldened by this success, they made a similar attempt on a second herd proceeding to the same place. The situation selected for this enterprise was in a most favorable situation, called Bush Neck, an acclivitous bushy defile near the Winterberg ; but they were nevertheless repulsed after a smart skirmish, with the loss of four killed and several wounded. In the same neighbourhood they fired and consumed two stacks of corn, which had been saved at great risk and labour by a farmer named Klopper, murdered three or four herdsmen in the field, and swept off several small herds of cattle and many horses. Below Bathurst they again attacked the kraal of Mr. Bowker. The marauders had entered the enclosure, and were in the act of forcing open the gate, when a spring gun, which was attached to it, was discharged, wounding one man mortally, and alarming the others so much that they instantly fled. From Lieut. Griffith's, near Graham's Town, a flock of about 1,000 Merino sheep were carried off, but being quickly pursued, the great part was retaken in the bushy country near De Bruin's Poort.

In the course of these proceedings a large body of marauders had been traced to an intricate rocky defile near the mouth of the Guanga, a small stream of the ceded territory. The Field-commandant, P. Uys, being stationed in that

neighbourhood, immediately proceeded to the spot at the head of a party of farmers, guided by the petty chief Tzatzoe, On reaching the edge of the rocky kloof where the enemy had taken up his position, Tzatzoe and Uys descended its sides until within sight and hearing of the Kafirs, to whom they called out requesting them to lay down their arms and surrender. The reply to this demand was that they were men, and were resolved to fight ; and in the next instant they commenced a furious attack upon the farmers, many of them breaking their assegais short for the convenience of stabbing at close quarters. The farmers, however, by a steady, well-directed fire, succeeded in repelling the advance of the enemy, who was ultimately compelled to fly to the bushy ravines for shelter, leaving eighteen of their number dead on the field.

On the afternoon of the 17th September, the very day on which the treaty of peace was finally ratified at Fort Wilshire, a party of the enemy, computed at forty strong, suddenly poured down from the woody heights above Grobbelaar's Kloof about ten miles S.E. of Graham's Town, and succeeded in carrying off 200 cattle belonging to several English settlers, who had formed themselves into a party for mutual protection. At the time of their capture there were no less than seven herdsmen, some armed with guns and others with assegais, in the field with them : one of these was severely wounded. Pursuit was instantly made by the persons on the spot, but night coming on, they were compelled to desist without overtaking the marauders. The next day the pursuit was resumed, and at night, whilst most of the men were thus employed, the enemy made a most furious attack upon the kraals in which were contained the remainder of the cattle, and that with so much success as to capture them, killing two Fingo herdsmen before the door. So audacious were these marauders that they even knocked out the windows and doors of the farm-house, calling upon the inmates to come out ; who were, however, too few in number to think of resistance, except obliged to make it in self-defence. Some of these cattle were afterwards captured by a party which followed in pursuit, between whom and the enemy were some skirmishing, in which two or three of the latter were shot.

His Excellency the Governor, however, being satisfied, at the expiration of the three days allowed them, that the chiefs had used their best endeavours to repress the incursions of their dependants, proceeded finally to ratify the Treaties of Peace with them, as had been agreed upon.

Peace was then granted to the Kafir family of GAIKA, and its Connexions and Dependants, in the name of the King of England, by His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

The above tribe, and its different branches and connexions, being therein personally represented by

MACOMO,	{	For themselves,
TYALI, and		
ENO,		
KUSIA (son of GUANYA) for SUTA, and her son		
SANDILI,		
FADANI, for BOTMA.		

“And the Governor then appointed a commission consisting of

1. The Hon. Colonel Smith, C. B., Chief Commissioner,
2. Lieut.-Colonel England, 75th Regiment,
3. The Rev. W. Chalmers, Glasgow Mission, and
4. Captain Stretch, Provisional Companies, 75th Regiment,

for the location, establishment, and regulation of the aforesaid chiefs.

Thus, after a most harassing and destructive warfare during the long period of nine months was this painful contest brought to a close. Painful indeed was it in a variety of ways ; whether it be considered in reference to the loss of human life,—the waste of property,—the heavy expenditure,—the suspension to a considerable extent of the ordinary pursuits of the inhabitants, or in that humiliating spectacle which was presented in the busy efforts of a faction to support the pretensions of a murderous and unprincipled foe, in opposition to the sacred cause of those connected with them by the ties of blood and of country. Refer to the partial and false statements which have been

published and sent abroad to the world for no other purpose than to excite its hostility against the suffering colonists, and in these it will be found that the relative characters of the Kafirs and Colonists have been shamefully misrepresented. Invariably have the former been depicted as an oppressed people ; while the plundered Colonists have been held up in a light which, if true, would render them undeserving of the smallest sympathy. Even during the progress of this arduous struggle for their very existence have their proceedings been perverted, and the most pertinacious endeavours made use of to blind the eyes of the public to their actual situation, and to the real merits of the warfare in which they were so suddenly plunged. The most unfounded statements have been transmitted home,—published in the leading periodicals of the day, and widely circulated to their great prejudice throughout the British Empire. Not that we contend, for a moment, that there was nothing to blame or deplore throughout this trying period ; on the contrary, we believe some few acts were committed, as in all cases of this nature, which are deserving of the severest reprehension. The principal of these, and to which the public attention has been since especially directed, was the treatment of Hintza's body after his death. We refer to the fact of some person or persons having been weak or wicked enough to separate from the shattered head the ears of the fallen chief, with the absurd intention of preserving them as relics of a man so notorious in border history. Whilst, however, we express our abhorrence of such an instance of barbarism, we are bound, at the same time, strenuously to contend that no warfare ever was conducted in all its details with more forbearance and humanity than this ;—in short, we cannot conclude more appropriately than in the words of the benevolent Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, that it was a war of necessity, and not of choice ; and waged—if ever war were waged—"PRO ARIS ET FOCIS."

With this grave rebuke to the Dr. Philip & Co's. faction the veteran Godlonton concludes his account of the 1835 war. He, with others, evidently seemed to think that this said faction were wont to dance a metaphorical fandango with demoniacal delight over the graves of the unfortunate Colonists.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE KAFIR WAR OF 1834—35.

I NOW beg to submit two further accounts of this important war. It may be said that more accounts are unnecessary, but I would venture to point out, as aforesaid, that out of the mouths of many councillors (or witnesses) there is wisdom. Besides, separate relations by different witnesses and combatants are always interesting, as different writers put their stories from different points of view, and one of them, or the other, brings out many interesting details passed over by brother writers. I now therefore beg permission to give the "Personal Reminiscences" of this war by the late Caesar Andrews, Esq., Secretary to the burgher forces under the then Colonel Smith, the hero of Aliwal. The Secretary says* :—

At the close of the year 1834, the first intimation of hostilities on the part of the Kafirs was an account of the murder by Kafirs of Mr. Mahony and his son-in-law, Mr. Henderson, near what was known as the Clay Pits, where the Kafirs were supplied with red clay, which may be termed their war paint. Two of Mr. Henderson's children were in the wagon at the time of the murder, but were brought into Graham's Town by a Kafir servant who witnessed the destruction of Mr. Mahony and his master. After this event daily accounts of Kafir aggression, burnings of houses, murders and pillage continued to be received at Port Elizabeth.

Commandant Evatt and the officer (Capt. Brabazon) at that time stationed in Port Elizabeth in command of the regular troops, enrolled the inhabitants for defence, and they were drilled under civilian officers. Captain

* This interesting account is kindly sent to the author by a gentleman whose signature he is unable to decipher. Should these lines catch the donor's eye, it is to be hoped he will accept the thanks intended to be conveyed by them.

Giles Sandford was my captain. I did duty *one* night in the stone building, then known as the barrack, near Fort Frederick. What I saw there that one night had better not be mentioned. What I suffered and felt of insect life I may not venture to write about. A state of feverish unrest determined me to desert the following day, it being morally and physically impossible to encounter another night in the same locality. Accordingly next day I packed up a few changes of clothing, crossed the back of my beautiful little pony "Cupid," and armed with a double-barrelled flint gun and a good supply of ammunition, bade good-bye to friends and rode to Uitenhage with an order in my pocket to get three horses there belonging to Lieut. G——, which I was requested to take to Graham's Town.

Arrived at Uitenhage, I heard that Colonel Smith and his Hottentot servant (Manie) had just arrived after three and a half days' journey on horseback from Cape Town *en route* for Graham's Town; and I learnt that the Colonel was staying at the residence of the Civil Commissioner (Mr. Van der Riet), who I knew personally very well. My object being to proceed to Graham's Town and the seat of war, I asked the Civil Commissioner to introduce me to Colonel Smith, and was told he was taking a bath, but would soon make his appearance, which he shortly did. I was duly introduced, and observed that I understood the Colonel was on his way to Graham's Town, and that I should be happy to form one of his escort. *Rather* to my astonishment, the Colonel said: "Escort be d——d. I have ridden from Cape Town with my man Manie, and I shall ride into Graham's Town with him to-morrow." Seeing that I looked somewhat blank at this reply to my well-meant offer, the Colonel smiled and said: "Mr. Andrews, although I do not want an escort, I shall be glad of your company, but I start at four o'clock a.m., and if you wish to go with me you must be punctual as to time." At a quarter to four a.m. I was at the Drostdy, as the Civil Commissioner's residence was called, riding my own pony, and with three led horses. The Civil Commissioner furnished Colonel Smith and servant with hired horses.

The day was one of the hottest I ever experienced in South Africa, and our pace being fast (we were to reach

Graham's Town the same day), the Colonel's horse and that of his servant knocked up near the Coega, before we reached the Grass Ridge, and I furnished fresh horses from my lot. On our journey I had mentioned to Colonel Smith that I had been in 1829 Secretary to the Commandant-General Stockenstrom, and that I consequently had had some experience in frontier life, and that I had lived some time in Graham's Town. I found at the Sunday's River Hotel, at that time kept by Mr. Webber, I had to do A.D.C.'s and Secretary's duties. From the hotel we proceeded towards the Ado Heights; our party increased by the Field-cornet Mr. P. van Niekerk and Mr. Webber. On the top of the Ado and in the thickest part of the bush-path my horse fell with me, and I was so much shaken and stunned that, although I remounted at once, I had to be supported for some little distance, but a little brandy soon restored me and I shortly afterwards gave the Colonel another of my led horses. After some further hard riding we came in sight of Sidbury House, belonging to the late Lieut. Daniels, R.N., who had removed his sheep, &c., and his house was held by an armed party of his friends. Arriving within two or three hundred yards of the house we observed several horses grazing in charge of a boy riding a nice red schimmel, or roan coloured horse. The Colonel said to me: "Andrews, we must have fresh horses here, help yourself to one." I set my affections upon the one ridden by the boy and called upon him to give it up, but he rode off to the house and gave the alarm, and soon we saw several men, gun in hand, running from the house towards us. I cannot say I felt very comfortable, because I thought they might fire at us first and ask who we were afterwards. However, they came up to us, when Colonel Smith introduced himself, saying "he must arrive that day in Graham's Town to take command, and they must hire their horses and send some of their party to bring them back, or he would buy them and give them receipts for the purchase." The horses were hired and we proceeded on our journey, soon reaching Cypherfontein, where we found a Troop of Cape Corps awaiting us with led horses, and we entered Graham's Town about five o'clock p.m., having accomplished a journey of ninety-five

miles in thirteen and a half hours in one of the hottest days I have ever experienced in South Africa.

We found the streets in Church-square strongly barricaded and most of the women and children collected inside the church (St. George's), and all the stores inside the barricade were full of people, many from the country, and there were fears (perhaps groundless) of an attack on the Town. A good deal of panic and want of order prevailed until the arrival of Colonel Smith was announced, when some measure of confidence was restored.

I took up my quarters in the store of my old friend Edward Nourse, on the right side of Church-square, opposite St. George's. Here I met many old friends, Mrs. G——, who gave birth to her youngest child in Mr. Edward Nourse's counting-house; here I also met my very old friend, J—— C——. We had known each other in Graham's Town in early days in 1829-30.

The morning following my arrival an orderly sergeant came to the store where, as the Yankees would say, I was located, saying Colonel Smith wished to see me. Much fatigued as I was by the previous day's ride I speedily waited on the Colonel, when he asked me if I wished to go into Kafirland with him during the war. I told him I had joined him with that intention, that he might command my services in any way in which I could make myself useful. I was told to be at his office at a certain hour to be sworn in as Secretary to the burgher forces, and I was duly sworn in by Colonel England, of the 75th Regiment (afterwards Sir Richard England), and I afterwards commenced the most arduous duties of my office, requiring sometimes eighteen out of twenty-four hours application at the desk. My duties were to receive all communications from Field-commandants and Field-cornets, to inquire and report on all their applications for field supplies, to strike out such items as could not be supplied, and to initial amended lists to be countersigned by Colonel Smith, which were then handed to the Commissary-General (at that time Commissary-General Palmer), than whom there never was a better officer on the frontier. I had also to correspond with the Commandants and Field-cornets and interpret between the former and His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban. In

carrying on the Dutch correspondence I was much indebted to Mr. Meurant (since Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Fort Beaufort), my knowledge of Dutch being at that time rather imperfect. Besides these duties I had to write military despatches, and, during Colonel Smith's absence in the Fish River bush had to receive and arrange all correspondence with our office and to wait on Sir B. D'Urban for instructions. This continued for some weeks until a forward movement was made towards Kafirland.

Graham's Town was thronged with Hottentot battalions, burgher forces from Graaff-Reinet and other districts, and troops of the line, the 72nd Highlanders being conspicuous in their splendid Highland uniform and black ostrich plumed bonnets.

Many of the women attached to the Hottentot battalions were wonderfully fashioned, and their proportions called forth many exclamations of surprise from the Colonel, who had never seen anything like it before.

The two battalions mustered about 2,000 men. A contract for clothing was called for. Kafir truck was down in the market; brown Kafir cloth was cheap, and a contract was taken to clothe the Totties in brown Kafir cloth. It looked very well when new, but a march into the Fish River bush which soon followed made the bush brown, and the Totties scarecrows. A fresh contract to clothe the naked being inevitable, a little foresight dictated to the previous contractor that something more substantial than Kafir cloth would be required. All the obtainable moleskin was therefore purchased. When the second contract was called for, the first contractor got it, but with the understanding that he must abandon the military rank of Major in the Hottentot battalion which he held; of course, the military rank was readily parted with, and the contract retained.

The Graham's Town Volunteers were commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Sparks (a very smart officer). Some queer scenes occasionally occurred on the parade. On one occasion Colonel Smith, Chief of the Staff, was inspecting them, when one of the men, as the Chief passed, touched his hat to him. He was greeted with "None of your d——d politeness in the ranks, sir." The Volunteer, no doubt, thought his virtue was not properly rewarded.

I think I have said I slept in the store of my old friend Edward Nourse. Below was a store where guns, old muskets, &c., were collected. I one morning heard below, where the guns were kept, a clicking of locks going on, soon after a report, a whizz, and a bullet went through the slate roof, having passed only a foot from my bed. I followed a practice I had already acquired from my Chief, and gave those below my blessing.

When dining one evening with Sir B. D'Urban at Ayton's Hotel, Colonel O'Reilly came in announcing Capt. H——'s retreat from Trompeter's Drift with the loss of several men, wagons, &c. Colonel Smith was much excited and would not believe it possible. He was very angry, but afterwards, I believe, acknowledged the position to have been quite untenable, and that nothing but retreat had saved the party from annihilation.

Accounts continued to be received of houses burnt and cattle carried off by the enemy, when it was decided to send in a force to get in the rear of the invading Kafirs; this was done under command of Major Cox, and had the effect of causing the Kafirs to retreat with the cattle they had taken from the unfortunate border farmers.

A general move towards Kafirland, under Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Colonel Smith, Chief of the Staff, soon followed, and the following account is extracted from my diary:—

1835, Saturday, March 21.—Left Graham's Town with Colonel Smith's escort to join the camp at Fort Wiltshire. Bivouacked at Double Drift. Nothing occurred this day except our having observed the spoor of a very large lion near Botha's Hill, traced all the way to within a very short distance of Fort Brown.

March 22.—At break of day had a cup of coffee and proceeded to the camp, where a pleasing and, to me, a novel sight presented itself. Here nearly 1,600 men, with Commissariat and Ordnance train, were assembled, and the different occupations of camp life were going on with much activity. I found a comfortable tent pitched for Lieut. Arthur Balfour of the 72nd Regt. (A.D.C.), Colonel Smith and myself, and after the business of the day enjoyed an excellent dinner in the Colonel's tent. Could not help thinking if this is campaigning it is very

jolly, but who shall say how long this state of things shall last?

March 23.—At daylight this morning turned out at sound of “rouse” and accompanied the Colonel to observe the line of march of the 72nd Highlanders and the 2nd Battalion of the Provisional Infantry (Hottentots), ordered to march four hours every morning. The appearance novel and pleasing, and the country beautiful, affording a fine view of the Chumie and Amatola Mountains, where some smoke was seen in different directions denoting the presence of the enemy.

Colonel Smith, with an escort of eleven men, proceeded to Block Drift. On his return he reported having patrolled for a considerable distance in the direction of the Chumie and the Lovedale Missionary Institution, both of which had been burnt. While in the neighbourhood of the latter a Kafir armed with assegais was observed and immediate chase given. He took to the walls of the Mission House. Offers were made through an interpreter to induce him to give himself up, but these he rejected, and flung an assegai at one of the party, which narrowly missed him and stuck in his saddle. The Kafir then fell a victim to his obstinacy, being shot through the forehead by Field-cornet Greyling. The report of the gun having been heard by the enemy, the mountains were immediately covered with fire signals and smoke in various directions, this being the way in which Kafirs indicate the approach of an enemy. They, however, made no attack on Colonel Smith's small party. Passed a pleasant evening; the Colonel had to dinner the noble old Dutch Commandant of the Swellendam Burghers (Linde) and his son, Major Bagot and Captain Jarvis. The dinner was excellent, the evening cool, but mid-day had been insufferably hot.

March 24.—At the usual sound of the “rouse,” arose and accompanied Colonel Smith to the camp of the Dutch Burghers; found them mounted and presenting a formidable array two deep in line. Marched them out and endeavoured to put them through some trifling cavalry movements, which a few teachings would soon make them perfect in, such as riding by *threes*. They looked well in line, but though the men were willing enough to ride by threes their horses did not understand it. I had, on behalf

of the Colonel, *to do a little* swearing in Dutch. One of the Burghers, willing enough to obey the Colonel's orders, after many fruitless efforts addressed his neighbour, saying : "Neef Jacob, slaat toch mijn paard als het u belieft, de Colonel is te danig kwaai," which means in English, "Cousin Jacob, whip my horse if you please, the Colonel is very angry." The best spirit, however, prevails among the Dutch Burghers, and all learnt before the war was over to like the Colonel, who did his best to look after their comfort in the field.

March 25.—About the middle of the night was disturbed by the discharge of four or five guns among the pickets, and on inquiry found that five Kafirs had returned within a few yards of the camp and had been challenged by the sentries. They ran off, but the commotion caused by this trifling alarm in the camp gave some idea of what a night attack would cause.

March 26.—By break of day all were in commotion, and the camp, by about seven o'clock a.m. was removed to a better locality about two miles from the old camp. The axe in many hands was employed to cut down branches of trees to construct huts for the good Sir Benjamin D'Urban and the Chief of the Staff. The bower for the latter was constructed under my special superintendence, and soon afforded an agreeable shade from the hot sun, and the tents were pitched near to it. The day was passed in making all snug and comfortable, and a hot day was concluded with its usual accompaniments, a heavy thunderstorm and rain. Managed, however, to keep tolerably dry, and enjoyed an excellent dinner, Colonel Smith's A.D.C., Arthur Balfour, being an excellent caterer ; had as guests to dinner Capt. Halifax, 75th Regt., and Dr. Ford ; pitied many poor fellows in camp who could not fare so well at myself.

26.—Turned out considerably before daylight, had coffee and wrote some "officials." The chief started before four o'clock a.m. with a strong patrol. Closed a large mail and dispatched it to Capt. Van der Riet to be forwarded to Hermanus Kraal. I may here observe I had to receive all mails from other divisions of the forces in the field, our division being head-quarters, and that I, as Postmaster-General, had, as such, no easy task when connected with my other duties.

Colonel Smith's patrol, consisting of 400 men, surprised several kraals of Kafirs, took about 1,000 head of cattle and killed two Kafirs. One Burgher named Potgieter got a prick from an assagai in the hind quarter from a Kafir who had thrown himself into an inequality of the ground to escape pursuit.

31.—About three o'clock a.m. began to prepare for a march, and nearly at daylight moved off from our camp in the following order :—Commandant Linde's Burgher Force, nearly four hundred strong, seventy Cape Corps, Governor and Chief of the Staff with their escorts, 72nd Highlanders, Major Bagot's first Hottentot Battalion, Commissariat, Ordnance and Burgher Force, wagons, the rear guard being one hundred mounted Burghers under Field-Commandant Dreyer. The line of march when most compact occupied more than five miles. Passed Ford Wiltshire, where I was obliged to leave my best horse, dead. Some crossed the river at a deep and difficult drift, but the whole wagon train, troops, &c., fortunately passed through without accident. Bivouacked about three miles beyond the drift in a beautiful country, which exhibited evident signs of having been thickly populated by Kafirs. Numerous Kafir gardens were seen in every direction. After breakfast advanced about four miles, the march during the day being ten miles. Encamped for the night in a Kafir garden or corn-field, found the body of a Kafir supposed to have died from a wound plugged with grass. The night passed without any alarm, but the following morning observed the spoor of Kafirs on the road who were no doubt spies.

April 1.—Marched through a beautiful country and came to a hill affording a fine view of the T'Slambie's Kop, Gaika's Kop, and the wooded kloofs of the Amatola Mountains; observed the smoke of Kafir fires under T'Slambie's Kop; encamped for the night on the Debe Flats, near beautiful water; had a delightful bathe, but while enjoying it, it was reported that a large body of Kafirs was approaching; dressed rather hastily, and found it was a false alarm, and that it was Colonel Somerset's second division, which encamped two miles distant from ours. The night passed quietly.

April 2.—At midnight our head-quarter division moved on with Artillery, leaving wagon train in charge of Captain

Bailie, to the lower range of the Amatolas to the right of the T'Slambie Kop. The second division, under Colonel Somerset, moved to the extreme point of the range towards the Buffalo, whilst the third division, under Major Cox, advanced from the Chumie side to form a junction near the Keiskamma River. On reaching the top of the mountain, Kafir dogs were heard barking in the bush, and we could hear Kafir men talking, but the march through numerous kloofs and dense bush was performed without any Kafirs appearing until we entered the defile leading down to and facing the Keiskamma, when some cattle were seen and immediately pursued and taken without any resistance. In these defiles numerous spoors of cattle and some of Kafirs were observed, all going towards the Buffalo. Some cannon and musketry firing were heard on our left in the direction of Major Cox's division. On approaching the fords of the Keiskamma the Kafirs fired several shots, which were returned by those in charge of the captured cattle, but without any damage to either side. Crossed the river and met Capt. Wade with some of Linde's Burghers and one company of Major Bagot's Battalion; they had taken some cattle and shot one Kafir. They had discovered some caves in the mountain, which contained some hair-bottomed chairs, some saddles and caps, and part of dresses of Kafirs; they captured fifteen horses. After a halt of half an hour proceeded to Burnshill Mission Station, where we fell in with the 2nd Hottentot Battalion under Major Stockenström (part of Major Cox's division), who had, however, done nothing against the enemy. Reported the firing we had heard to have been for the purpose of getting some cattle out of the bush which Field-Commandant Linde (son of the old Commandant Linde) had taken.

Found the Missionary buildings still standing untouched. Soon after leaving Burnshill it became dark, and the Governor's escort, with that of the Chief of the Staff, forming the rear guard, it may be said, observed on the top of the mountain we were ascending a rapid fire of musketry. All prepared to meet a repetition of this, but on approaching the spot found the firing to have proceeded from a party of Dutch Burghers, who on a false alarm had fired to their front in the direction in which the Corps of

Guides were driving some captured cattle. A poor young man named Lloyd received a bullet through his back and through the lungs, from the effects of which he died some days afterwards.

Reached the camp in safety, having been on horseback with very little intermission, for twenty-two hours, the result of the day's work being the capture of 1,200 head of cattle, fifteen horses, five or six of the enemy killed, and the destruction of most of the kraals through which we passed by fire at night showing a lurid glare in every direction.

April 5.—In the evening the Chief of the Staff and his staff dined with His Excellency the Governor ; O. S. Dutton, his A.D.C., was not so good a caterer as ours.

April 6.—Mr. Rennie and thirty-five Burghers arrived from Van Wyk's Camp, now at Keiskamma Hoek. The party were attacked at one of the fords and the Commandant himself had a narrow escape, receiving a wound in the head from an assegai which was pulled out by Christian Muller, who stabbed the Kafir who threw it with his own weapon and killed him on the spot.

Several Kafirs and two Hottentots in arms against us were shot in the skirmish ; our party had one Hottentot shot, and two horses ran off with saddles and bridles. Orders given for the camp to be removed towards the Buffalo ; to-morrow at day-break a general advance of the army.

Monday April, 7.—At daylight the first and second divisions marched. A Kafir was shot by a Hottentot sentry at night, who observed an object crouching and silently approaching him ; he quietly continued on his beat, keeping his eye on the moving object ; when near enough to make sure of his aim he fired, reloaded, and kept on his beat until relieved by the guard, when he pointed to the object, which was found to be a stalwart Kafir with riems evidently intended to secure horses which he came to the camp to steal ; the body was found within a few yards of the Governor's tent.

April 8.—Our line of march to-day marked by burning Kafir kraals on every side, our route being on the Commetjes Flats near the Amatola Mountain range stretching towards the Buffalo. Bivouacked at the Missionary

Station of Mr. Ross, which had been completely destroyed by the Kafirs.

The second division separated from the first, and under Colonel Somerset, verged to the right, the first division proceeding to the Buffalo Poorts opposite to which our camp was formed. In the evening Capt. Wade having proceeded in advance of the camp in quest of the situation of Commandant Van Wyk's camp, reported having seen many Kafirs who attempted to cut off his passage. Colonel Smith gave directions for a patrol, consisting of his escort, the Corps of Guides, three companies of the 2nd Hottentot Battalion, one company of the 72nd Highlanders, and some of the Burghers, to march at three o'clock a.m. About seven o'clock a.m. heard heavy musketry firing in the direction of the advance on the face of a wooded mountain opposite to our camp. The firing continued to increase. In less than two hours five of the 72nd arrived in camp, each having received slight assegai wounds; report them to have been received in attempting to dislodge the enemy from a strong rocky position, since known as Murray's Krans, very much like a castle with a narrow entrance. Soon after another of the 72nd was brought in badly wounded in the shoulder blade, penetrating the lung. Capt. Murray, 72nd Highlanders, came in wounded in the side, his cap had been pierced three times with assegais. The Grenadier Company of the 72nd and 4th Company of the 1st Battalion of the Hottentot Infantry were sent as reinforcements. About three o'clock p.m., the Kafir cattle began to rush from the wooded kloofs of the Amatolas in different bodies until dusk, when about 4,000 head were driven into camp. No one, who has not heard it, can conceive the bellowing of such an excited herd. The rebel Hottentot, Stoffel Arnoldus, was captured in the castle by some of Major Bagot's battalion, the stock of his gun, carrying half-pound balls, had been smashed by a shot. On our side only one man was killed, a sergeant of the 1st Hottentot Battalion, one officer (Capt. Murray), and six men of the 72nd wounded in these operations.

The rock high up on the wooded mountain was like a natural castle with one narrow entrance where the 72nd were wounded. It was valiantly defended by the Kafirs, who,

besides throwing assegais, rolled down large rocks on their assailants. The reinforcements, by making a detour, got above the rock, compelling the Kafirs to rapidly vacate it. Forty of the enemy were killed and many wounded. Many Kafir women gave themselves up, coming into camp in great numbers with much confidence; they were well fed and had tents provided for them. Many of the Kafirs during the fight at the Krans were observed to be making a rapid retreat to the opposite bush. The Kafirs engaged this day were Isushane's (Dushanie's son) and those of the old chief Eno.

In the evening Dr. Ford, 72nd Regiment, who had been out to examine Commandant Van Wyk's wound, returned to the camp with Mr. Rennie, escorted by eighty-five of Van Wyk's Burghers, and reported having been attacked in a narrow pass by Kafirs, several of whom they killed.

April 8.—Much writing preparatory to proposed attack to-morrow, the first division to attack the gorge of the Buffalo Mountain to the eastward, while the third division, under Major Cox, advanced by the north-west down the deep ravines about the source of the Buffalo River, the escorts of the Governor and Chief of the Staff and Corps of Guides, with a detachment of 72nd Highlanders and two six-pounder guns, occupying the open ground on the plains below, while Ensign Granet, of the Cape Rifles, with a detachment, was stationed on the extreme left. The affair commenced by throwing several shells into the thickly-wooded ravines. About ten o'clock a.m., Major Cox's division fired two shots from the three-pounders, which showed the position of his force to be on the mountain ready to descend into the ravines, into which he caused several shells to be fired. More firing heard to the right of Major Cox's position, being from a party of the first division. Soon after brisk firing heard from the ravine up which Ensign Granet had advanced. While these operations were going on two Hottentots came over from the enemy, delivering up their arms and bringing several Hottentots with them. About five o'clock p.m. returned to camp and learnt that Ensign Granet's party had killed four Kafirs, among whom was the Chief Zouto, and had captured three hundred head of cattle which he had been obliged to drive over a precipice, by which act nearly two-

hundred had been killed. Major Cox did not join our camp. Major Maclean, with second company of the 72nd Regiment, returned to camp. Firing heard during the night in the direction of Commandant Van Wyk's camp, and several shots were fired by sentries of that division.

April 10.—Order issued for the advance of the first and second divisions towards the Kei, the latter by a route towards the sea, the former by the great road into Kafirland or the Transkei; the third division to remain at the camp on the Buffalo, with a view to harass the enemy among his fastnesses in that neighbourhood; whilst the fourth division, under Commandant Van Wyk, proceeded to the Chumie for the same purpose.

Saturday April, 11.—Broke up the camp and marched as far as the Yellowwood trees, near to where we entered the great Kafirland road to the Kei.

Sunday, April 12.—Marched in the morning to the Gonubie, a wretched camp, very stony and water very scarce. Breakfasted here and proceeded to a valley about five miles beyond and encamped for the night. Very little shelter, and the tents hardly pitched before a severe thunderstorm commenced and heavy rain continued the greatest part of the night. Had to walk through long wet grass to dine with the Governor and his staff.

April 13.—Morning. Still raining, march delayed until nine o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Encamped for the night near a kraal belonging to Hintza's great captain and brother, *Boko*. Caught a Fingo in a garden, and heard from him that Boko with his men were on the other side of the Kei (distant about eleven miles) with a portion of the cattle stolen by the Gaikas from the Colony, which it was said Hintza intended to return. Several nice fat fowls were caught at this kraal, which served to improve our camp diet, and we obtained a good supply of Indian corn and pumpkins. Orders issued for a march to the Kei.

April 15.—Commenced the march towards the Kei. Col. Smith and escort, the Corps of Guides, and fifty of the Hottentot Legion under Capt. Wade, formed the advance party. The approaches to the river on both sides and the country on each bank is a succession of deep ravines and high rocky table-lands. On arriving at the Kei River observed various groups of armed Kafirs on every

head of the high land on the opposite side of the river. One of Hintza's Kafirs hailed us with the question "What river is this, what do you come here for?" Col. Smith on horseback stood midway in the river and, said through an interpreter, that as regarded Hintza, north-east of the Kei, it would be peace provided he (Hintza) came into camp to see the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. It was promised he should come, but I may here remark he never meant to come until driven into the camp by the active proceedings of the Chief of the Staff, who, with a flying column of between 300 and 400 mounted men, hunted him out of the T'Somo Mountain until he found Sir Benjamin's camp the safest place he could occupy with some forty followers, armed with assegais, and his great councillor Umtini, who was Hintza's Minister, without whose advice Hintza never spoke.

The Governor and the whole of the head-quarter division having crossed the Kei and formed a camp, messengers were sent to Hintza to say it would be peace on the east of the Kei if he would come into camp and meet Sir Benjamin D'Urban. He sent word to say he would come, but did not do so, and no doubt his people were employed in driving the cattle taken from the Colony by the Gaikas and sent across the Kei towards the Bashee River, and it became evident that Hintza never intended to come into the Governor's camp until forced to do so, although parties of Kafirs were stationed far apart in the kloofs intervening. The news of peace was soon known to all, and from a state of great alarm the Kafirs became perfectly confident and mixed unarmed with the force in the camp.

It was at this stage of affairs that a high medical officer conceived the idea of "astonishing the natives." Lucifer matches were in those days almost a new idea, drawn through a piece of sandpaper to ignite them. Seeing a few Kafirs in the neighbourhood he motioned to them to approach, which they did. Taking out a box of lucifers from his pocket he said "Kom hier zo," and sitting on the grass placed the open match box between his legs, when on the part of the Kafirs all was attention. The medico pulled the match through the sandpaper, it exploded, but unfortunately a spark fell into the match-box which also exploded, singeing his whiskers and eyebrows and half

suffocating the exploder, who looking up saw an expression of wonder and surprise in the faces of those he had intended to astonish, and he heard something which sounded like *maa wough*. An attempt by Sir Harry Smith, in 1851, to astonish the natives by blowing up a wagon at a great distance by means of a galvanic battery also proved a somewhat signal failure.

The Chief of the Staff was barely on the ground and tents pitched, when rain came down in torrents and we experienced a heavy thunderstorm. About eleven o'clock p.m. several shots were fired by Capt. Warden's Kat River party.

April 16.—Capt. Warden reported this morning the shots to have been fired by his party in consequence of their having observed several oxen driven past their post by the Kafirs, which they abandoned. This attempt to make off with the cattle is exactly in character of the race, who will rob you with the left hand while offering the right in amity. Kafirs told they would be inevitably hot if such attempts were made again. Messengers sent o Hintza to hasten his appearance in camp.

April 17th.—The march commenced at seven o'clock a.m. towards the Gona Mission station at Butterworth. Reached the station about three p.m., found the once neat Mission house not burnt, but completely ransacked, the windows and doors broken.

Numerous bodies of the Fingo tribe came into camp, and we learn from them that they entertain great fears about their safety among Hintza's tribe (the Galekas), by whom they had been held in a state of bondage for some time.

Joined by the T'Slambie Chief Pato and some of his followers, whose object seems to be to get a share in the captured cattle.

April 18.—This day received a deputation from Hintza, bringing an ox as a token of amity with the Colony. Some oxen and horses brought into camp by Kafirs, said by them to have been taken from some of the T'Slambies.

Sunday, April 19.—Still at same camp. This morning three Hottentots who had been with the T'Slambie tribe gave themselves up, stating that they were taken in December last from Driver's wagons by the Kafirs. They

brought their firearms with them. They had left Boko (Hintza's brother) last night, who is said by them to be within a shot's distance with immense herds of cattle, chiefly colonial, and a great many sent by the chief T'Slambie in charge of two of his captains.

April 20.—This morning still at Butterworth, joined by second division under Colonel Somerset. Though considered a mounted force, mostly composed of the Cape Corps, which had delayed the advance of the invading force for its outfit for upwards of a month, twenty-one days after crossing the Keiskamma, it had when it joined head-quarter division not above ten serviceable horses, most of the men of the 2nd division arriving in camp in ox wagons.

A nephew of Hintza's repeated his visit to the camp to hear the Governor's word; told by the Governor "the word was with Hintza, and that any delay in his appearance in camp would be considered a declaration of war."

The whole of the day most inclement and cold, with constant heavy rain, which continued during the night.

April 21.—His Excellency inspected the second division at their encampment, half a mile from ours; it was in a wretched condition, and quite unfit for active service.

April 22.—Report brought in that the body of an Englishman lay murdered on the road about six miles from our camp. A party sent out which found it to be that of John Armstrong, of the Beaufort Levy, who had been sent off on the evening of the 19th with a party to convey the mails to Fort Wiltshire. Armstrong had remained behind his party, and fell a victim to treachery of pretended friends. One of our Artillerymen fell during the night over a rock near the camp; concussion of the brain having occurred, he died in the course of the day.

April 23.—Capt. Warden started for Clarkbury with forty of the Kat River Legion, ten of Major's Lowen's Corps, and fifty Fingoes, for the purpose of bringing away the Missionaries Ayliff, Palmer, Davis and Satchell, with the traders belonging to the Station. The fifty Fingoes came into camp singing their war song, armed with shields and assegais. Two natives, reporting themselves to be messengers from Boko, came into camp, but, being considered spies, were placed under guard; one of them, a

bastard Bushman, known as a great horse thief, was secured by a rein round his neck, and I believe received some castigation with a stirrup leather and was turned out of camp.

The remains of the Bombardier and of John Armstrong were buried to-day, the service being read by Mr. Chas. Bailie.

April 24.—Marched from Butterworth towards the T'Somo, about two hours' march from Butterworth. The Chief of the Staff, with about 300 mounted men, took a direction to the right of the column of march of the head-quarter division and passed the Komka River. Soon after observed several troops of cattle driven rapidly off; dispersed into several parties, pursued them, and after a hard chase succeeded in capturing nearly 4,000 head, the greater part of which were taken by the Chief of Staff himself, a trumpeter, and five men with him, although a considerable number of Kafirs were about them. On this occasion Lieut. Balfour, A.D.C., captured an uncle of the Chief Maquay, a brother of Sekoko. About twenty Kafirs were shot.

Bivouacked near a Kafir kraal surrounding the captured cattle, and about three o'clock a.m. started with about fifty men, Commandant Nel going in an opposite direction with nearly the same force. Just at daybreak ascended the Komka Mountain and came suddenly on a large number of Kafirs who fled, but the country being open they were soon overtaken and several shot; descended the mountain and breakfasted at a Kafir kraal from whence we observed a fire made as a signal to show the route of the army. Found the result of our operations last night and this morning to have been the capture of between 4,000 and 5,000 head of cattle, several horses, twenty Kafirs killed and some wounded, and the uncle of Maquay prisoner. Returned to head-quarter camp about four o'clock p.m.

April 26.—Before daylight Colonel Smith with two companies of Provisional Battalions, two companies of the 2nd Highlanders and about forty mounted men left the camp for an expedition to the T'Somo.

April 27.—Still at the same camp on the Izolo, where we are waiting Colonel Smith's expected return this afternoon.

The Governor and small escort rode out to reconnoitre the country, and brought in about 600 head of cattle. Upwards of 5,000 head sent in by Colonel Smith ; the party bringing in the cattle report that one corporal of the Provisional Battalion was killed while employed in taking a portion of them. The noise at night from these captured cattle was something tremendous.

Received mail from Fort Wiltshire ; report received from Major Cox of his having attacked the people of Macomo and T'Yalie, taken 200 head of cattle and killed several Kafirs.

Deputation from Hintza arrived this afternoon of four mounted Kafirs, who report Hintza's intention to visit the camp the following afternoon.

April 28.—The captured cattle sent to Butterworth under escort of Field-cornets Nel and Greyling.

In consequence of the four messengers who arrived at the camp yesterday having been detained, three other mounted and armed men arrived stating that Hintza would not come into camp until he had a message from the Governor to do so. These messengers said Hintza sent to know " Why Hintza must die." They were sent back with assurance of safety to Hintza, and we accordingly expect his sable majesty to-morrow.

April 29.—This morning Colonel Smith returned, and was shortly after followed by his party bringing in the remainder of the captured cattle, among which were many hundreds of colonial cattle taken from the Chief Jalausie.

At about 5 o'clock p.m. it was announced that Hintza himself was approaching the camp, where he and his son Kreli shortly after arrived with his escort or body guard of about thirty men, mounted and armed with assegais. On the Chief's approach His Excellency the Governor advanced a short distance and offered his hand, and, Hintza being conducted to a seat near the Governor's tent, His Excellency, surrounded by his staff, read to him, through an interpreter, the grounds upon which the Colonial Government claimed redress, and the terms upon which alone peace would be re-established, to all of which he listened with deep attention and made several important admissions ; but endeavoured much to attribute most of the faults complained of to his want of power

amongst the chiefs, and he said that he would have sooner come into camp to see the Governor but was dissuaded from doing so by his councillors, who told him we should certainly kill him.* He showed no appearance of fear. His carriage and address are dignified. Even during the whole of the trying scene in which, as before stated, his offences were enumerated, he maintained his composure wonderfully in the midst of those he looked upon as enemies.

In the evening his sable majesty and his son Kreli "dined" in the tent of the chief of the staff, and notwithstanding the weight of state affairs ate of several dishes with much relish and good appetite. He showed (much to the disgust of our A.D.C.) a particular partiality for the potatoes out of an Irish stew, and for coffee.

April 30.—This morning soon after daylight the whole camp turned out under arms, the staff and officers formed round His Excellency the Governor, and Hintza thought fit to subscribe to the terms laid down, which are that he should restore in five days 25,000 *head of cattle* and 500 *horses*; also 300 head of cattle to the widow of Purcell, the Kafir trader, who was murdered by the Kafirs; and the like number to the widow of John Armstrong; and further, in twelve months, to pay to the Colony 25,000 *head of cattle* and 500 *horses*. Peace was then proclaimed between the great Chief Hintza and Great Britain, and the cannon fired to the great surprise of Hintza and his suite.

In the course of the day a great quantity of brass wires, duffels, beads, knives, and saddles and bridles, and a splendid garment of red plush, ornamented with numerous beads, were handed to Hintza. He seemed greatly delighted and lost in wonder at their magnificence and value in his estimation.

This evening Hintza and his son Kreli dined as usual in our tent, and by way of dessert we were doomed for their

* History is said to repeat itself. In 1877, Kreli uses the same excuse made by his father in 1835 of inability to control his chiefs, and the same cause of the war was found to exist in the inveterate hatred of the Galekas towards the Fingoe tribe. Hintza would not come to see Sir R. D'Urban. Kreli would not meet Sir Bartle Frere, because his council dissuaded him.

entertainment and to our great discomfort to the alternate harmony (?) of the Scotch pipes of the 2nd Highlanders and the shrill trumpet.

By the active and incessant labour of Col. Smith and the force placed under his command from the 24th to the 29th, the following results have been produced. There can be no doubt that Hintza coming into the Governor's camp was hastened by Col. Smith's active operations in the T'Somo Mountains, where, on one occasion, he came on the flesh pots of the Chief smoking on the fires, and took a Kafir lady's head-dress, made of bluebuck skins, highly ornamented with white and blue beads. This was said to have been the head-dress of Hintza's great wife. It is now, or was some time ago, in possession of a cousin of mine in London, to whom I sent it. Besides the effect on Hintza's mind as to Col. Smith's active measures in hunting him up, there was the capture of nearly 20,000 head of cattle, several of the enemy killed, and the chief fully convinced of the superiority of the British arms, as evinced by his coming to terms to restore a large number of cattle and horses—which, to a people whose wealth consists in their herds, must be a sacrifice hard indeed. After events proved that Hintza did not intend to make the sacrifice, and that all his promises were insincere and untruthful. His duplicity justly cost him his life.

May 1.—Still at the same camp on the Izelo, and preparations made for a march to-morrow.

May 2.—We set our faces towards home, and on the way were met by the Chief Boko (Hintza's brother) and a party of his followers mounted and armed. The meeting between Boko and Hintza was very cool. Both proceeded with us to our new camp in the Debakazi. I would here mention an incident which occurred at our camp on the Debakazi. It was reported that the Galeka Kafirs had killed some Fingoes not far from our camp. Hintza and his brother Boko were immediately summoned to meet the Governor, who, through an interpreter, told them what had occurred. The reply of Hintza was "Well, may I not do with them as I like? Are they not my dogs?" The Governor, almost livid with anger, replied:—"You may do what you like; but for every Fingoe killed after this notice to you to stop the killing of Fingoes, I will, for every Fingoe killed, hang

two Kafirs, and you and your brother Boko shall be the two first"; and it is needless to say that after this expression of His Excellency's intentions it was some time at least before we heard of any more Fingoes being slaughtered. It is intended that we shall remain at this camp to receive the 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses to be produced, according to treaty, in five days (don't we wish we may get them). I don't believe we shall get any beyond those we may capture when Hintza's promises are proved false.

This evening, the military guard being placed over Hintza and Boko, their men, nearly 120, began to handle their assegais, but the chief of the staff ordering the picket to wheel short round upon them, they quickly cried out they would give up their assegais; and, to avoid a recurrence of such a menacing attitude, they were deprived of their weapons, and a strong guard placed over the Royal family precluded any attempt at a rescue or any chance of escape of our valuable guests.

May 4.—During last night the camp was visited by a most terrific thunderstorm and heavy rain, which continued nearly all night. Despatched the mail and, under some escort, sent two messengers from Hintza to Macomo and Tyalie's people with offers from the Governor that their lives shall be spared and their *own* cattle returned if they come into any of the divisions and deliver up their arms, and requiring the unconditional surrender of the Chiefs themselves. It is almost needless to say none of these conditions were complied with. From the 4th to the 8th we remained at the camp at the Debakasie experiencing much rainy weather. Nothing occurred worth mentioning except the arrival of the missionaries and traders from Clarkbury.

May 9.—This morning we moved towards the Kei, preceded by the second division and accompanied by an immediate train of the Fingoe tribe, men carrying kerries and assegais, the women huge loads of domestic goods and children, and large herds of cattle of which no doubt they had spoiled their late taskmasters (the Galekas) as the Israelites did the Egyptians of old.

On the march, as the Governor's staff was proceeding along the road, a little black object was seen clinging to

something white. It proved to be a little naked Fingoe child holding on to the neck of a young white goat. Sir James Alexander, one of Sir Benjamin's A.D.C., took up the little one on his horse and carried it for some distance, when he handed it over to a stalwart 72nd Highlander, who took good care of it until it was subsequently claimed by its mother, who, in her flight before the Kafirs had been obliged to abandon it to save her own life.

May 10.—This morning the camp was put under arms, and, Sir Benjamin having caused Col. Smith to read a declaration of the aggressions of the frontier Kafirs, in concert with the Chief Hintza, whose breach of faith in respect to the restoration of the cattle and horses he strongly dwelt upon, he proclaimed the right bank of the Kei to be the future boundary of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, which was followed by a royal salute from the Artillery and three British cheers. The whole proceeding was then fully explained to Hintza, Boko, and their followers, and preparations were made for an expedition under Col. Smith towards the mouth of the Bashee Kiver. Hintza, his son Kreli, his Councillor Umteni, and several of their followers were to accompany it, and were to be considered as hostages for the due fulfilment of the treaty for the restoration of cattle and horses, which Hintza stated could only be recovered from his people by an armed force.

At 10 o'clock, a.m., the force selected for the expedition to the Bashee assembled, consisting of fifty Mounted Rifles and Kat River Levies, under Captain Ross ; fifteen of the best mounted of the Corps of Guides under George Southey ; the Chief of the Staff and escort ; two companies of the 2nd Highlanders under Captain Murray ; three companies of Provisional Battalion under Captain Crause ; one wagon and pack bullocks conveying ten days' supplies of provision and ammunition, we once more turned our faces towards Hintza's territory.

May 10.—Col. Smith's expedition marched, by the old road, to within four miles of Butterworth, and experienced a heavy thunderstorm and rain during the night. Marched this day twenty-one miles.

May 11, seven o'clock, a.m.—Marched and breakfasted about five miles beyond the Missionary Station of Butterworth, passed the wooded hill called "Gwadana," and

bivouacked among some Kafir huts to the eastward of it, our march being twenty-two miles from our last night's halt.

May 12, two o'clock a.m.—Marched and at ten o'clock a.m. came upon the spoor of a large herd of cattle on the Gwadana, halted for two hours and leaving Mr. Fynn in charge of the wagons and commissariat with a guard of seventy men, being those most knocked up, we pursued the track of the cattle towards the mountainous country near the course of the Bashee, the mountains here being most precipitous, intersected with numerous ravines of enormous depth. Some time after leaving Fynn's camp, Hintza's Councillor, Umteni, under pretence of taking a message from the chief to his people, who were flying before us with their herds, obtained permission to leave, Col. Smith assuring him at the same time that if he did not return to the camp that evening, Hintza would be shot ; he promised to return, but a lurking smile betrayed the joy with which he parted from us. He was afterwards observed on a mountain top on foot with his horse in hand watching our movements.

May 13.—Notwithstanding our heavy night march and the great heat of the day we continued to climb mountains and to descend into valleys until we crossed the river Shikiever (nearly ten miles from the nearest point of the Bashee). Before we arrived at this spot it had been observed, especially by Mr. George Southey, and also by some of the Corps of Guides, that Hintza and his two remaining followers had carefully saved their horses, leading them up all the steep ascents. After crossing the river all the troops and mounted men went up a steep mountain side, leaving Hintza armed with a bundle of assegais with George Southey and myself. Hintza pretended to be girthing up his blanket on his horse ; he never rode on a saddle. George Southey here said : " Andrews, take your gun out of the bucket, this old rascal intends to escape, he and his followers have been saving their horses." I did take my gun out of the bucket and looked to the priming (we had flint guns in those days.) Hintza cast his eyes furtively at Southey and myself, but seeing that we were prepared he possibly determined to watch some more favourable opportunity, and continued his course on foot

leading his horse up the mountain side, following Col. Smith and the troops, who were all in advance. Southey and myself still guarded him, but about half way up the mountain side Hintza made a sign for me to hold his assegais while he mounted, which I did, but kept my gun in rest. He immediately pressed forward, passed most of the troops and at the top of the mountain got alongside of Col. Smith. A spur of the mountain not very steep went off on the right, the river we had passed turned round the foot of this spur and had a belt of willow and other trees on its banks. Hintza had not ridden long near Col. Smith when some one cried "Hintza's off." He had got some thirty yards down the spur when Col. Smith pulled a pistol from his holster and pointed it at Hintza, who immediately pulled up and looked so innocent that he returned the pistol to its place. However, it was not long before there was another cry "*Hintza is off,*" and this time he had got a longer start, some fifty yards, making his way as fast as he could urge his horse down the spur towards the river. Col. Smith, mounted on the only horse that could overtake Hintza, pursued him, and again drawing out a pistol snapped it, but it would not go off, and Col. Smith threw it at the chief, but missed him; the second pistol also snapped, but was thrown with better aim than the first, hitting Hintza on the head, but the royal caput was too thick to suffer much, and he continued his downward course towards the river. Then the chief of the staff, quite unarmed, determined to *run him in*, although Hintza still retained his assegais. Col. Smith did run him in, and seizing him by the kaross where it meets at the throat he unhorsed him, Hintza falling heavily among the legs of the Colonel's horse, which fortunately bolted with the Colonel, for Hintza nimbly gathered himself, and drawing an assegai hurled it after Col. Smith, but it fortunately fell short. Meanwhile Hintza's horse had run away, and during the above occurrences George Southey had arrived within hail of Hintza, still making his way on foot towards the river. Southey in the Kafir language cried out to Hintza that if he would give himself up his life should be saved, but he still continued his course, when Southey fired his first shot and hit him in the fleshy part of the leg.

This did not appear to impede his progress, and after a second warning in Kafir Southey fired a second shot which wounded him in the left side ; he fell for a moment, but gathering himself up he succeeded in getting into the belt of bush bordering the river, where, with some reason, it was thought there might be an ambuscade to assist in the chief's escape. George Southey, however, reloaded, and went into the bush on the river bank. While these movements were taking place several of our mounted men arrived near the river, Lieuts. Balfour and Oliver, Bisset, Driver, Sergt. Japps, Cape Rifles, &c. I watched from a slight elevation above the river to see if Hintza would go through and try to escape on the other side, and while in this position Col. Smith, having recovered command of his runaway horse, came up to me in a very excited state, saying "the old rascal," meaning Hintza, would escape, but he had hardly said so before we heard a shot and saw the smoke from it rise out of the bush, and immediately after George Southey stood on the river bank waving his hat, and we then felt sure that Hintza's race was run. There can be no doubt he richly deserved his fate ; trusted to a great extent far more than he deserved, treated with the utmost kindness by Col. Smith, fed at his table, he was false from beginning to his miserable end. Southey on entering the bush saw Hintza standing up to to his knees in the river with assegai poised to throw at him. He had only time to bring his gun round and fire, the ball penetrated Hintza's head and instant death took place. The chief's body was removed and placed in a Kafir hut in the neighbourhood. There is no doubt Hintza never meant us to collect any cattle, and he led us into the strongest fastnesses of his country evidently intending the destruction of our comparatively small force, removed as it was more than 100 miles from any supports. Of the two followers of Hintza who also attempted to escape, one succeeded, the other was shot in a kloof.

After the death of the chief, taking his son Kreli with us, we pursued the spoor of the cattle towards the Bashee. We came in sight of them before sunset, and observed vast herds being driven off in all directions on the opposite mountain range (Bomvanaland, where Kreli in 1877 has recently done the same, repeating history), while about

2,000 head were observed over the river near its banks. Our mounted men, with Lieuts. Balfour, Oliver and myself assisting, quickly succeeded in capturing those in the valley, but from the great fatigue of both horses and men it became necessary to halt until 2 o'clock, a.m., when Col. Smith, leaving Capt. Ross and about 90 of the most knocked up men in charge of the captured cattle, proceeded among the mountains and ravines eastward of the Bashee on the track of the cattle which had escaped during the previous night.

Capt. Charles Baillie and sixty of the Provisional Battalion were detached to follow the course of the Bashee towards its mouth. Owing to the state of my horse's back, I obtained leave to remain with Capt. Ross' party, and here I had for some short time charge of Kreli to prevent him from attempting to escape. Major White, who was on Col. Smith's staff, also remained at Capt. Ross' camp. We had early breakfast together behind a Kafir hut off a shank of ham. Major White proposed that I should accompany him to the top of a spur of the mountain above us, remarking that we would be sure to have an adventure, and he would fill in the map of the country we had passed through yesterday. I replied that if Col. Smith found I could ride about the country he would naturally say my place was with him, but pointing out large numbers of Kafirs on the surrounding mountains overlooking our camp I tried to dissuade him from going, at least until Col. Smith's return to our camp, when he would obtain a sufficient escort. Capt. Ross also tried hard to dissuade him, saying he could only give him an escort of a corporal and four mounted men, but the poor Major would not listen to advice, and he started with his escort, having with him a led horse with theodolite, &c. Major White had not been an hour away when I heard a shot or it might be two, and looking in the direction he and his escort had taken, I saw several Kafirs pursuing his horse (one with the theodolite on it). Collecting a few men I went with them up to the steep ascent to meet the men running towards the camp. When we got near them they said Major White and the corporal had been killed by the Kafirs, and when they had sufficiently recovered from their panic they described how the Major had stationed himself

with the corporal at the head of a small wooded ravine from whence he could see the country we had passed through the previous day. The four men he had stationed at different points to watch the approach of any Kafirs. Those who killed Major White and the corporal had crept up to the wooded ravine and afforded only the chance of the one or two shots we had heard, when with assegais and knives they fell upon the Major and corporal and quickly despatched them.

A party of ten mounted men were sent to bring the bodies into camp. They were found partially stripped of clothing, with many wounds sufficient to cause immediate death. The party succeeded in bringing down the remains of the two murdered men, and the melancholy sight will long be borne in mind by those who witnessed it. But a short hour before Major White had been in full vigour, and in the exercise of an active and highly intelligent mind, and now all that remained was an inanimate and bloody corpse.

His loss will no doubt be esteemed a public one ; he had long been foremost in all works having for their object the public good. It is very mortifying that his topographical labours during the war have fallen into the hands of his murderers, and that thus much useful information is lost. It was my melancholy duty to see Major White and the corporal interred in the best manner our situation permitted, in graves dug, under the shade of a bush, with bayonets.

Col. Smith and his force returned to the camp on the Bashee about sunset and delivered us from much anxiety, as we now felt ourselves more than a match for our savage enemy, who were very numerous and evidently meant mischief. The death of Major White was severely felt by the chief of the staff, who had conceived a very high estimate of his character and ability. Scarcely had the tents been pitched and it was getting dark when the Kafirs made an attempt to retake the captured cattle, but met with so warm a reception from the 72nd Highlanders and others of our force that they left several dead on the field, and during the night carried others and wounded away.

Capt. Baillie's detachment still remained out, and about ten o'clock p.m. heavy firing in volleys was heard in its direction. Some time afterwards all returned to our camp.

safe. Capt. Baillie reported that the path of his detachment had been beset by large numbers of Kafirs, several of whom they had shot. They had also burnt many huts, but the Kafirs declared they should never reach the camp, and that they intended the following day to retake the captured cattle from us, and that we should never leave the Bashee.

The cattle we had seen the previous day had been driven too far for either Col. Smith or Capt. Baillie's to overtake them in the fatigued state of our force, the natural consequence of several forced marches, not often excelled by troops. The morning after Capt. Baillie's return to our camp on the Bashee, he asked me to show him where Major White and the corporal had been buried, which I did. With my gun in hand on one side of the graves, Capt. Baillie (the Hedley Vickars of our camp) on the other with the Bible open at the xv chapter 1st Corinthians. I shall never forget what he said over the graves, it was this: "Mr. Andrews, what I am going to read of the burial service over our friends is not so much for the dead as for the living, for how do we know how soon this may be our own fate." This was indeed prophetic: as regards poor Baillie. Subsequent events, which I may as well mention here, served to impress on my mind very strongly Capt. Baillie's remark. A very few weeks afterwards he with thirty of the Hottentot Battalion were employed in hunting up Kafir cattle, and observed some in a wooded kloof which, after the fashion of the Hottentot levies, they endeavoured to drive out of the kloof by firing into the bush. Thus they fired away nearly all their ammunition, when they were set upon by an overwhelming force of Kafirs, and after a brave defence with what ammunition remained, they were killed to a man. Capt. Baillie's body was afterwards distinguished by remains of his long hair, and the bodies of many of the enemy testified as to the stout resistance Capt. Baillie's party had offered, and the spot where *Charles Baillie the Good* rests, is still known as Baillie's Grave. He was a young man of strong religious feeling, and had much influence among the men he commanded, and among the coloured people generally whom he was brought in contact with. He was a man whose memory is deserving of every respect.

May 14.—We commenced recrossing the Bashee River, which occupied much time on account of the narrowness of the path through which the whole force and the captured cattle had to pass into and through the river.

The Kafirs showed themselves on the mountain tops in front, rear and flanks in vast numbers; we notwithstanding reached the top of the steep mountain on the south side of the Bashee in perfect safety. The Kafirs continued to follow us all day in great numbers, sometimes approaching very near us in the boldest manner, but hundreds throwing themselves down and moving off on all fours like baboons, if a shot was fired among them. (In those days the Galekas hardly knew what a gun was, except its effect occasionally on themselves). During our day's march it was computed that not less than 5,000 to 6,000 of the enemy were visible on both flanks and rear. Capt. Baillie bringing up the rear of the fugitive Fingoes who covered his men with their shields, sometimes dropped down in the long grass in the line of march, and on several occasions inflicted severe loss on the enemy by causing the Fingoes to open out of the mask of their shields, and proving to the Kafirs that they had others to deal with than the Fingoes. Notwithstanding our numerous foes we succeeded in reaching the camp where Fynn had remained with the wagon. All the captured cattle were brought in and nobody hurt. The Kafirs fired only two shots at us during the day, both wide of the mark. We were here joined by about 1,000 Fingoes, men, women and children. Among them was a Queen of huge dimensions, who occupied and it may be said filled our own wagon, which was placed at her disposal; she had two splendidly formed young Fingoes as her A.D.C.'s.

While on our march Col. Smith had the Fingoe warriors formed into three parts of a square into which the Queen waddled, resting an arm on each of her A.D.C.'s for support. Col. Smith addressed the Queen through an interpreter, pointing out to her and her people the advantage of British protection, and there is no doubt they have since realized the fact.

The country becoming open and flat the Kafirs ceased to follow us in any large numbers.

May 15.—Marched to within ten miles of Butterworth

and encamped near some Kafir huts, where we found abundance of corn for our horses.

May 16.—At 7 o'clock, a.m., arrived at Purcell's old trading station and encamped for the night, having observed in the evening vast herds of cattle being driven up the Kei towards the T'Somo, but the men having marched nearly 170 miles in six days were too much fatigued to pursue them with any chance of success, although quite ready to make the attempt. Better luck and more endurance was never displayed than that of the force comprising the expedition to the Bashee under Colonel Smith in 1835.

May 17.—This day we recrossed the Kei once more, and found the head quarter camp to be stationed about eight miles on the Colonial side of Warden's Post, a post newly formed, on which is placed a Howitzer $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch; it will be garrisoned by about 190 men.

The last week's campaign has been one of no ordinary character; its effects must be beneficial to the Cape Colony. By the rapidity with which Col. Smith's expedition marched from the bed of the Kei to within sight of the surf at the left bank of the Bashee mouth, and of the waters of the Umtata, and back again to the Kei, bringing with us upwards of 1,000 Fingoes, more than 1,000 head of cattle and having marched upwards of 220 miles, the Kafirs must have been convinced of our power in condign punishment, while the death of Hintza must have shown the golden rule that "honesty is the best policy," and that deceit and treachery met its just reward, even in the person of their great chief. The late Hintza's son was now prisoner in the camp. Boko, Hintza's brother, was also a prisoner; he received the news of his brother's death with the most unmoved calmness.

May 18.—Still remaining at the same camp, and have much writing in consequence of our last week's expedition. Despatched a large mail by Commandant Linde and young Otto. General Order published by Chief of the Staff, giving full account of the expedition to the Bashee, and particularly mentioning the conduct of the force and its officers during the operations.

May 22.—Marched to the yellow-wood trees and encamped for the night, having passed in the day's march a beautiful valley to be in future called "Glen Aberdeen,"

very much resembling some of the finest English park scenery.

May 23. — Marched at 7 o'clock a.m. (the morning piercingly cold) to the Missionary Station on the Buffalo, henceforth to be called *King William's Town*. Found only the walls of the Mission-house standing, which will, under the superintendence of Col. Smith, soon become a suitable residence for the Chief of the Staff.

Preparations commenced for making this place the permanent head-quarters of the army of occupation.

May 25. — This morning Capt. Beresford, A.D.C. to His Excellency the Governor, proceeded to Graham's Town, having the Chief Boko (Hintza's brother), in charge. From thence he will proceed to England, bearing Government despatches.

This day appears in General Orders permission at my own request to return home, and make preparations accordingly, though not without a divided feeling of pleasure and regret, the latter at leaving many kind and newly acquired friends, and a life, though sometimes harassing, yet full of interest and excitement.



CHAPTER XXV.

WARS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE AMAXOSA.

I TAKE the following third account of this war from the book of Major General Bisset, C.B., and entitled "Sport and War, or Fighting and Hunting in South Africa :"

"The Kafir war of 1834-5 broke out a day or two before Christmas. Kafir wars generally do break out about that time of the year, because the crops in British Kaffraria are then standing and advancing towards maturity ; and as the Kafirs carry no commissariat with them they are thus enabled to find food everywhere : and another reason is that the weather is then warm, the days long, and the nights short.

"I was at the time but a boy of fifteen years old ; nevertheless, as martial law was proclaimed, all civilians had to serve under arms, and I joined the Bathurst Volunteers under Cammandant Bowker. The Kafirs had already entered Lower Albany, in the Cape Colony, and a patrol was sent to warn the farmers to give assistance where they could. The patrol consisted of about twenty civilians, of which I was one. We proceeded first to the Kereiga River, and on reaching Botha's Farm we saw the Dutch mothers snatching up their children and running in all directions. This was occasioned by some native leaders and drivers of wagons having run home from the "Cowie Bush"—a distance of six or seven miles—reporting that their masters were attacked and surrounded by Kafirs. They had left the farm that morning with two ox wagons to fetch rushes for thatching, and while returning from the Cowie River were attacked by Kafirs. The native servants fled, and the three Dutchmen were surrounded and left to fight it out ; two only of them had guns. They retired, but when out of the main bush had to take 'cover' in a small round clump of bush in the open. This small bush was surrounded by the Kafirs, who were afraid to enter, but kept throwing their assegais into it. The Boers loaded and fired as rapidly as they could, and we could hear this firing

at a great distance, and raced as fast as our horses could carry us to their assistance. On our approach the Kafirs fled into the forest, and we found two of the Dutchmen in a most exhausted and deplorable condition—one had nineteen and the other twenty-three wounds ; and strange to say, the man without the gun was untouched. There was no doctor with our party, so Paddy McGrath, the farrier, had to attend to the wounded. One poor fellow had a bad spear wound in the stomach, through which a portion of the entrails were protruding, and I had to hold him while Paddy McGrath put back what was outside. It was a nasty beginning of war, and three men actually fainted from the sight. McGrath was sufficiently a doctor to know that the man alluded to could not live, for he found one of the intestines cut in two. The poor fellow died a few days afterwards, while the one with the twenty-three wounds recovered. It was impossible to follow the Kafirs into the forest, so we returned with the wounded to the farm, and escorted the whole family into Graham's Town as a place of safety."

In describing a passage of the Fish River, General Bisset relates a joke which ought not to be lost sight of. The river being swollen, it appears that a plucky little auctioneer got washed off his horse, and adopting the parlance of his tribe shouted out—"Going, going—gone by God—," and down he went ; but somebody caught him by the collar as he sunk and pulled him out.

The affair of "Murray's Krantz" is next described. "Krantz" means a precipice, and the place was named after Capt. Murray of 72nd Highlanders, who was wounded on the occasion.

To resume the text "the Kafirs were quite prepared for us, for they commenced at once to throw down great rocks and spears, &c., from the precipices above, which former had evidently been collected for the purpose. We, however, forced our way on, until we came to the bluff or acute angle of the cliff itself ; here only one man could pass at a time, and as that man came to the corner he was either shot down or assegaied. I was at this time a volunteer in the Corps of Guides, under my old friend Richard Southey, afterwards Lieut. Governor of the Diamond Fields. Driver was the particular guide on this

occasion, and was himself wounded in the nose by an assegai as he endeavoured to get round the corner. Capt. Murray, 72nd Regt. was wounded on the hip, and several men were killed and wounded. The first assegai thrown wounded a man, and passed quivering into the ground not far from where I was standing. Walter Currie and myself stepped across to withdraw this assegai, and as we drew it from the earth twenty spears entered the same spot, as it came within line of vision, from some hundreds of Kaffirs who were in mass but beyond the corner.

“Sir Harry Smith had in the meantime detached some companies of native battalions to pass round the northern extremity of the precipice, and thus outflank the Kafirs holding the point ; but before they could accomplish the distance a plucky discharged soldier from the 75th Regt., named O'Toole, had got into such a position at the point that he could fire ‘round the corner’ as fast as the men could hand loaded muskets to him ; and it was supposed that he was doing great execution, as we could see such an amount of wooden shafts of assegais that it looked like a waving field of corn. We very soon heard the rattle of our own musketry on the other side of the body of Kafirs, and they were taken so unawares by the outflanking party that they had very little chance of escape. Many, however, did get away by leaping and throwing themselves down the declivities of the rocks. Louis Arnoldus, a rebel Hottentot, who was in command of the Kafirs who had held this place, himself got so jammed in the cleft of a rock that he could not extricate himself ; and although his gun—a great elephant gun, four to the pound—was shot to pieces he himself was untouched, and he was taken prisoner in that helpless position. When the stronghold at the point was carried it appeared that O'Toole's zeal had been thrown away, as every ball had struck a rock in the line of fire immediately round the corner. A little further on, where our men met those coming from the north, there was a good deal of slaughter ; but the greater number escaped down the precipice, many of them being no doubt killed in the descent. The number of cattle on the plateau above was something incredible. A little way to the west there was a cattle track leading down to the

Governor's Camp, and a stream of cattle came pouring down this during the whole day. No less than 22,000 head of cattle were captured on this occasion.

"During the war of 1834-5 the troops under Sir Benjamin D'Urban crossed the Kei River and carried the war into the Transkeian territory. The head quarters of the army halted at Butterworth, but a strong force, under Sir Harry Smith, moved up the left bank of the Kei towards the source of the Tzomo River. This advance was performed with forced marches, and enabled the troops to overtake vast herds of cattle, which were thus captured from the enemy. A great many troop horses "knocked up" upon this expedition, and were shot to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The infantry officers' horses were in like manner destroyed, and it was curious to see *officers riding* at the head of their men *on pack bullocks*, guided by a thong through the cartilage of the nose of the ox. Besides, the skin of a bullock is so loose on its body that it is difficult to keep either yourself or a saddle on its back.

"The return into camp of this large patrol took nearly all day, from the long lines of cattle that had been captured and were being driven in. The next day the paramount chief of all Kaffirland, Hintza, surrendered himself to the Governor and came into our camp, with a number of his head councillors and others. It is customary on these occasions to present the great chief with one or more head of cattle for immediate slaughter, according to the number of his retinue. On this occasion only one was presented, and the Kaffir's mode of killing it deserves to be recorded. As showing the savage nature of these men (of whom many people erroneously judge by the standard of civilised ideas) the great ox was caught and pulled to the ground, while some of the menials were preparing a fire; the front and hind feet of the animal were tied together and stretched forwards and backwards by men pulling at them, the ox being turned and kept on its back. A Kaffir wizard or doctor, as they are sometimes called, plunged his assegai into the live bullock's stomach, making the hole sufficiently large in withdrawing the blade of the spear to admit of a man's hand and arm. The fat or covering of the inside immediately protruded, and this was pulled out,



Murray & St. Leger.

NOVEL CHARGERS.

Cape Town.

cut off, and thrown over the blazing fire; it frizzled up and became cooked almost instantly, and was then handed to the chief, who partook of it and handed portions to his head men. Not until this ceremony took place was the process of killing the ox continued. The witch doctor then plunged his arm in the hole, and he killed the animal by dividing the heart strings and blood vessels with his hand. Such are the Kaffirs in their savage life, and I am sorry to say I must detail a still more horrible scene that took place the next day, before I proceed to relate the circumstances attending the death of Hintza.

"We had moved back towards Butterworth, and were encamped for the night, when an alarm arose that the Fingoes were attacked by the Kaffirs. Now, the Fingoes had previously been serfs of the Kaffirs, and were living in great numbers amongst them. They were originally the dispersed tribes from Natal, who had fled from the vengeance of Tshaka, and taken refuge amongst these Kaffirs; and it having become known that Sir Benjamin D'Urban intended liberating these men from bondage, the Kaffirs rose on them, and the barbarities committed were atrocious. Men and women were killed and mutilated, and the young women had their bosoms cut out. The sight of these people flying in all directions into our camp was indeed most terrible to see.

"Shortly after this Hintza, failing to have the cattle he was judged to pay over brought in, suggested that he himself would go into the heart of his country with a small patrol and bring them in.

"This arrangement was agreed to, and Sir Harry Smith was named to command the expedition. I myself was at this time (May, 1835) a volunteer in the Corps of Guides, and was appointed one of Sir Harry's body guard.

* * * * * Hintza now became very restless. Several messengers had been sent to him the day before, and his witch doctor was seen to tie a certain charm round his neck. Hintza used to ride his own horse, a splendid dark bay half-bred English horse, presented to him a year before the war by Piet Uys, a celebrated Dutch Boer, a great hunter and breeder of superior horses. Sir Harry was leading the column, with Hintza at his side, followed by a few Cape Mounted

Riflemen and the Guides. Hintza at one point pushed past Sir Harry, who had to restrain him.

“On reaching the top of the high table land, a grand sight met our way. As far as the eye could range we saw thousands upon thousands of cattle being driven away from us. Sir Harry had his spy-glass out, and was looking at these masses. Hintza had been edging his way to the right, when all at once there was a shout, “Hintza has bolted!” And indeed he had got a start of at least fifty yards before any one saw him. Sir Harry threw down his glass, and we one and all dashed after the fugitive, but no horse but the General’s was equal to that of the chief. After about half-a-mile’s race, Sir Harry overtook Hintza, and ordered him to pull up, but instead of so doing the chief made a stab with a bundle of assegais, which he had been allowed to carry, at the General. It was lucky it was a bundle and not a single assegai, for although parried with his right arm, the points of the seven assegais penetrated his coat over the right breast and entered the skin. In self defence Sir Harry drew a pistol and again closed on the chief, directing him to pull up, when he again attempted to stab him. Sir Harry then snapped the pistol at his head. By this time we, being still behind, could see about ten thousand Kaffirs crowning the hills in all directions. Hintza was making direct for his people, and there was no time to be lost. *Sir Harry once more closed with the chief*, and this time seized him by the collar of his tiger skin robe, and slightly dividing the space between them, hurled the chief headlong to the ground. Hintza was on his feet in an instant, and drawing one of his assegais, threw it after Sir Harry; but his horse had bolted from fright at the chief’s fall, and the assegai fell short, but under the horse’s legs. Hintza was by this time at the edge of the table land, and running down the steep face of the mountain. We coming up, Sir Harry directed us to dismount and give chase, the ground being too steep for horsemen to follow. I fired two shots at the chief, but he gained the bush at the bottom of the hill and disappeared. William Southey, Driver, Balfour, and myself were the first to arrive on the spot, and Southey and Balfour entered the bush above, and Driver and myself below where the chief had disappeared, in order to

work towards each other. Southey was the first to come upon Hintza, who was half in the water. He had an assegai drawn and poised, and was in the very act of hurling it at Southey, when he put up his gun and blew the chief's brains out. The ball had entered the forehead and completely smashed his skull. I took the assegais and the charm from around his neck, and left immediately to carry the news to Sir Harry, who, though he did not wish the chief to escape, regretted that he had been killed. I received my first commission as an officer on this day."



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GREAT TREK OF BOERS FROM THE CAPE COLONY.

THE causes of this Trek have been given over and over again, and so need not be here repeated. Suffice it to say that the "Abolition of slavery"; the depreciation of paper money; the lawlessness of the Frontier-Kafirs, and the encouragement given to Hottentot servants to complain of their Boer masters, added to a naturally roving disposition, set the restless Boers at work to seek for pastures new, where each one might build in peace, the lord and master of the heathen, and be so far apart that he could not see the smoke of his neighbour's chimney.

Accordingly as early as 1834, five Boers—viz : two of the Uys family; De Lange; Maritz; and Rudolph, as stated elsewhere, were sent to spy out the richness of the land of Natal, and they returned from thence to the Cape Colony and reported favourably.*

But it was not until 1836 that a regular move was made. The first to leave was a little band of forty-nine individuals† from the Division of Albany, under a leader named Louis Trieckhard. Trieckhard was a man of violent temper, and had given vent to his animosity to the Imperial Government in such blustering language that he was regarded by the Colonial authorities as capable even of joining the Kaffirs against the English. At the close of the war of 1834-5 Colonel Smith offered a reward of five hundred head of cattle for his apprehension, which led to his leaving at once.

* I had already collected a long account of the incidents of this Trek from the same materials used by Mr. Theal, but upon that gentleman kindly directing my attention to his valuable and carefully condensed compilation, I gladly availed myself of it.

† Louis Trieckhard with wife and four children, Carel Trieckhard with wife and two children, Hendrik Botha with wife and five children, J Pretorius with wife and four children, G. Scheepers with wife and nine children, H. Strydom with wife and five children, J. Albrecht with wife and five children, and a young man named Daniel Pfeffer.

This party was joined before it crossed the colonial border by another of equal size under Johannes Rensburg*

Together they had thirty wagons. Travelling slowly northward, in May, 1836, they reached the Zoutpansberg, where they halted for a while. After a short delay, Rensburg's party moved on again, and soon afterwards encountered a tribe of natives, by whom it was believed they were all murdered. Many years later, however, it was ascertained that two of the children had been spared, and had grown up among the savages.

With a view of ascertaining the distance of Delagoa Bay and the nature of the intervening country, a few months after Triechard's party also left the Zoutpansberg, though with an intention of returning and forming a permanent settlement there. Their design was frustrated by fever, which attacked them and carried off several of their number, and the tsetse fly, which destroyed nearly the whole of their cattle. In April, 1838, feeble and impoverished, they reached the Bay, where they met with most unbounded hospitality from the Portuguese authorities. There they remained for more than a year, during which time their number was constantly diminishing by fever. At length their friends, hearing where and in what condition they were, chartered the schooner *Mazeppa* to proceed to Delagoa Bay to their relief, and in July, 1839, the remnant of the party, twenty-five in number,† were landed in Natal. One young man, a son of Louis Triechard, had gone to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the Bay, but in the following year he managed to travel overland to his friends in Natal. Thus of the ninety-eight individuals who formed the first body

* Johannes Rensburg with wife and four children, S. Bronkhorst with wife and six children, G. Bronkhorst, the elder, with wife and one child, G. Bronkhorst, the younger, with wife, Jacobus de Wet with wife, F. van Wyk with wife and two children, P. Viljoen with wife and six children, H. Kraukamp with wife and three children, N. Prins with wife and eight children, and M. Prins.

† Mr. H. Botha and five children, Mrs. G. Scheepers and five children, Mrs. J. Pretorius and two children, three young men, and seven orphan children.

of emigrants, all had perished except the twenty-six who reached Natal in a state of destitution, and the two, still more wretched, who were living with the savages.

During the winter of 1836 preparations for emigration were being made all over the Eastern and Midland Districts. The Government was perfectly helpless in the matter. The Attorney-General, Mr. A. Oliphant, was consulted by the Governor, and gave his opinion that "it seemed next to an impossibility to prevent persons passing out of the Colony by laws in force or by any which could be framed." On the 19th of August, Sir Benjamin D'Urban wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, that "he could see no means of stopping the emigration except by persuasion and attention to the wants and necessities of the farmers." In that direction the Governor had done all that was in his power, but he could not act in opposition to the instructions of the Secretary of State. Sir Andries Stockenstrom himself, in replying to an address from the inhabitants of Uitenhage, stated that "he was not aware of any law which prevented any of His Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive."

Before this time the second party of emigrants had left. It consisted of farmers from the Tarka, and was under Commandant Andries Hendrik Potgieter, a substantial burgher of kindly disposition and moderate views. Attached to this party, and acknowledging Potgieter as Chief Commandant, was a body of burghers from the district of Colesberg. The subsequent sufferings of this section of the party and the events which those sufferings gave rise to entitle it to particular notice. It consisted of Carel Cilliers with his wife and six children, Johannes Du Toit with his family, Johannes Botha with his family, three families Kruger, eight families Liebenberg, four families Brookhuizen, four families Brits, and three families Rensburg. These did not all move out in one body, but about half of them joined Potgieter and went on in advance, and the others followed as fast as they could get away.

Commandant Potgieter directed his course northward past Thaba Nchu until he came to the Vet River. On its banks,

close to the site of the present village of Winburg, he found a remnant of the Bataung tribe under the chief Makwana. Makwana claimed the whole country between the Vet and Vaal rivers as having been in possession of his tribe before the recent wars, but he was then in an abject condition, poor, powerless, and afraid to do anything that might draw upon him the notice of Moselekatse. Under these circumstances he was very ready to enter into an arrangement with Potgieter, by which he ceded to the emigrants all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers, except the tract which he reserved for the use of his own people, upon condition of being protected from the Matabele, and provided with a small herd of cattle. This arrangement having been concluded, the emigrants, in fancied security, scattered themselves over the vacant country, and some of them even crossed the Vaal and went down along its northern bank to the junction of the Mooi.

On the 24th of May a party, the second, consisting of the Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, his brother Hermanus Potgieter, Messrs. Carl Cilliers, J. G. S. Bronkhorst, R. Jansen, L. van Vuuren, A. Zwanepoel, J. Roberts, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, H. Nieuwenhuizen, and C. Liebenberg, left the Sand River for the purpose of inspecting the country to the northward as far as Delagoa Bay. For eighteen days, or until they reached Rhenoster Poort, they met no natives, but from that point they found the country thinly inhabited. On their way they visited Louis Triefhard's camp at the Zoutpansberg. The distance proving greater than they anticipated when they set out, they turned back before reaching Delagoa Bay, and on the 2nd of September arrived at the spot where they had left the last emigrant encampment on their outward journey, where they found that a dreadful massacre had just taken place.

The massacre had been committed in the following manner. Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus, a field-cornet living on the Kraai River, in the present Division of Aliwal North, had got up a party to hunt elephants in the interior and had gone some distance north of the Vaal River for that purpose. The hunting party consisted of Erasmus himself, his three sons, Mr. Pieter Bekker and his son, and Messrs. Johannes Claasen and Carl Kruger. They had

with them a number of coloured servants, five waggons, eighty oxen, and about fifty horses. They had not been very successful, and were slowly returning homewards, still hunting by the way. One morning they left the waggons and cattle as usual in charge of the servants, and forming three small parties, rode away in different directions. In the evening Erasmus and one of his sons, who were together during the day, returned to the waggons and found them surrounded by five or six hundred Matabele soldiers, being a band sent out by Moselekatse to scour the country. It was ascertained long afterwards that the other two sons of Erasmus and Carl Kruger, who formed a separate hunting party, had been surprised by the Matabele and murdered. The Bekkers and Claasen were out in another direction, and when the Matabele came upon them they were some distance from each other. The first two escaped, the last was never heard of again.

Erasmus and the son who was with him rode for their lives towards the nearest party of emigrants, who they knew were not further off than five hours on horseback. They obtained the assistance of eleven men, and were returning to ascertain the fate of the others when they encountered a division of the Matabele army, and turned back to give notice to those behind. The families furthest in advance had hardly time to draw their waggons in a circle and collect within it, when the Matabele were upon them. From ten in the morning till four in the afternoon the assailants vainly endeavoured to force a way into the laager, and did not relinquish the attempt until fully a third of their number were stretched on the ground. Of thirty-five men within the laager only one, Adolf Bronkhorst, was killed, but a youth named Christian Harmse and several coloured servants, who were herding cattle and collecting fuel at a distance, were murdered.

Another party of the Matabele had in the meantime gone further up the river and had unexpectedly fallen upon the encampment of the Liebenbergs. They murdered old Barend Liebenberg, the patriarch of the family, his sons Stephanus, Barend, and Hendrik, his son-in-law Johannes du Toit, his daughter, Du Toit's wife, his son Hendrik's wife, a schoolmaster named Macdonald, four children, and twelve coloured servants; and they took

away three children to present to their chief. The two divisions of Matabele warriors then united and returned to Mosega for the purpose of procuring reinforcements, taking with them large herds of the emigrants' cattle.

Six days later Erasmus, in his anxiety as to the fate of his sons, rode to the spot where his waggon had stood and found there nothing but the bodies of five of the servants. His waggon was seen at Mosega by Captain Harris* a few days later, and the same traveller learnt that two of the captive children, being girls, had been taken to one of Moselekatse's residences further north. He does not seem to have heard of the captive boy. At that time the emigrants themselves were ignorant that the children were still alive, as until Captain Harris's return they believed that all had been murdered.

As soon as the Matabele were out of sight the farmers hastened across the Vaal, and formed a laager at the place since known as Vechtkop, between the Rhenoster and Wilge Rivers. The laager was constructed of fifty wagons drawn up in a circle, firmly lashed together, and every opening closed with thorn trees.

The month of October was well advanced when one morning a few frightened Bataung rushed into the camp and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Immediately the horses were saddled, and after a short religious service conducted by Mr. Carel Cilliers, the farmers rode out with Commandant Potgieter at their head, and encountered a division of Moselekatse's forces, about five thousand strong, under Kalipi, Moselekatse's favourite captain. Riding close up, they poured a volley into the mass of savages, and then retired to reload their clumsy guns. This manœuvre they repeated, constantly falling back until the laager was reached. The Matabele now thought they had the farmers in a trap, and encircling the camp, they sat down at some distance from it and feasted their eyes with a sight of their supposed victims. After a while they suddenly rose, and with a loud hiss, their ordinary signal of destruction, they rushed upon the laager

* Cornwallis Harris, of the Engineer Department of the East India Co. Service, who was out on a protracted hunting trip.—See his book.

and endeavoured to force an entrance. There were only forty men, all told, inside, but luckily they had spare guns, and the women knew how to load them. The assailants were received with a deadly fire, and they fell back, but only to rush on again. The wagons were lashed together too firmly to be moved, and finding it impossible to get to close quarters, the foremost Matabele soldiers abandoned their usual method of fighting and hurled their heavy assagais into the laager. One thousand one hundred and thirteen of these weapons were afterwards picked up in the camp. By this means they managed to kill two of the defenders, Nicholas Potgieter and Pieter Botha, and to wound more or less severely twelve others. Still the fire kept up by those who remained was so hot that Kalipi judged it expedient to retire, and in less than half an hour after the first rush the Matabele turned to retreat. They, however, collected the whole of the cattle belonging to the emigrants and drove them off, leaving not a hoof except the horses which the farmers had been riding, and which were within the camp. Potgieter with his little band followed them until sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover any cattle. On their return to the camp they counted a hundred and fifty-five corpses close to the wagons. Altogether, the Matabele had now killed twenty whites and twenty-six persons of colour, and they had swept off a hundred horses, four thousand six hundred head of horned cattle, and more than fifty thousand sheep and goats.

Just at this time the first families of the third party of emigrants from the Colony arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu. This party came from the division of Graaff-Reinet, and was under the leadership of Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who had previously been the proprietor of a large wagonmaking establishment, and was a man of considerable wealth. They had not less than one hundred wagons with them, and as their flocks and herds were very numerous they were obliged to travel slowly and to spread over a great extent of country. Almost the first information of the earlier emigrants which came to their ears after they crossed the Orange was brought by Hermanus Potgieter to Thaba Nchu, to which place he was sent by his brother to seek assistance for the families

at Vechtkop, who were left in a helpless condition by the loss of their cattle.

The Rev. Mr. Archbell, Wesleyan missionary at Thaba Nchu, spared no exertions to procure aid for his suffering fellow Christians. Though his influence Moroko lent some oxen, the missionary sent his own, the farmers in the neighbourhood went with their teams, and by these combined means the whole of Potgieter's camp was brought back to Thaba Nchu. Upon the arrival of the distressed people, Moroko treated them with great kindness. He gave them corn, and even lent them cows to supply their children with milk.

As soon as possible the Commandants Potgieter and Maritz assembled a force for the purpose of punishing Moselekatse. The Griqua captain Pieter Davids eagerly tendered the services of his followers, in the hope that the expedition might effect the release of his daughter and his nephew. Matlabe, the petty Barolong chief who had once been a soldier in the Matabele army, volunteered to be the guide. A few Korannas and Barolong engaged their services with a view to sharing the spoil. As ultimately made up, the force consisted of one hundred and seven farmers on horseback, forty of Pieter David's Grikwas and five or six Korannas, also on horseback, and sixty natives on foot belonging in about equal numbers to the clans of Gontse, Tawane, Moroko, and Matlabe.

Under Matlabe's guidance the commando pursued its march through a country so desolate that after crossing the Vaal not a single individual was met, and the approach of a hostile force was quite unknown to the Matabele. At early dawn on the morning of the 17th of January, 1837, the military camp in the valley of Mosega was surprised. This camp consisted of fifteen separate kraals, and was under command of the induna Kalipi, who happened at the time to be away at Kapayin, fifty miles further to the northward.

Seven months earlier three American missionaries, Dr. Wilson and the Rev. Messrs. Lindley and Venable, had taken up their residence at Mosega with Moselekatse's permission. The chief had met Christian teachers before, but he had never comprehended even the first principles of the doctrines which they endeavoured to expound. As soon as he ascertained that the preaching of the American missionaries was against his actions he forbade his people

to listen to them, and shortly afterwards he left Mosega and went to reside at Kapayin. The missionaries had been attacked by fever, and some members of their families had died; but they still continued at their post, hoping and praying for an opportunity of carrying on the work to which they had devoted themselves. On the morning of the 17th of January they were awakened by the report of guns, and rushing out of their huts they saw clouds of smoke rising above the entrances of two of the passes into the valley, indicating the position of the farmers under Potgieter and Maritz.

The Matabele soldiers grasped their spears and shields, and rushed forward; but volleys of slugs from the long elephant guns of the farmers drove them back in confusion. Their commanding officer was away, and there was no one of sufficient authority to restore order. The soldiers took to flight, and were hunted by the farmers until the sun was high overhead, when it was computed that at least four hundred must have been slain. The commando then set fire to the military kraals, and having found in the valley most of the waggons that had belonged to their murdered friends and six or seven thousand head of cattle, it was considered advisable to return to the Caledon. Not a single individual, European or native, had been hurt on their side. The missionaries and their families returned with the commando. The native contingent acted as herds, and received payment in cattle for its services.

After returning from Mosega, Potgieter removed his camp from the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu to the Vet River, about where Winburg has since been built, where he was strengthened by numerous families from the Colony. Unfortunately jealousy of each other, that evil which was afterwards so prominent among the emigrants, had already begun to appear. Potgieter and Maritz quarrelled, and party feeling was bitter and strong.

In April, 1837, *another band* of emigrants arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu. It consisted of twenty-six families from the Winterberg,* in all one hundred and

* Pieter Retief and family, James Edwards and family, 3 families Greyling, 7 families Rensburg, 2 families Malan, 3 families Viljoen, 1 family Meyer, 1 family Van Dijk, 2 families Joubert, 1 family Dreyer, 3 families Van Staden, and a school-master named Alfred Smith.

eight individuals, besides servants, and was under the leadership of Mr. Pieter Retief, a man of great worth. Mr. Retief, who traced his descent from one of the Huguenots who fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and came to South Africa in 1688, was born and brought up near the present village of Wellington, but had removed to the Eastern Frontier, and in 1820, when the British Settlers arrived, he contracted with the Government for the supply of provisions to them. In this capacity he was brought into close contact with the leading Settlers, and soon acquired their confidence and esteem. Subsequently heavy losses in building contracts reduced his circumstances, and he then went to reside at the Winterberg, where the war of 1834-5 still further impoverished him. At this time he was Field Commandant of his Division. His remonstrances against the policy pursued towards the Kafirs after the war brought him into disfavour with Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, who wrote to him in such a style as to increase his irritation. He then resolved to leave the Colony, and was immediately elected by the intending emigrants from the Winterberg to be their head. A document embodying the reasons for emigrating was then drawn up, and was published in the *Graham's Town Journal*, upon which the Lieutenant-Governor officially announced that he had struck Mr. Retief's name out of the list of Field Commandants because he had signed it.

Upon his arrival at Thaba Nchu, Mr. Retief was elected Commandant-General of all the emigrants, then numbering over a thousand souls. His first task was to compose the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, and he apparently succeeded in restoring friendship between them, though it only lasted a short season. His next care was for the observance of public worship. There was no ordained clergyman among the emigrants, but there was an old missionary teacher, by name Erasmus Smit, and he was engaged to conduct the services. Mr. Maritz was recognized as laundrost or magistrate. Mr. Retief then visited the chiefs Moroko, Tawane, Moshesh, and Sikonyela, and entered into agreements of mutual friendship with them.

While these arrangements were being made the number

of the emigrants was rapidly increasing. They were arriving by single families as well as in parties. One large band under Mr. Pieter Jacobs came from the division of Beaufort. Another under Mr. Jacobus Uys came from Uitenhage. This last numbered more than one hundred souls, and was composed entirely of Mr. Uys's sons and daughters with their wives and husbands, children and grandchildren, for the leader was nearly seventy years of age. He was one of the most widely respected men in South Africa. His son Pieter Lavras Uys had won the admiration of the British Settlers by his gallant conduct in the Kafir war, and when the party reached Graham's Town on its way towards the border, the residents of that place testified their sympathy by a public deputation, which in the name of the community presented a large and very handsome Bible to the old man.

By the end of May there were more than a thousand wagons between the Caledon and Vaal rivers, and Mr. Retief resolved early in June to send another expedition against the Matabele. He had already sent word to Moselekatse that if everything taken from the emigrants was restored he would agree to peace, but no answer had been returned. Sikonyela, Moroko, and Tawane, seeing the farmers in such strength, offered their services, which Mr. Retief declined with thanks, as he knew from experience how impossible it would be to satisfy the demands of native allies. The expedition, however, was prevented from proceeding by rumours that the Griquas of Waterboer and Kok were preparing to attack the emigrants.

About this time Dingaan, Tshaka's successor, sent an army against Moselekatse. The Matabele were defeated by the Zulus in a great battle, in which one of their regiments perished almost to a man. They saw their cattle in possession of the conquerors; but they had courage and discipline enough to rally, and by another engagement they managed to recover some of their herds. The Zulus then retreated to their own country, taking with them among the captured cattle some oxen and sheep that had once belonged to the emigrant farmers.

During the winter of 1837 the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz was revived, and the whole of the

emigrants were affected by it. Retief found it impossible to restore concord. From this time onward for some years jealousies were so rife and party feeling ran so high that it is not safe to take the statement of any individual among the emigrants as an accurate version of occurrences. Even the account of Mr. J. N. Boshof, the calmest and best writer among them, is distorted by partisan feeling. These jealousies caused the secession of a large number of farmers from the principal body under Mr. Retief. The parties of Potgieter and Uys resolved to set up distinct governments of their own, the first on the ground purchased from Makwana, the last somewhere in the territory that is now the Colony of Natal. To Natal also Retief determined to proceed, and in October he paid a preliminary visit to that district. While he was absent the second expedition against the Matabele took place.

The commando consisted of two divisions, mustering together three hundred and thirty farmers, one division being under Hendrik Potgieter, the other under Pieter Uys.

The punishment inflicted upon Moselekatse was so severe that he found it necessary to abandon the country he had devastated, and flee to the far north, there to resume on other tribes his previous career of destruction.

Six or seven thousand head of cattle were captured by the expedition, and given over to the native herdsmen to take care of. One night these were surprised by a small party of Matabele, when several of the Baralong lost their lives, and some of the cattle were retaken. In the division of the captured stock the native herdsmen were very liberally dealt with, Matlabe's people receiving sixty-nine head for their services.

After the flight of Moselekatse, Commandant Potgieter proclaimed the whole of the territory which that chief had overrun and now abandoned forfeited to the emigrants. It included the greater part of the present South African Republic, fully half of the present Orange Free State, and the whole of Southern Bechuanaland to the Kalahari Desert except the district occupied by the Batlapin. This immense tract of country was then almost uninhabited, and must have remained so if the Matabele had not been driven out.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EARLY DAYS OF NATAL.

HAVING in a former chapter given some account of one of Natal's earliest visitors, Lieut. Farewell, who we have seen was killed by Qeto in 1830, I must now mention another celebrated early comer, whom I have slightly noticed before.

Captain Allan F. Gardiner, R.N., left Spithead for the Cape on the 26th of August, 1834. On arriving at that place, he travelled overland, up the Coast, to Natal, and arrived at the Bay of Natal on the 29th of January, 1835, and was, he says in his book, kindly received by Mr. Collis, a trader.

After staying at the Bay a few days, he went into Zululand to try and impress Dingaan with the necessity of establishing missions, and then returned to the Bay on the 14th of March, 1835.

He then at the request of the settlers set up a mission station on a Hill overlooking the Bay, and so called by him "Berea" (alluding to the Berea of the Gospel, where the natives accepted the Word). The gallant mariner says that on returning from Zululand and nearing the Bay, he saw large numbers of game, large and small, of all sorts. On reaching home and "outspanning" a dog was tied under the wagon. Shortly afterwards a fearful yelling and howling was heard. A huge panther had seized the poor brute. The Hottentot driver ran and got his gun, and levelling, shot the animal dead. His diary also informs us that a few days before a couple of panthers were seen in the moonlight, quietly squatted on the roof of their church, then building, and making a hearty meal off a large piece of beef, which had been suspended (by way of security) from the beams. The Captain says he saw no vestige of Farewell's Fort at the Bay.

After helping the little band of pioneers to mark out what is now the city of D'Urban (with its magnificent, luxurious, and colossal Town Hall), the Captain heard from

Dingaan that that potentate held him responsible (as treaty maker) for the good behaviour of the settlers at the Bay, and so he made up his mind to go to Cape Town to ask Sir Benjamin D'Urban for some force to compel Dingaan to keep *his* part of the bargain, and with this intention he left Natal for the Cape, with Henry Ogle, and Dick King—the latter driving the Captain's wagon. But finding the natives southward on the eve of war he turned back on the 3rd of Sept., 1835, determining to go by sea.

On the Cape side of the Umzimkulu, Gardiner came upon the locations of Fynn, Ogle, and Cane. It appears that in the month of June, 1833, Dingaan's army on its return from N'capais country, attacked a wagon belonging to some Hottentots, standing on the right bank of this river, and murdered all the people except three. This account soon reached Port Natal, and it was rumoured that this was the prelude to a general attack upon the settlement. On its way home a large detachment of the Zulu army passed near the Bay, which at once induced the natives to give full credence to the reports of their hostile designs, and, without waiting the development of their plan, they mustered in large parties—in some instances assisted by the white people—and began firing upon them from the bushes, as they pursued their route. The Zulus, unaccustomed to the use of muskets, and surprised at this unexpected attack, gave way, and unresistingly fled in all directions, until they regained the whole body, when all of them made their best way home.

No sooner was the above affair related to Dingaan than he ordered all his people then inhabiting the district between the Port and the Tugela to withdraw; and though two entire regiments were stationed there, the whole moved off, and have never since occupied any portion of the country to the southward of that river, which is still considered as their boundary in that direction. A simultaneous movement was at the same time made by the inhabitants of Port Natal, both black and white, who, naturally apprehensive of retaliation on the part of Dingaan, left the country, and fled beyond the Umzimkulu. The greater part of the latter soon returned, but many belonging to Fynn, Ogle and Cane still remained, and have established themselves in the places referred to,

forming permanent villages and cultivating the ground. These people still acknowledge the sons of their former chief.

Hottentots are the "happy-go-lucky" Paddies of South Africa—unfortunately, though, they are fast dying out. Gardiner, it appears, came across one who was distantly related to Baron Munchausen. The Tottie said he had been in pursuit of an elephant. So suddenly had he come upon the animal while watching its movements in a thick wood, that before he had time to retreat he felt the pressure of its trunk actually wound round his head. Had the grasp been lower it would have been fatal, but most providentially it merely lifted the cap from his head, and instantly, on finding himself liberated, with that presence of mind that danger oft induces, he dived between the animal's fore legs, and passing quickly in his rear, eventually effected his escape.

Wolves, says the Captain, on the return trip, were very numerous, and quite as fierce as in the Zulu Country. Ogle spoke of one very cheeky one with which he had an adventure at Hlom 'Ndhlini, when he was in the employ of Farewell. While sleeping in a hut with several natives belonging to the party, a spotted hyena entered, and seizing one of the Kafirs by the forehead, dragged him towards the door way, but was unable to proceed, as the wicker door, which slides between two short posts, had swung back and partly closed the opening by which he had forced his way. In this predicament the screams of the man, and the efforts of both, soon awoke the rest of the party, who, to their great surprise, found this unwelcome companion a prisoner among them. Shouting to the people in a hut near, some burning faggots were introduced, which had the instantaneous effect of liberating the sufferer and ejecting the disappointed intruder.

On Tuesday, the 15th of September, Gardiner says he rode to the Berea, where he found that an elephant had charged a group of Blankenberg's Kafirs. All crept away, but the beast caught one who ran and pounded him to death.

On Thursday, the 24th of September, our hero left the Bay to go by the Drakensberg route (the others being closed) to the Cape to see the Governor, and then go to England. On the eve of setting out, he says, he received

letters containing a most heartrending account of a dreadful accident to an affectionate friend, and those with him. Mr. Collis's Magazine, containing 1,500 lbs. of powder, had exploded the day before, and himself, his infant child, the native nurse, and a Hottentot named Klaas, had been killed, while several natives were severely hurt.

The circumstances which led to this awful scene, was related by a native who was present and severely burnt. Mr. Collis had gone in to the magazine to take out a gun. In order to try the flint he had imprudently snapped the lock with the muzzles pointed towards a powder barrel, when the gun, which he had carelessly put away loaded, but without priming, went off, and the explosion, which was heard many miles away, took place.

The mangled bodies of Mr. Collis and the Hottentot were blown to a considerable distance. The skull of the poor little infant, which was in the arms of its nurse, seated on the outside of an adjoining building, was fractured, and it shortly after died.

High up on the Umzimkulu Gardiner saw the wagon tracks of Piet Uys's party, made when they returned from Natal in 1834, in order to protect their families and property from the Kafirs who had broken out in the third Kafir war. Here the traveller was struck with the sight of a huge peak in the Drakensberg, which he then and there named "The Giant's Castle."

On the 3rd of December, 1835, Capt. Gardiner reached Algoa Bay, where he met Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who on the 5th despatched by the *Dore*, for Natal, a letter to Dingaan saying he was glad to receive his message, and that he would despatch an officer on behalf of the King of England to be in authority there in the place of Gardiner. While at Algoa Bay the latter met Dr. Adams, and Messrs. Grant and Champion, bound for Natal by the *Dore*.

On the 14th our hero was at Genadendal, and from there rode into Cape Town, and on Saturday, the 19th, he embarked on board the *Liverpool* (sent by the Imam of Muscat as a present to the King) anchored at St. Helena on the 2nd of January, 1835, and made the English coast on the 20th of February, where he landed in the pilot boat in the course of the evening, having been away from England just eighteen months.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

NATAL.

“ Now shines the sacred morn, when from the East,
Three Kings the holy cradled Babe address’d,
And hail’d Him Lord of Heaven : That festive day.
We dropped our anchors in an opening bay ;
The river from the sacred day we name,
And stores, the wand’ring seaman’s right, we claim ;
Stores we received !”

THUS, three centuries ago, wrote Camoens of the great navigator who, seventy-five years before, was the first man of European birth and Christian belief to set foot upon those shores. Vasco de Gama found there, in those days, a mild and hospitable race—and that race would have lived there to this day had the terrible uprising of the Zulu power not signalised its expulsion. British rule has done much to gather together under its wings the remnants of those devastated tribes, and it has now subverted the stronghold of the power that has so long stood in the way of humanity and civilisation.

The coast and Bay of Natal were at various times visited by the Dutch, English, and Portuguese ; occasionally by parties wishing to explore the country to ascertain its capabilities for the purposes of trade ; but mostly by crews of vessels wrecked on its inhospitable shores.

The first time that Natal was visited by the English appears to have been in 1683, when an English ship having been wrecked near Delagoa Bay, the crew, about eight in number, made their way overland to Cape Town, and received the assistance of the unsophisticated natives of the tribes through whose territories they travelled. The account given by them of the land on the eastern coast agrees pretty well with the present characteristics of that region, though civilisation has driven some of the animals to seek their habitation in more retired spots of the interior. The castaways stated that “ the natural fertility of the country travelled through made the

inhabitants lazy, indolent, docile, and simple. The rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water fowl, besides sea cows and crocodiles ; their woods with large trees, wild cattle, antelopes, elephants, rhinoceri, lions, tigers, wolves, and jackals, also many sorts of fowls and birds, with ostriches ”

In a MS. preserved in the Public Library at Cape Town, the Port of Natal is thus described :—“ The river of Natal falls into the Indian Ocean in 30° S. latitude. Its mouth is wide and deep enough for small craft, but there is a sand bank which at the highest flood has not more than ten or twelve feet of water. Within this bank the water is deep. This river is the principal one on the coast of Natal, and has been frequently visited by merchant vessels.” This statement is of importance as showing that a large river which formerly flowed into the Bay of Natal has now formed a mouth for itself some six miles to the northward. The description of the harbour applies to the present time.

In 1721 the Dutch established a factory at Port Natal, but soon abandoned it ; and until the arrival of Lieutenant Farewell, of the Royal Marines, and his party in 1823, the intercourse of the white men with the inhabitants of Natal was principally the result of shipwrecks along the rock bound coasts.

The foregoing remarks has sufficed to give the leading particulars of interest connected with Natal, from its discovery by Vasco de Gama on Christmas Day, 1497, to the year 1823, but as after this date it becomes the stage upon which civilized man is to act his part, events thicken around us and call for a more detailed account as the subject becomes more deeply interesting to Englishmen.

It was shortly before this time that Tshaka (the uncle of the late Zulu king, Cetywayo) swept like a devastating scourge over Natal with his terrible legions, making his name a terror to all who heard it, until no nation then in Southern Africa dared to stand before his wrath, but all fled like frighted birds or deer to safe retreats within the dense bush. Directly after Natal had been thus swept, Mr. Fynn and Lieut. Farewell reached its shores.

This portion of the Natal history is distinguished by what may be fairly termed the “ Knight Errantry of

Natal," as the romantic and the chivalrous considerably tinge it. The Kafir knights and squires who figured in the adventures of these times had their thousands of vassals, whom they could summon to fight against their enemies or against each other as occasion might require. They had not, certainly, their fortified castles, surrounded by moats, defended by ramparts, and mounted with guns, but they had what suited their purpose equally well, the dense bush into which they could flee with their people and remain until the enemy had wasted his energy or taken his departure. Accordingly, when the sound of alarm was heard from Tshaka or Dingaan a council of safety was called, at the end of which the sage warriors would, if the majority approved, make a sudden onslaught and then dissolve or disappear into the bush as no warlike force but a Kafir army can.

About this time Lieutenant Farewell applied to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape, to have his proposed colony fully recognised by the English Government as a regular dependency of the British Empire. The leading characters on the stage of Natal now were—Farewell, Fynn, Lieutenant King, and Jacob (a Kafir interpreter). About the same period Captain Gardiner and the Rev. Aldin Grout (of the American Mission), also landed in Natal, with a Rev. Mr. Owen, whom the Zulu chieftain Dingaan permitted to reside with him as a missionary.

Such were the leading characters in this drama. Unfortunately the pioneers fell out among themselves, until disease carried off Lieutenant King, and Lieutenant Farewell fell by the hand of the assassin, and the scenes which immediately followed were of the most exciting nature. Henry Ogle and John Cane had been in the employ of Lieutenant Farewell, and now took his people and his cattle, which they divided between them, and fully entered upon their career of Kafir chieftainship.

In the meantime the death of the terrible tyrant Tshaka somewhat disturbed the current of events.

This chief has been called the modern "Attila." In many things he differed from that "Scourge of God," but in others unhappily they bore too close a resemblance. Another of his designations has been the "Hyæna Man,"



Murray & St. Leger.

TSHAKA,
Formerly King of the Amazulus.

Cape Town.

as being descriptive of the revolting scowl and dark treachery of that ferocious beast, and he was also styled the "Great Elephant," as one who, with the weight of his ponderous body, could crush his victims beneath his feet. Tshaka early displayed extraordinary powers both of body and mind. His form was tall and well-proportioned ; his appearance commanding, and when excited, terrific ; his exploits were such as to compel wonder and fear. His mental powers were not at all inferior, as his deeds declare ; but here the baser passions at once assumed the reins, and the intellectual powers became the servants of suspicion, jealousy, hatred, revenge, lust, and ambition, producing relentless cruelty and unbounded ferocity. The circumstances in which he was placed afforded full opportunity for the development of all these evil passions combined, producing effects of the most appalling and sensational character.

By treachery and violence he got both his father and his brother cut off, and then took possession of the throne thus vacated, in a short time destroyed his early friend and guardian, and seizing his people and his country as a lawful prize. He then fought tribe after tribe in his own country, cutting many of them off, root and branch, and laying the remainder in abject wretchedness at his feet. He introduced the short stabbing assegai in the place of the long spear or assegai, in order that instead of a hazardous throw his men might give the mortal thrust, the deadly stab. It is thought that in a crush this murderous little weapon can be wielded more quickly than could a bayonet on a Martini. He would not allow his warriors to marry, lest they should be touched with the softer passions of the human breast ; he wished them to be rendered more reckless of life, and to be wholly unencumbered. With armies thus prepared, his name became a terror through the land, but few being found who could stand before them. With these he swept the countries as with the besom of destruction, and wasted them until they were without inhabitants. He chased the other tribes as frightened deer to the mountain, or laid them dead in heaps on the plain. Desolation and destruction stalked in his fiery course, his path being tracked by blood and death.

Over the fertile colony of Natal this tempest of

destruction swept, about the year 1820. Tshaka, before having conquered all beyond the Umhlatoos, his nation's boundary, broke forth, like an irresistible flood, covering the land with a deluge of blood. According to every account and indeed very numerous relics such as old stone kraals, grinding stones, broken earthenware, &c., &c., shew that the country was swarming with human beings, but the whole were not able to oppose the force of his arms, or arrest the progress of his victories. One or two severe battles were fought; but the shades of gathering night dispersed the combatants, and the light of the following morning found those who had opposed the Zulus far distant, having availed themselves of the protection of darkness to escape, whilst the Zulus looked around for the foe but found him fled.

This mighty executioner of the human race not only spread terror abroad by the success of his arms, but was feared and dreaded at home on account of the number who fell victims to his suspicions, revenge, or caprice. Captains, men, women, children, all fell before the motion of his head, or the flourish of his hand; life was cheap and blood was spilled like water. Terror reigned rampant, and pity and mercy fled withering, and savage human nature stalked in state amid suspicion, horror, murder, and death. It was this chief who on his death bed ordered twelve maidens to be buried alive with him to administer to him in his Zulu Hades. The horrible deed was done. When he saw the vultures soaring, he said his chickens must be fed, and a score or two of men were at once knocked on the head. The exterminating principle obtaining among this people reminds one very much of the bloody battles described in the Pentateuch, where "every vestige" of the enemy was wiped off the face of *Bona Dea Tellus*. During one of the wars between the Zulus and the Amaswazis to the northward, the warriors belonging to a kraal of the latter people, had left their happy home upon a foraging excursion, when a fierce Zulu regiment, swooping down the adjacent hill side like a tornado, burst with terrible fury upon the few men left to defend the place, and slaughtered men, women, children, dogs, cats, even to the very kittens and chickens, and piling them on the wrecks of their habitations reduced the entirety to

ashes, and danced their savage but not unmusical war dance round the horrible and unholy holocaust. When the shield-bearing and plumed warriors returned at noon the next day to their kraal, they stared mutely at the scene of desolation, in which nought was to be seen but a large earthenware pot, generally used for brewing beer from the "Kaffir corn," simmering over the live ashes of a fire. Upon removing the lid they found their unborn babes boiling in the fluid. * * * * *

It is a relief to say that at last this savage monster, but martially and physically speaking, splendid barbarian, Tshaka, fell by the hand of his own brother Dingaan. One day about noon Dingaan came secretly upon Tshaka at the Umvoti River in Natal, whilst the latter was sitting in council. Finding his dread fate at hand the great destroyer implored pity, but even as he never had shown mercy to others, none was now shown to him, and he was, at a sign from Dingaan, rushed upon and stabbed with fifty assegais.

The reign of this inhuman despot was stained by a succession of enormities of so deep a dye that the blood curdles in the recital. Even in the annals of savage nations (says Isaacs) his atrocities stand forth pre-eminent. He was a fiend in human form, to whose vices and crimes history, either ancient or modern, cannot furnish the slightest parallel.

The family of this monster, whose name in the Sechuana language signifies "The Battle Axe," for ever remarkable for its conquests, cruelty, and ambition, emerged from a tribe originally inhabiting a district about Delagoa Bay, of which, as I have said, tradition informs us the first king was named "Zulu." Senzangakona, a son of "Zulu," and father of Tshaka, made his way from the primitive location of his ancestors to the White Umfolosi, and colonising within sixty miles of the coast, kept the neighbouring tribes in terror and subjection. In addition to thirty wives, he was possessed of concubines without number, and had many children; but from peculiar circumstances attending the birth of the infant Tshaka it was esteemed a miraculous event, and the child in consequence was held by the nation to be something superhuman. Advancing towards manhood, he did not disappoint the expectations formed of him. His strength

became herculean, his disposition turbulent, his heart iron, his soul a warring element, and his ambition boundless.

The precocity, shrewdness, and cunning of Tshaka speedily attracted the notice and jealousy of his father. Knowing full well from the fate of his own progenitors that amongst the Zulus the son, whose ripening energies and developing physical powers render him capable of setting an example for his subjects to imitate, experiences little difficulty in dethroning his aged and grey-headed sire, whose declining years render him no longer fit for feats of prowess, he resolved that the young prince should die, and began to plot his destruction. Discovering this, Tshaka fled with his younger brother to a neighboring tribe called the Umtetwas, under Dingiswayo, as we have already seen, where he was hospitably received. He soon distinguished himself, as well amongst the warriors by deeds of daring as by his surpassing skill in punning and singing, both of which accomplishments are held in rare estimation, being, with the exception of dancing, almost the only amusements in which the Africans ever indulge.

On the sudden decease of Senzangakona, one of his youngest sons, assuming the crown of the Zulus, Tshaka at once resolved to dethrone him, in order to usurp his place at the head of the nation; and with this view he formed a project which he speedily put in execution.* His younger brother repaired to the residence of the young monarch with a story that Dingiswayo had slain Tshaka, in consequence of which he had himself been obliged to fly for life and throw himself at his brother's feet for protection. This important and much wished for information being implicitly believed, Umgatye, the said younger brother, was presently installed in the office of chief domestic, and being thus constantly about the royal person, had every facility afforded him for the accomplishment of his bloody mission. Sending two of his confidential friends to secrete themselves in the long grass by the river side, while the king was taking his usual morning bath, the

* It will be noticed that this account slightly differs from another traditional account elsewhere (page 175): but this one—giving the supreme credit to the Zulus—is by far the most likely one to be true, as back to Tshaka's grandfather, Zulu, the Zulus, as has been said, were paramount as far as prowess is concerned.

latter was speared to death on a preconcerted signal, and Tshaka took possession of the throne.

The putting to death of all the principal persons of his brother's government, including every one that was suspected of being inimical to his own accession, was the first act that signalised his bloody reign. Dingiswayo dying shortly afterwards, the young king went to war with the Umtetwas—the nation that had so hospitably sheltered and protected him while in exile; and having destroyed the major part of the tribe, the remnant were fain to become his vassels. In a few years Tshaka had depopulated the whole of the coast from the Maputa River to the Tugela; signal success also attending his incursions among the interior tribes, over whom he exercised the most sanguinary persecution, pursuing them with a refinement of fiendish ferocity too harrowing to be detailed.

Arriving at the zenith of his pride and ambition, and having for a brief space sated himself with the blood of his neighbours, the savage despot began to direct his thoughts towards the internal government of his realm—a measure which was rendered more than ever imperative from the circumstance of his extensive victories having placed him at the head of a gigantic and ever-growing nation. His first care was to discipline his rabble forces, which were already elated with achievements, originating chiefly from the dauntless and irresistible spirit of their leader. Unlike Cetywayo, even in his own person did Tshaka set an example in the field well worthy the imitation of his followers, and whilst his ferocity kept his people in abject awe, dauntless intrepidity rendered him the terror of his opponents. Having once entered into hostilities against a native power, his whole soul and energies were irrevocably bent on its extermination. Mercy was never for a moment an inmate of his bosom, and nothing short of rivers of blood, caused by the most lavish sacrifice of human life, was capable of gratifying his horrible appetite. Partaking of this spirit, his warriors were ever eager for battle, and shouted for war from their love of plunder. On one occasion a ferocious regiment pestered Tshaka to be led to battle, when a messenger brought the news that a lion had killed three of his favourite cattle. "Here," said Tshaka, "you want to fight,

do you? Throw down your shields and assegais, and rush the lion that dares to kill my cattle, naked-handed, and bring him to me, bound, before sunset." To delay was certain death, and he was obeyed to the letter. The magic of his name gained for his warriors even more renown than their actual prowess in arms, which nevertheless was rendered recklessly desperate by the alternative he extended to them, of either returning victorious to participate in the spoils they won, or being condemned to a cruel and immediate death for alleged cowardice.

Of Tshaka's army, amounting altogether to near one hundred thousand men, fifty thousand were marshalled into regiments and held in constant readiness for battle. Each regiment was distinguished by shields of a different colour, the great warriors having white ox-hides. Individuals distinguishing themselves in battle received a badge of nobility, and were honoured with a title, by which they were ever afterwards known. *Apropos* of these people being thought to be ignorant savages, *Mayfair* wittily says:—"A bespectacled and somewhat fussy member of the Cabinet has received a snub from his cynical but august master, in whose presence he was depreciating the Zulus. "Uncivilised?" enquired the Premier, with that calm astonishment that precedes his plunge in paradox. "I do not quite see that. They have routed our armies, outwitted our generals, killed a prince, and converted a bishop. The most civilised nation could do no more."

Having organised his army, the despot next introduced a totally new system of discipline. The slender javelins hitherto employed for throwing were abolished, and their use interdicted on pain of death, a single short stabbing spear of stouter materials being introduced in place of them. The superior efficacy of this novel equipment had previously been established in a mock fight with reeds, which took place in presence of the assembled nation, and death by impalement was the penalty attached to the loss of an assegai in battle. The warriors had now no alternative but to conquer or die, and as an additional spur to their valor the commissariat of an invading army was never more than barely sufficient to last them to the scene of action. In order that the youths of the rising generation might imbibe a taste for military tactics they were ordered

to accompany the tried warriors in the capacity of esquires, and on having attained an age which rendered them capable of wielding an assegai with effect they were immediately supplied with arms and duly incorporated.

With a view to render the troops as efficient as possible, the most unnatural abstinence was enforced, under the pretext that marriage deprives man of his relish for war, and that domestic influences are distracting and enervating, directing his thoughts homeward rather than to the enemy. Commerce was likewise strictly forbidden, under the belief that it would unfit the men for military duties. Every plan in short which ferocity or barbarity could devise was resorted to by Tshaka to inspire his men with a martial spirit; and under the excuse of perfecting the model of his army, the monster's unnatural propensities and insatiable thirst for blood induced him, horrible to relate, to weed his warriors by singling out the maimed, the aged, and the infirm to be assegaid; observing with savage sagacity that "such cripples were only in the way, and without making him any return did but consume his beef, which was required to make young men stout and lusty!" Upon the occasion of this foul slaughter of numerous brave veterans, to whose valor and devotion Tshaka owed a large portion of his richest conquests, the wretch erected a kraal upon which the name of "Keta-abadala," signifying "Pick out the old ones," was humorously bestowed, in commemoration of the base and barbarous deed.

Fully impressed with the conviction that his warriors, thus organized and disciplined, would prove themselves invincible, Tshaka now indulged in projecting movements upon a grander scale than formerly, planning new predatory inroads upon those independent tribes whose wealth in cattle afforded the greatest inducements, and looking forward with a sort of prophetic spirit to a day not far distant when all his ambitious schemes should be achieved, when his expectations should be fully realised, and he should find himself the sole and undisputed "Master of the World." Spring never appeared without its marauding expeditions. Every succeeding season also brought upon the weak and tributary tribes visits of violence, desolation, and plunder, each in its turn sooner or later feeling the monster's scourge for some alleged offence against

Majesty, which alone had existence in his fertile invention. The eve of going to war was with him always the period of brutal and inhuman murders, in which he seemed to indulge with the savage delight of the tiger over its prey. A muster being taken prior to his troops moving, those warriors who on any previous occasion had not in his estimation properly acquitted themselves of their duty, or were suspected of being cowards, were singled out and publicly impaled. Once determined upon a sanguinary display of his power nothing could curb his ferocity. His twinkling eye evinced the pleasure that worked within. His iron heart exulted, and his whole frame seemed as though knit with a joyous impulse at beholding the blood of the innocent flowing at his feet ! Grasping his herculean limbs, his muscular hands exhibited by their motion a desire to aid in the execution of the victims of his barbarity. He seemed, in short, a being in human form endowed with more than the physical capabilities of man ; a giant without reason ; a monster created with more than ordinary power and disposition for doing mischief, from whose withering glance man recoiled as from the serpent's hiss or the lion's growl.

Tshaka constantly exercised a perfect system of *espionage*, which served to keep him minutely acquainted with the condition and strength of the tribes, whether independent or tributary, by which he was surrounded ; his scouts being also enjoined to make such observations regarding the country as might enable them to lead his troops to the scene of action with the least chance of discovery or surprise. Three months before he meditated an attack he discoursed freely on war, and talked with confidence of routing his enemies—being withal exceedingly wary, and using every precaution to conceal, even from his generals and chiefs, the real power with which he designed to contend ; precluding by this crafty discretion the possibility of his enemies being in readiness for the march. Should he not lead an army in person his plans were confided to a general-in-chief, who, however, was never selected for command on a second occasion. It was his invariable policy also to harangue his warriors at their departure, in language calculated to raise their expectations, and elate

them in the hour of battle ; but in order to prevent any treacherous communication with the enemy, the true object of the expedition was still studiously concealed, and the soldiers induced to believe that they were about to attack any but the devoted tribe. Achieving a signal triumph, the spoils were liberally divided amongst them as a stimulus to further exertions ; but defeat under any circumstances was the watchword for a scene of woe and lamentation, and for a massacre of no measured description—hundreds of brave men being hurried off upon the fiat of their ruthless and unappeasable master, to be impaled as a warning beacon to future expeditions.

In all civilised countries cowardice in the army is very properly punished with death, the testimony of guilt having been first fully established ; but Tshaka was neither remarkable for his nice discrimination, nor for his minute investigation of a charge preferred. On one occasion, in particular, a whole regiment was indiscriminately butchered, together with the wives and families of the veteran warriors that composed it, and who, although they had fought with signal bravery, had been overpowered by superior numbers, and thus compelled to retreat. The scene of this revolting tragedy was designated “Umbulalio,” or the “place of slaughter,” in order to perpetuate its recollection in the minds of the people. But defeat was of rare occurrence. The predictions of the monarch were speedily verified by the success that attended his arms, and the fame of his troops spread rapidly over the whole country. Every tribe they encountered became an easy conquest, and no quarter being given, the inhabitants at once abandoned their villages and property to the greed and rapacity of their insatiable invaders. Thus did Tshaka spread devastation and terror throughout the whole country, from the Maputa River that runs into Delagoa Bay right down to the Umzimvubu or St. John’s River. Tribe after tribe was invaded, routed, and mercilessly butchered ; their huts were fired over their devoted heads, and the few that escaped of the ruined inmates were driven to seek shelter in the depth of the forest, either to perish from hunger and want, to become a prey to wild beasts, or to be ultimately hunted down by the relentless and sanguinary

Zulus. Such a martial name did Tshaka make for himself that the Natal Kafirs to this day (1888) swear by him more than by any other king.

Death ever reigned without a rival over the extensive dominions of Tshaka, alike during the intervals of peace as in the time of war ; the unexampled cruelties practised by the despot, and the plausible reasons assigned for their perpetration, being withal the surest means of governing his oppressed and wondering subjects.

Having completed the re-organisation of the army, elected rulers, abolished old laws, and enacted new ones, Tshaka finally succeeded in establishing that which may with strict propriety be termed a *Zulucratical* form of government. It is one that defies description or detail, and which neither can be comprehended nor digested ; that affords protection to no living creature and places the trembling subject at the mercy of a despotic monarch whose nod may consign him, innocent or guilty, to a lingering or an instant death. One that may compel the agonised father to butcher his unoffending child, brother to execute brother, the husband to impale his wife, and the son to become the inhuman mutilator of her who gave him birth ! And yet, strange to say, amiable enthusiasts well known as humane and benevolent philanthropists strenuously opposed Sir Bartle Frere, and, in effect, sought to countenance such a monstrous system. The ties of consanguinity availed nothing with this inhuman tyrant. A sign given by the fatal pointing of his blood-stained finger, or the terrible declination of his head, must be promptly obeyed ; and if, after the perpetration of the revolting deed, the feelings of outraged nature should predominate and manifest themselves to this fiend in human form, the luckless wretch was ordered for instant despatch, either by impalement, by having the neck twisted, or by being stoned or beaten to death with sticks. The kith and kin of the wretched victim likewise shared his fate, his property being also seized and distributed amongst the warriors. Neither was any reason assigned for the murderous decree until it was too late to recall the fiat of execution, the devoted subject frequently thanking his savage monarch whilst he was undergoing the sentence that had been thus iniquitously passed upon him. To this

unenviable state of things there succeeded a dreadful lull, which may fitly be compared to that which intervenes between the shocks of an earthquake, when all are in consternation, fearing that the next moment they may be swallowed during the devastating convulsion. This pause from war and sanguinary executions was devoted to the superstitious ceremony of appeasing the *manes* of the departed and quieting the apprehensions of the living by sacrifices of oxen and by a distribution of property of the murdered amongst the executioners.

Amongst the barbarous tribes it is a common custom superstitiously to contend that their chiefs cannot die naturally, that they are destined to live until they fall in battle, and that death proceeding either from age or disease is occasioned by the "working of the wizard." This sanguinary superstition was carried to the fullest extent by Tshaka, who uniformly on the death of a chief endeavoured to discover those who possessed the charm by the test of their being unable to shed tears. On these occasions numbers were put to death for not weeping, the forcing of large quantities of snuff up the nostrils in order to bring about a copious flood, and the vigorous application of a root similar to the onion, sometimes failing to have the desired effect. Mr. Fynn used to say that on the death of the mother of Tshaka, a public mourning was held which lasted for the space of two days, the people being assembled at the kraal of the chief to the number of 60,000 or 80,000 souls. Mr. Fynn, who was present, describes the scene as the most terrific which it is possible for the human mind to conceive, the immense multitude all engaged in rending the air with the most doleful shrieks and discordant cries and lamentations, whilst in the event of their ceasing to utter them they were instantly butchered as guilty of a crime against the reigning tyrant. It is said that not less than 6,000 or 7,000 persons were destroyed on this occasion, charged with no other offence than that of exhausted nature in the performance of this horrid rite, their brains being mercilessly dashed out amidst the surrounding throng. As a suitable *finale* to this dreadful tragedy, ten young girls were actually buried alive with the royal corpse to act as handmaidens to it in the Zulu Hades, whilst all who witnessed the funeral were obliged to remain on the spot for a whole year.

As an example for his followers to imitate and admire, Tshaka married no queen, although at each of his palaces he possessed from three to five hundred girls who were termed servants or sisters. A damsel becoming pregnant was immediately put to death upon some imaginary crime, the sturdy executioner laying one hand upon the crown of the head, placing the other under the chin, and dislocating the delicate neck by a sudden wrench. The body was then dragged outside the kraal, and left to be devoured by hyenas and carnivorous birds that were ever in attendance about the habitation of the destroyer, whose whole country had become a sepulchre white with the bones of his murdered subjects! Early one morning Tshaka took his seat as usual, and having, with great earnestness, enjoined his audience to secrecy, informed them that he had had a dream which greatly concerned him. The spirit of Umbia, an old and favourite chief, had appeared, warning him of the designs of his people, and telling him that whilst he (Tshaka) had been teaching songs to some of his warriors the preceding evening, others had been debauching his women and polluting the imperial seraglio! This offence he declared himself determined to punish with rigour, and the courtiers applauding his resolution, he held a consultation with them as to the best mode of securing the whole of the people in the kraal. The place having been suddenly surrounded, the diabolical tyrant entered at the head of a party of warriors, and having first beaten his aged and infirm mother with inconceivable cruelty (for not taking proper care of the girls), he caused one hundred and seventy persons of both sexes to be driven into the cattle enclosure, selecting several to be put to death with truly monstrous refinement by the hands of their own relatives, and leaving the remainder to be afterwards indiscriminately butchered. Upon the completion of this infernal work, his Majesty announced his intention of consulting Umbia "in order that he might find out the rest of the delinquents," adding that on the morrow he contemplated putting to death all who had offended since the commencement of his reign, in order that nothing might be wanting to complete his own happiness and that of his people.

Shortly after the perpetration of this Satanic deed, the

saforesaid queen mother died, and other eye witnesses beside Mr. Fynn say that men, women, and children, having been first cruelly tortured, were roasted alive in the flames, this unprecedented act of barbarity being followed by a general massacre throughout the realm, the tide of blood flowing for a whole fortnight, and reeking of cruelties too revolting to narrate.

But with this horrible and fiendish slaughter terminated the unexampled reign of the bloody-minded Tshaka. He had now subdued all the tribes and left the whole country as far south as St. John's River a howling wilderness, and had begun to contemplate an attack on some of the Cape frontier tribes. Death, however, arrested his ambitious and merciless career. He fell, as he deserved, by the hands of his own subjects, and by none was his fate mourned.

The assassination of Tshaka had long been meditated by his brother Dingaan, and the diabolical massacre just alluded to hastened the execution of his design. The tyrant was sitting one evening after sunset (near the Umhlali River, in Natal), with one or two of his principal chiefs, admiring the vast droves of sleek cattle returning to the kraal from pasture, when he was startled by the audacity and unwonted demeanor of Bopa, his principal attendant, who approached him with a spear used for slaughtering cattle, and in an authoritative tone demanded of the old chieftains, who were humiliating themselves in the Royal presence, "what they meant by pestering the king with falsehoods and accusations?" An effort was immediately made on the part of the exasperated warriors to secure the traitor; and at that moment Umslungani and Dingaan, the two elder brothers of the despot, stealing unperceived behind him, buried their assegais in his back. Tshaka was enveloped in a blanket, which he instantly cast off, making an ineffectual attempt to escape that death to which his odious decrees had consigned so many of his loyal subjects. Being overtaken in his flight by his pursuers, Bopa, the domestic, transfixed him with his assegai, and the assassins then left him in order to execute a similar deed upon the chiefs who were with him, and who had also attempted to escape, but were arrested in their flight, and shared the fate of their ferocious master. One of these was an old grey-headed warrior,

who had only a short time before put to death his seven concubines, together with their children, for having neglected to mourn for the queen mother. Returning to the prostrate body of their oppressor, the regicides then danced and howled around it, as round the body of a vanquished panther, an animal they greatly dread. The inhabitants of the kraal fled in consternation, and during the confusion that ensued Dingaan ascended the throne.

So fell Tshaka. And of him it cannot even be said, as of Nero, the scourge of Rome, that

“Some hand unsen sowed flowers upon his tomb.”

To his savage propensities he added no redeeming quality. In war an insatiable and exterminating fiend, in peace an unrelenting and sanguinary despot, he kept his people in awe by his monstrous executions, and was unrestrained in his vicious career because they were ignorant of their power. Ever thirsting for the blood of his subjects, the cruel tyrant could stand unmoved, and blandly smile, while he feasted on the execution of his atrocious decrees. The world has been scourged by monsters. Rome had her Nero, the Huns their Attila, and Syracuse her Dionysius, but Tshaka immeasurably eclipsed them all. In sanguinary executions and in refined cruelties he outstripped all who have gone before him in any country in the world. He was a monster, a compound of vice and ferocity, without one virtue, except that of valor, to redeem his name from the infamy to which history has consigned it.*

* I have been obliged to paint the character of Tshaka as his white and black contemporaries have described it; but it would be unfair to omit a touching incident told of him. He had condemned an old comrade in arms to death, but told him he might gratify his last wishes. Tshaka was clad in a blanket, and the condemned at once said his last wishes were to feast his eyes on the naked form of his adored chief, and to take leave of his little boy—indicating the size of the tiny toddler by his hands. Tshaka simply said to the attendants “Let the man go.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BATTLE ON THE TUGELA, FEB., 1839.

AFTER the occurrence of the matters related above Dingaan, Tshaka's brother, immediately mounted the throne of the Zulus without opposition, and became the rightful king over the Natal settlers. His first great work was to cut off all the Captains and people who had been favorable to his late brother, so as to remove those at once who might in any way endanger the safety and perpetuity of his reign. This proceeding, as we shall see, placed the Natal settlers in circumstances of delicacy and difficulty.

It was at first thought that the new rule would be more peaceful than the former, but there was not much difference. On various pretexts Dingaan sent "impis" or armies into Natal, who making some of their wondrous rapid marches had slaughtered half the men of a place and taken away all the cattle before the other half knew that the Zulu devils were upon them.

Afterwards matters still continued unquiet, for the year 1838 broke upon Natal and Zululand with storms of blood and death, and civilization and barbarism were again brought into close and deadly contact.

In the early part of February of that year, Retief, with seventy picked farmers and thirty Hottentots, went to Dingaan's "great place" to negotiate the cession of Natal to the Boers, in which he was assisted by the Reverend Mr. Owen, of the Church Missionary Society. But when the treaty had been drawn up and regularly signed, that treacherous despot had the whole party cut off, as more fully detailed hereafter. Immediately after this the Zulus invaded Natal, and butchered about six hundred Dutch Boers, including women and children, in the division of Weenen—or "weeping," so named because of the lamentation. Upon this a stalwart Boer, Piet Uys, and his clans, with as many farmers as they could muster, went into Zululand to avenge the death of their friends and families who had been so wantonly cut off at Dingaan's kraal and in the Weenen

county. Uys there met with a tragical end, and his devoted young son fell at his side by the Zulu assegai.

In the early part of this same year, 1838, John Cane, Robert Biggar, and several others, thinking that the losses caused to them by the Zulus had not been retrieved, determined upon another campaign against Dingaan, and collected a large force to carry it out. Their army consisted of about 18 English settlers, 30 Hottentots, and three thousand Kaffirs; 400 being armed with rifles and all ranged under their respective leaders, the numbers of whose companies were apportioned to their rank. Many of these leaders were men of dauntless courage and desperate character. This warlike party was designated "The grand army of Natal," and great demonstrations of joy and triumph were made; whilst all were equipped in the best manner which their circumstances allowed—and thus equipped started upon their perilous enterprise. Having crossed the Tugela River, the force belonging to a chief under them encountered some Zulu spies and fired upon them, thus opening the ball. Ascending the opposite hill they came upon the kraal of "Endonda Kusuka," that is, "tardy in starting" and surrounded it before daylight. A detachment of Dingaan's army was lying here, upon whom they opened fire with their guns; when the inmates of the huts, finding the firing directed low, took hold on the tops of the huts, holding by the sticks which formed the wattle work. This plan was, however, quickly detected, on account of the huts sinking with the pressure, when the settlers directed their fire higher up, and the people fell wounded or dead. The whole kraal was destroyed, the people being killed and the huts burnt. As the morning of this awful day dawned, many of those who were attacked lying dead and others being in the pangs of death, one man said "You may do with me as you please and kill me; but you will soon see and feel the great Elephant," meaning Dingaan's army. The "Elephant" soon appeared and crushed them to death under his ponderous feet. The land was very hilly, the hills stretching out something like the fingers of a man's hand when extended, rising to ridges in the centre, and descending to deep ravines on each side; the kraal being near the top of one of these ridges and

reaching down the slopes on each side. It was at a short distance from this kraal that the "great Elephant" presented himself and uttered his piercing cry and terrific scream, which coming from thousands of infuriated savages, wrought to the highest pitch of phrensy, must have had an appalling effect, being enough to make the stoutest heart quail.

Dingaan did not appear in person in this notable battle, nor were the old warriors allowed to fight, the young men being destined to win the highest honours and take the weapons of their foes as trophies to perpetuate the memory of their conquest.

The Zulu captains commanding were Umahlebe, Zulu, and Nongalazi. These, with the old warriors, took their stand on the hill, from whence they could see all that passed, and issue their commands accordingly. Seven Zulu regiments, making about 10,000 men (each regiment containing about 1,500 men), were brought into the field of action. They were flushed with three successive victories—first, the cutting off of Retief and his party at the "great place;" second, the slaughter of the Boers in the Weenen district; and third, the defeat of Uys and the dispersion of his people. Besides they were full of rage at the loss of their cattle, women, and children, at Utunjambeli, and the destruction of the kraal before their eyes, for which they were burning to be revenged. These circumstances led them to fight with a fury which could only be quenched in death. When they were shot down, if they could crawl, they would take an assegai and try to inflict a fatal stab on one of their bitter foes, rendering it needful to fire upon them again and again until dead.

The Natal army had therefore to fight with the vigor of men whose lives were in a fearful balance, and who were made desperate by the greatness of the impending danger. They were drawn up near the kraal in question, the English and Hottentots with muskets in front, and the native aids with assegais in the rear. The first division of the Zulu army came on with a fearful rush, but were met by the steady fire and deadly shots of their foes, which cut them down like grass. They were checked, broken, driven back, and defeated, many lying dead and dying at the feet

of the settlers. Robert Joyce, or, as he was called, "Bob Joyce," a deserter from the 72nd Regt., had ten men under him with guns, besides Kafirs; and such fearful execution did they do that they cut a pathway through the Zulu regiment as they approached until the Zulu commanders ordered a change in the mode of attack.

This first division, however, only retreated to make way for the Zulu forces to come from different points favored by the formation of the hill. Cane sent Ogle's Kafirs to attack the Zulus on the south-west, whilst he, with the main body of the Natal army, took the north-east. When Ogle's Kafirs had dispersed these, they were to come round and take the Zulus in the flank: instead of which, the hour of revenge being come for some affront which they received at Cane's hands, when they had dispersed the Zulus they fled to the drift (ford), on which the Zulu chiefs exclaimed, "O ganti baka balegane," that is, "They can run, can they?" The sight of them running inspired fresh courage into the Zulus, who now closed in from all quarters upon the diminished Natal army, coming down as an overwhelming flood, the mighty masses of which it was impossible to resist. The strife was deadly in the extreme. The Zulus lost thousands of their people; they were cut down until they formed banks over which those who were advancing had to climb, as well as over the wounded, crawling and stabbing, tenacious of life, and selling it dearly.

Cane fought hard and died of his wounds. A fine old Kafir who was present gave me a description of his death. He was questioned about other matters, but as soon as he came to this his eyes appeared to flash with excitement, and his hands moved in all forms to express the firing of the guns and the stabbing with the assegai. He took a stick and held one point to his breast to show where the assegai entered Cane's chest. He then gave his companion another stick to show how a second assegai was buried between Cane's shoulders, whose gun was lying on his left arm, his pipe in his mouth, his head nodding until he fell from his horse and died. His horse was killed close by. The last deed of this man was tragical. One of his own people who had thrown away his badge was coming to snatch the assegai from his back, when

Cane supposing him to be a Zulu shot him at once over his shoulder. Stubbs, another of the leaders, was stabbed by a boy, and when he felt it was his death wound exclaimed, "Am I to be killed by a boy like you?" Biggar fell close by. The Natal army being surrounded and cut up, heaps of slain lay dead upon the field to be devoured by beasts of prey, their bones being left to bleach under many summer suns. Many years ago the ground was white in parts with them.*

The work of destruction was, however, not yet complete. No sooner had the leaders fallen than the Natal Kafirs threw away their badges and shields and seized the shields of the Zulus in order to favor their escape, whilst the swiftness with which they could run was their best defence. But in making their escape the Zulus knew their ground and that the river must be crossed, and they therefore so surrounded them as to compel them to take one only course. In flight then these wretched beings had no alternative but to take a path at the bottom of which there is a descent of 100 feet perpendicular to the river, having deep water at the bottom; and so numerous were the bodies heaped upon each other in this great grave that at length, instead of leaping they walked over the bodies of those who filled the chasm. One of those who made the leap was Upepe, who was stabbed as he went under water by a Zulu, who cursed him and said—"I have finished you;" but the death wound was not given, for the man escaped.

In order to complete the dire destruction of this day of blood and death a division of Zulus were sent round to cut off those who might escape by the river. These men were to be seen up to the arm pits in the stream, stabbing any who might be in danger of escaping; and very few gained the opposite bank and lived. It was here that another leader, Blankenburg, was killed. Of the few who escaped some swam, some dived, and some floated along, feigning to be dead. One Goba crossed the river four times and was saved at last. Petrus Roetzie,

* In 1854, in crossing a deep and sequestered ravine near the scene of this battle, I came upon a perfect skeleton lying stretched out on its back. The body had evidently decayed undisturbed by bird or beast.

or "Piet Elias" as better known by many, entered the river lower than most of the others and got into the long reeds of the opposite bank, where the Zulus searched for him in vain.

In this terrible battle fell John Cane, Robert Biggar, John Stubbs, Thomas Carden, John Russell, — Blaukenburg, Richard Wood, William Wood, Henry Batt, John Campbell, — Lovedale and Thomas Campbell with two or three other white men, leaving not a dozen to return and tell the tale of woe. Of the Hottentots three or four returned; and of the Kafirs very few except Ogle's. The few who escaped arrived at home singly, many of them having been pursued nearly to the Bay of Durban and owing their deliverance to the shelter of the bush and the darkness of night. Most of the particulars herein recorded I can vouch for as being correct, having conversed with several who were engaged in the transaction, and others who were residing in Natal at the time.

The honour of this victory was claimed by Panda (the father of the late king Cetywayo), who was at that time Dingaan's chief "Induna," and on whom it devolved to call the army and direct the various preparations, including the incantations of the doctors by which the warriors were made strong for battle and success obtained!

This defeat was quickly followed by Dingaan's army coming down to the Port of Natal—an event which happened a few weeks afterwards—when the English residents took refuge on the island in the middle of the Bay, where they remained through the day, and at night went on board the *Comet*, which was lying at anchor there at the time. Amongst these thus circumstanced was the Rev. D. Lindley of the American Mission, and the Rev. Mr. Owen of the Church Missionary Society, who had just returned from Dingaan's kraal, after the slaughter of Retief and his party. These and many more, had for two weeks and upwards to live exposed to danger and death, and to look on whilst an army of furious savages were destroying their property. The Zulus left not a vestige of any thing remaining, except perhaps the walls of some of the houses. Furniture, clothes, dogs, cats, poultry, and every thing they could seize were utterly destroyed. They advanced

as far as the Umlazi River and threw a firebrand upon the roof of the house of Dr. Adams, but it did not ignite and no damage ensued.

No events of great interest transpired after what has now been related. The occupancy of Natal brought an additional number of English traders, and things began to assume more of the settled character of civilized society. But the English and Dutch did not amalgamate. The Boers were jealous of the English; and it is stated that they shot Biggar, whilst the lives of others were in great danger from the same cause. It was the occasion of great pleasure to the English settlers when they heard that the Home Government were about to take possession of Natal, and that Captain Smith was ordered to move forward from the Umgazi post for this purpose.

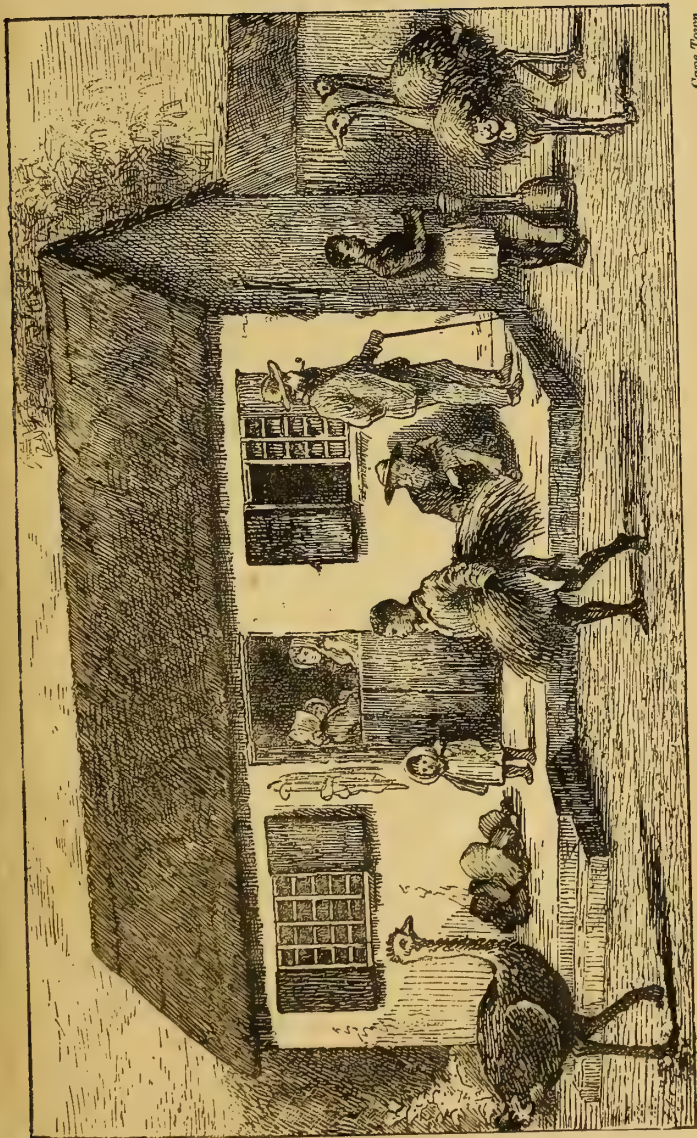


CHAPTER XXX.

THE EMIGRATION OF THE DUTCH BOERS TO NATAL, WITH
THE SLAUGHTER OF RETIEF AND HIS PARTY AT
DINGAAN'S CAPITAL.

THE Dutch Boers (says Mr. Holden in his History of Natal) now form a very large portion of the white population of South Africa, and are spread over an extensive tract of country, including the Cape and Natal colonies, and what is now called the "Orange River Free State and Transvaal Republic."

Their character and manners are very simple, approaching sometimes to the rude. They are very hospitable, especially among their own class, and also to those whom they know amongst the English population. The families are often large, including many children and grandchildren; but so long as the father lives he is the head of the establishment, and is generally looked up to with considerable veneration, and treated with great respect by the younger members of the family. The children usually marry young, the girls at the age of fifteen years, and the boys about eighteen or twenty. After marriage they often remain under the roof and care of the parents of one of them for a long time, and move off only when they are in circumstances to provide comfortably for themselves. Their habits are mostly inactive. The old lady of the house takes a seat beside the table against the wall upon or near to which the coffee-kettle or teapot is usually found, and when a friend has sat down in a few minutes he is accosted with, "Wil Mynheer een kop koffie drink?" ("Will my lord drink a cup of coffee?") which is no unwelcome question if the visitor has been travelling far in the dust and the heat, and the coffee is found to be a refreshing beverage. A little girl or boy, or a Hottentot, follows with some warm water and a towel, which greatly relieves the skin of the hands and face if they were before burning with heat. The two principal meals are taken about 11 o'clock in the morning and 7 in the evening, and if you go



NOTES OF BOER LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Murray & St. Leger.

Cape Town

three hours or three minutes before they sit down to table, it is all the same, for, as in America, the hours fixed for the meals are strictly adhered to, and you eat no sooner for being half an hour before time. The males are generally stout when the season of youth is past, but the females are, in the fullest sense of the word, fat. It not unfrequently happens in the sleeping arrangements that four or five beds are found in one room, and two or three married couples occupy them. This appears passing strange to a respectable pair of English strangers on their first visit to these domiciles ; but the Dutch usually do not undress, or only partially so, on going to bed.

The men frequently do but little beyond taking the oversight of the cattle, etc., night and morning. A good wagon and a fine "span" of 12 oxen are regarded as an indispensable appendage to the establishment, and with these the farmer finds his home in any part of South Africa. But the Boers cannot endure to be annoyed with wild animals or troublesome natives. Their large flocks of sheep with heavy tails of fat, their extensive herd of cattle with long horns, and their fine troops of horses with sleek skins, must all dwell in peace and safety, or very soon the exclamation from the "groote heer" (great master) is significantly heard, "Myn vrouw, wy moet trek" (my wife, we must travel).

According to the view of the gentleman above quoted The dissatisfaction which caused the Boers to "trek" from the Cape Colony arose chiefly from the manner in which the English treated the natives :—1st. In connection with the Hottentots leaving the employ of their masters, and going upon mission stations. 2nd. In the liberation of the slaves on the 1st December, 1838, which occurring just in the midst of harvest, and all the slaves leaving on the very day of their liberation, the farmers were left in a very destitute condition, and their agricultural operations were brought to a stand for the time being. 3rd. With regard to the unsatisfactory manner in which the Kaffir question was settled after the war of 1835, when Sir Andreas Stockenstrom became Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province, and the Glenelg treaties were brought into operation, which worked so unfavourably, and have been succeeded by two other most calamitous wars.

Having at that time heard something of the Natal country, they sent out a party to explore it. This party collected fourteen wagons, and headed by Piet Uys, Cobus Uys, Hans de Lange, Stephanus Maritz, and Gert Rudolph, started from Uitenhage in the beginning of the year 1834. Their arrival at D'Urban, in Natal, pleasantly surprised the English residents, Messrs. Ogle, Toohey, and King, now all passed away. They loitered awhile in Natal shooting the elephants, &c., &c., which at that time abounded, and then hearing of the third Kafir war in the old colony they started home.

At the close of the 1835 Kafir war they were again so dissatisfied at the arrangements made by the English with regard to the Kafirs that they determined on leaving without delay, and seeking in the interior and in Natal freedom from the odious yoke of the British Government. Accordingly in the early part of 1836 Hendrik Potgieter crossed the Orange River, and being quickly followed by many others from the divisions of Albany, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet, spread themselves in different parts of what is now called the Orange Free State, locating chiefly along the Modder, Vet, and the Sand Rivers.

Their numbers were about that time also increased by another large clan, headed by the Venerable Patriarch Jacobus Uys, then about 70 years of age, and his elder son Pieter Uys, who having visited this district before, cherished the idea of settling down here in preference to going further into the interior of the Continent. This party issued a manifesto declaratory of their intention to shape their course towards Natal, and to secede from all those parties who seemed more intent to occupy the banks of the Vaal River, and even to proceed eastward to Delagoa Bay.

This determination of the clans of Uys, and Moolman, and Potgieter seems to have induced Retief also to follow their tracks; and he sent exploring parties from Sand River, who at length succeeded in finding two or three paths across the Drakensberg which might be made passable for wagons; for up to that time every attempt to cross that mountain range by wagons from the Zuurberg to the west up to the Oliviers Pass at the north-east extremity had failed.

Pieter Retief and his party succeeded in crossing at one spot, but finding English residents in Natal, and fearing disputes about land, he determined to go to Zululand to Dingaan's capital, and obtain from him such cession of land as would be sufficient for his party. Upon his arrival there Dingaan readily promised him the cession of what is now the colony of Natal, provided that the Boers would wrest from a neighbouring black potentate a great number of cattle which had been carried off from the Zulus. This service Retief satisfactorily performed. In the meantime, in 1837, nearly a thousand Boer wagons had descended the Drakensberg into Natal, and the Boers spread themselves over the upper portion of Natal, where, as before said, thousands and thousands of old stone kraals pointed to the relics of a former dense population upon the fertile soil, which population had been annihilated by Tshaka or partly incorporated into his standing army.

Upon Retief's return to the upper part of Natal, and on his way to the Zulu King with the cattle that he had taken from Sikonyella, a sad presentiment of evil seems to have pervaded the minds of some of these stalwart and hardy pioneers of civilization. Gert Maritz proposed that he should, with five or six men, take the cattle to Dingaan, as the insignificance of the force would be its best protection. The present city of "Pieter Maritzburg," in Natal, was named after these two Boers—"Pieter" after Retief, and "Maritz" after that name. "Burg" means town. But Retief appears to have desired to show Dingaan something like a respectable force, and insisted upon taking some forty or fifty of his best horsemen with him, leaving it optional to the rest to go or not. This only induced an additional number of spirited young men to join, and during the last week of January, 1838, Pieter Retief, accompanied by seventy of the most respectable and picked men, with about thirty young Hottentots and servants riding or leading their spare horses, formed an imposing cavalcade with which he crossed the Buffalo River and shortly afterwards arrived at Dingaan's capital, and handed over the captured cattle. The Zulu chief feasted them for two days, and ordered up several of his regiments, which in sham fights afforded a fearful representation of their mode of warfare.

The formal cession of what is now Natal was then

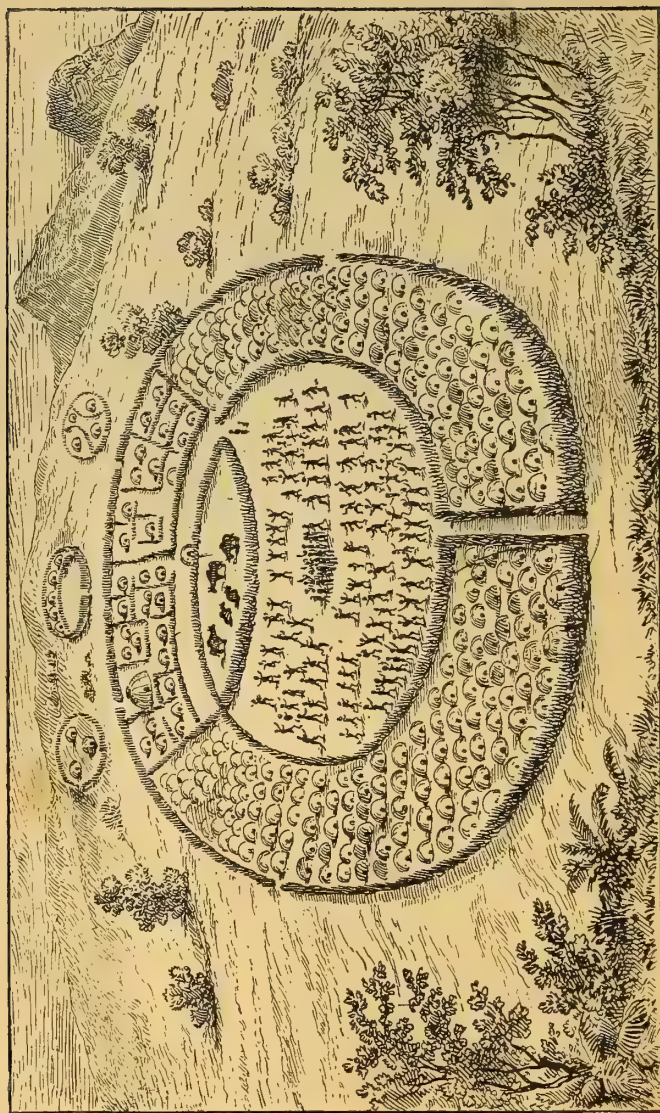
made out by the Rcv. Mr. Owen, who interpreted it to the king, who then signed it with his headmen, and the "isibongi" (crier or praiser) proclaimed to the people present that Natal had been ceded to the Boers and their issue for ever.

The Boer witnesses to this document were M. Oosthuizen, A. C. Greyling, B. J. Liebenberg.

"Manondo" is one of the "Councillor" witnesses.

Retief's business being thus satisfactorily ended he made his arrangements to depart the next morning, when Dingaan invited him to enter his kraal once more to say good-bye—requesting, however, that his party should not enter armed, as this was contrary to their usage; and to this Retief unguardedly assented, leaving all their arms piled up outside the kraal, while they sent their servants to saddle up their horses. Upon approaching Dingaan in his kraal they found him surrounded, as usual, by two or three of his favourite regiments, who after conversing with Retief and some of his leading men in the most friendly manner, he pressed them to sit down a little longer, offering them the "stirrup cup" in some native beer. This was handed round to the whole party, who partook freely thereof, and while a number of them were sitting down with the bowls in their hands, Dingaan suddenly jumped up and exclaimed—"Bulala amatagati" (kill the Wizards), and in an instant three or four thousand Zulus assailed them with their "knobkerries" (something like the waddies of the Australian aborigines, only heavier); and although many of the Boers, instantly drawing their clasp knives, made a determined resistance and took the lives of several of their assailants, yet they soon fell one after the other under the overwhelming pressure of the thousands by whom they were charged and beaten down; and after a desperate struggle of half-an-hour's duration their expiring and mangled corpses were dragged out of the kraal to an adjoining billock, marked and infamous as the Aceldama, or rather the Golgotha, where the bones of victims to the fury of this despot were hoarded up, and became a prey to the wolves and vultures.

The following is an additional account of the conclusion of this affair:—"Let me speak to the king." Dingaan



Murray & St. Leger.

View of the Kraal, or Capital, of the Kaffir Chief Dingaan, at the moment when Ketrif and Party were Butchered.

Cape Town.

(Bird's-eye View.)

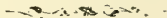
called out repeatedly "kill the wizards." Halstead then drew his knife, and mortally wounded two of his assailants before he was secured. One of the farmers also succeeded in killing a Zulu, but the others were seized before they could spring to their feet. They were all dragged away to a hill where executions were commonly performed, and were there murdered by having their skulls broken with knobkerries. Mr. Retief was held and forced to witness the death of his companions before he was murdered. His heart and liver were taken out and buried in the path leading from Natal to Umgungunhlovo, but no other mutilation of the bodies took place, nor was their clothing removed.

Some of the servants had been sent for the horses when the farmers went to take their leave. These were surrounded by a party of soldiers, and were also put to death. One of them nearly made good his escape by the fleetness of his feet, but eventually he was run down and killed like the rest. In all there perished on this memorable morning sixty-seven Europeans* and about thirty Hottentots.

This tragic scene forms the subject of the accompanying birdseye view. Figure 1 shows Retief and his party in the middle of the kraal; 2 represents the Zulu warriors

* Their names were Dirk Ankamp, Willem Basson, Johannes de Beer, Matthys de Beer, Barend van den Berg, Pieter van den Berg, the elder, Pieter van den Berg the younger, Johannes Benkes, Joachim Botha, Gerrit Bothma the elder, Gerrit Bothma the younger, Christian Bredembach, Johannes Britz, Pieter Britz the elder, Pieter Britz the younger, Pieter Cilliers, Andries van Dyk, Marthinus Esterhuizen, Samuel Esterhuizen, Hermanus Fourie, Abraham Greyling, Rydier Grobbelaar, Jacobus Hatting, Thomas Holstead, Jacobus Hugo, Jacobus Joos e, Pieter Jordaan, Johannes Klassen, Abraham de Klerk, Jacobus de Klerk, Johannes de Klerk, Bal hazar Klopper, Coenraad Klopper, Lukas Klopper, Pieter Klopper, Hendrik Lubaschague, Barend Liebenberg, Daniel Liebenberg, Hercules Malan, Carel Marais, Johannes van der Merwe, Pieter Meyer, Barend Oosthuizen, Jacobus Oosthuizen, Johannes Oosthuizen, Marthinus Oosthuizen, Jacobus Opperman the elder, Jacobus Opperman the younger, Frederick Pretorius, Johannes Pretorius, Marthinus Pretorius, Matthys Pretorius the elder, Matthys Pretorius the younger, Peter Retief, Isaac Roberts, Johannes Roberts, Christian van Schalkwyk, Gerrit Scheepers, Johannes Scheepers, Marthinus Scheepers, Stephanus Scheepers, Stephanus Smit, Pieter Taute, Gerrit Visagie, Stephanus van Vuuren, Hendrik de Wet and Johannes de Wet.

with bludgeons. It was a capital crime to carry an assegai into the king's "great place," so that Dingaan, in requesting the Boers to leave their guns outside, was, the Dutch knew, observing a law of his country. Figure 11 at the bottom of the picture denotes the muskets of the Boers, and 2 exhibits the furious onslaught. The person indicated by figure 3 is Dingaan retiring towards his labyrinth, 4 is the sentry's hut at the gateway leading into his labyrinth, 5 shows the labyrinth, 6 the "intunkulu" (great thing), the high abode of the great Zulu King and despot. The king's wives and servants occupy the rest of the houses in the "sigohlo" or labyrinth. No. 7 (outside) represents the "Emposeni" (seraglio) where the king's chief wives dwell, and to enter which is certain death to any man except the sacred person of the king; 8 is the "wamabele" (provision kraal); 9 represents the "tlabankomo" (slaughter house), where the beasts are killed, which supply the royal table and feed the thousands of retainers about the chief. The figures 10-10 are "izinhlu ze nutu" (multitudes of houses), which accommodate about eight thousand soldiers. The figures 12 and 12 exhibit "intuba" and "isango," the entrance into the kraal and huts of the people.*



* The picture is taken from Mr. Holden's book. It will be noticed that the style of the artist is decidedly primitive, but the drawing has, at least, the merit of being faithful.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MURDER OF RETIEF AND PARTY AT UMGUNGUNHLOVO, DINGAAN'S KRAAL.

THE following interesting and further account of this melancholy affair is by William Wood, whose father was in the employ of Mr. Collis at the Bay of Natal. He was Dingaan's interpreter for some time. The pamphlet containing this account was published by Collard & Co., of Cape Town, in 1840, two years after the slaughter. After some introductory matter, Wood says :—

There is a small hill called "Hloma Amabutu"* which is situated very near the king's kraal. It is exceedingly barren, being covered by loose stones, and here and there a few stunted bushes. On this hill criminals were executed; and in consequence of the bodies of all criminals being left there to decay above ground, it was the constant place of resort for vultures, which used to congregate there in great numbers, and were unmolested, as the king threatened death to any person who should kill one. Whenever he perceived that those birds in any considerable number left the hill, it was his constant observation "The birds want food, send for the doctors." When they arrived they were always asked who was the last "umtagati" or wizard, and they immediately fixed upon some one, who was at once taken to Hloma Amabutu, beaten to death with sticks, and left as a repast for the birds of prey.

There were several pathways leading across this hill, and it was the custom of every person who came to a spot where one path crossed another to throw a stone in that place, as they thought an omission of this practice would subject them to bad luck; and it is astonishing to see

* In the days when Wood's account was taken down, the missionaries had not fixed the spelling of the Zulu language. As I am well acquainted with it, I have taken the liberty of, here and elsewhere, giving the orthography correctly.

what immense heaps of stones have thus been collected. For several years human bones lay scattered all over the hill, until Dingaan gave orders that they should be gathered into heaps, where they remain to this day.

The huts in which the Rev. Mr. Owen and myself resided were without the kraal, and facing the hill which had been the grave of thousands.

About sixty farmers, at the head of whom was Mr. Pieter Retief, accompanied by forty of their servants, all well armed, with the intention of convincing Dingaan that they meant him no harm, attacked a chief who was the enemy of the king, and defeated him, taking from him about 7,000 head of cattle, which he had captured from him on a former occasion. With these cattle they approached the kraal of Dingaan, to whom they delivered them, and, at the same time, expressed their earnest desire that peace might exist between the king and the emigrant farmers, whom they now represented.

Dingaan gladly received the cattle, but his attention was arrested by sixty horses and eleven guns which the farmers had taken from the enemy, and he told them he must also have them. Retief, however, told him he could not comply with this demand, as the cattle were his property, and not the guns and horses. With this Dingaan appeared satisfied, and shortly afterwards told them that the cattle should likewise be theirs, promising them also a piece of land extending from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu. Retief accepted his offers, and a treaty was signed between Dingaan on the one hand and the Boers on the other.

The farmers had been at Umgungunhlovo about two days, during which time they walked about the kraal unarmed, but had taken the precaution of placing their arms under the protection of their servants, or after-riders, who had taken up their quarters under the two milk trees without the kraal.

On the morning of the ~~Friday~~ Thursday I perceived from Dingaan's manners that he intended some mischief; although from his conversation with his captains I could not perceive that he had given them any orders prejudicial to the farmers. I however, watched my opportunity to warn them to be on their guard. This occurred when some of

the farmers strolled into the kraal, and having come near the place where I was standing, I told them I did not think all was right, and recommended them to be on their guard ; upon which they smiled and said " We are sure the king's heart is right with us, and there is no cause for fear."

A short time after this Dingaan came out of his but, and having seated himself in front of it in his arm chair, ordered out two regiments ; one was the Ischlangu Inhlope, or white shields, and the other the Ischlangu Umnyama, or black shields. The former were his best men, and wore rings on their heads, formed of the bark of a tree and grass, and stitched thro' the scalp ; and the latter regiment was composed entirely of young men. These troops he caused to form in a circle, and having placed his two principal captains on his right and left hand respectively, he sent a message to Retief, inviting him to bring his men, and wish the king farewell previous to starting. Retief a short time after this entered the kraal, accompanied by the other farmers, and all their servants, with the exception of one or two who were sent out to fetch the horses ; their arms being left unguarded under the two milk trees without the kraal.

On Retief approaching Dingaan, the latter told him to acquaint the farmers at Natal, as soon as he arrived there, of the king's desire that they should soon come and possess the land he had given them. He then wished the party an agreeable journey to Natal, and invited them to sit down and drink some *tywala* with him and his people, which invitation they unfortunately accepted.

Retief sat by the king, but the farmers and their servants sat in a place by themselves, at a short distance from the king and his captains. After drinking beer some time together, Dingaan ordered his troops to amuse the farmers by dancing and singing, which they immediately commenced doing.

The farmers had not been sitting longer than a quarter of an hour, when Dingaan called out, " Seize them !" upon which an overwhelming rush was made upon the party before they could get on their feet. Thomas Holstead then cried out " We are done for !" and added in the Zulu language, " Let me speak to the king !" which

Dingaan heard but motioned them away with his hand. Halstead then drew his knife and ripped up one Zulu, and cut another's throat, before he was secured, and a farmer also succeeded in ripping up another Zulu.

The Boers were then dragged with their feet trailing along the ground, each man being held by as many Zulus as could get to him, from the presence of Dingaan, who still continued sitting and calling out "Bulala abatagati" (kill the wizards). He then said, "Take the heart and the liver of the king of the farmers, and place them in the road of the farmers." When at the road down to the hill "Hloma Amabutu" they commenced the work of death by striking them on the head with knobbed sticks; Retief being held and forced to witness the deaths of his comrades before they despatched him. It was a most awful occurrence, and will never be effaced from my memory. The Rev. Mr. Owen and myself witnessed it, standing at the doors of our huts, which faced the place of execution.

Retief's heart and liver were taken out, wrapped in a piece of cloth, and brought to Dingaan. His two captains Unhlela and Tambuza then came and sat down by Dingaan, with whom they conversed for some time.

About two hours after the massacre, orders were issued that a large party were to set off with all speed, and attack the wagons that contained the wives and children of the murdered Boers, which were at a considerable distance from Ungungunblovo as Retief and his party had left them there, not wishing to bring their families into danger.

A large body of men were immediately in readiness, and the captains, previously to starting, approached Dingaan singly, and made a mock attack upon him, thrusting their shields and their spears close to his face, and going thro' a variety of movements, at the same time giving him various titles and praising him, as all his people who approach him must do, and occasionally calling out, "We will go and kill the white dogs." A short time afterwards the party set out with great speed in the direction of the wagons. The result of the attack is well-known. The Boers who were guarding the wagons were taken by surprise, when many of them fell, and some hundreds of

women and children were inhumanly murdered, but not without retribution, as a great number of the enemy were slain, and the remainder obliged to retreat with precipitation.

This additional account of the slaughter of Retief and his party I take from the "Orange Free State Monthly Magazine" for the month of December, 1877. As will be seen, it is a most valuable account by one who accompanied Mr. Owen, and an eyewitness, quite as valuable as Price's, &c., account of the return from the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, both of which, by the courtesy of my friends Mr. C. A. Fairbridge of Cape Town, and Mr. G. M. Theal of the same place, I was fortunately able to secure. They have never appeared in an historical collection before

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DINGAAN, AND HIS
MASSACRE OF RETIEF AND HIS PARTY.

(By Jane Bird, *née* Williams, now (1877) living in the Caledon River District).

I was born in 1801, in the parish of Drymeirchion, near St. Asaph, in Flintshire, North Wales. I accompanied the Rev. Francis Owen in the vessel *Palmyra*, of London, to South Africa. Capt. Gardiner, who perished at the Falkland Islands many years afterwards, sailed with us. We arrived at Cape Town on the 2nd of March, 1837, and sailing thence, in, I think, the *Ethel*, reached Port Elizabeth on the Good Friday following. We travelled to Port Natal overland, *via* Kafirland, and reached the Port in July or August, intending to proceed to the Kraal of the Zulu chief Dingaan, to form a mission station, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Richard King drove our wagon, and conducted us to the kraal of Dingaan at Umgungunhlovo. Mr. Richard Hulley had joined us at Butterworth as interpreter to the Mission. Dingaan gave us a location something less than a mile distant from his own residence, and provided us with a commodious hut. We remained there about four and a half months.

On Friday, 3rd February, 1838, while Mr. Owen was having prayers, we heard firing, and shortly afterwards found that some Boers had arrived at Dingaan's with a troop of cattle, and we saw them drawn up, exhibiting their mode of fighting with firearms.

Mr. Owen was shortly afterwards called to Dingaan, and a lad who was with us as interpreter, named William Wood, accompanied him. Mr. Hulley had gone to Port Natal for supplies, and only returned on Thursday, after the massacre of Retief and his party. In the evening of Saturday Mr. Retief, with some Boers, came to Mr. Owen : a Mr. Thomas Halstead accompanied them as interpreter. Mr. Owen invited them to come to church service on the following day, and they accepted the invitation. Halstead was, however, immediately after his arrival, called back again by Dingaan. None of Mr. Retief's party came to church on Sunday, and Mr. Owen was very much disappointed.

Sunday passed over quietly. On Monday, towards sundown, a regiment of young Zulus, styled the "Wild Beasts," passed close to Mr. Owen's station, and went on to Dingaan's kraal. This regiment sang a war song on coming out of Dingaan's kraal, after paying its respects to the chief. Beating of shields and dancing accompanied the song. William Wood, who was about eleven or twelve years of age, said to me "You will see that they will kill the Boers to-morrow." I said "Don't say so—you told me the King said a long time ago that he would kill you, because you talked so much." William Wood, however, repeated his assertion.

On Tuesday, early, as the sun rose, I saw three Boers nearing the station, and I told Mr. Owen that visitors were approaching. They came into my hut and told me, through Wood, that they were going for their horses, and were about to return to their wives and children. They said they had no coffee or tea for the road, and I gave them some from my store. They also said that Dingaan had given them the Natal country ; that he was a man with a large and good heart, and that they would drive the English into the sea. William Wood said to me in English "You'll see that the Boers will be killed," I do not know whether he said this in Dutch to the Boers.

These Boers left and we went on with our employments. We had just done prayers when a Kafir messenger from Dingaan came running to us, covered with perspiration, and said that we were not to be frightened, that we were King George's children, and that the Boers were

runaways from him. He also said that we would not be hurt. One of the Zulu maid servants said to me, "They are taking the dogs away to kill them!"

We looked out, and saw a great commotion in the chief's kraal, and a struggle going on. We saw that the Zulus dragged the Boers out of the kraal, and took them to the side of a hill, where the usual execution place was situated. If I had understood the Zulu or the Dutch language, I would have understood many of the exclamations which were made at the scene. I had seen executions take place at that spot eight days after we arrived, and at least four or five a week afterwards. I do not think half an hour elapsed between the seizing of the Boers and the end of their slaughter, and the return of the murderous executioners to the kraal of Dingaan.

Scarcely had the Zulus left the place of slaughter when the vultures swooped down on to the bodies of the victims. When the Zulus returned to the kraal they celebrated their victory by leaping and shouting and beating their shields. They then left to attack, as we afterwards heard, the camps of the Emigrant Boers.

A messenger came to us from Dingaan, and Mr. Owen asked him where the Englishman was? The man, who had come to desire us not to be frightened, did not reply. Afterwards a messenger came to tell us that Halstead had gone to Capt. Gardiner with a message from the king. We had several messengers to tell us not to be frightened, or pray, because no one, but king George, was greater than he—Dingaan. Mr. Owen sent answer how we could believe or trust Dingaan when he had already killed our brother white men, and one brother Englishman?

A Zulu told us that Halstead had been killed in the massacre, and another man came asking for a plaster for a man who, he said, had been kicked by a horse, but we learnt from another that the man had been wounded by a knife, by Halstead, in the struggle.

Dingaan continually sent us contradictory messages. First to pack up and go, and then, to stop. Our oxen had had the "mouth and tongue sickness," and Mr. Hulley had not yet returned. About this time Mr. Venables, an American Missionary, who had established a station nearer to the coast, came to visit us. He was accompanied by a

Mr. Kirkman, his interpreter. They were horrified to hear of the slaughter of the Boers, and to find us in such a plight.

They left again quickly, to remove Mrs. Venables, and to retire from the country.

On Thursday Mr. Hulley returned, but without the stores he had gone to fetch, as the news of the massacre had spread. Late on Saturday night I heard a Zulu calling to our interpreter, Mr. Hulley, that we must leave early on the following morning, but that we must not let Dingaan know that we had been advised to do so.

On Sunday morning very early we got a message from Dingaan that we must go, and that Mr. Owen and Mr. Hulley must come to him. This messenger told Mr. Hulley where the oxen were to be found. When Mr. Owen, with Mr. Hulley, had gone to visit the Chief, another messenger came to us, saying that he had orders to search, to see if we had stolen anything. This man searched the wagons. I was highly indignant at this. The messenger called to the servants, who at once abandoned us to our own resources.

This messenger, who was an *Induna*, after ransacking the wagons, and shaking everything out, pointed out to us Mr. Owen, and said "There goes your captain, you can go and meet him." We could see Mr. Owen walking with some natives from Dingaan's kraal apparently, *towards the place of execution*, and the *Induna* pointing to that locality told us to go and meet him.

Mrs. Owen threw her arms around me, exclaiming "The rougher the road, the sweeter the glory!" and we then went on together—Mrs. Owen, Miss Owen, William Wood, Mrs. Hulley and her three children, the Hottentot servant girl, and her two children and myself—towards the place of execution, thinking and understanding from the *Induna* that we were to be slaughtered.

We, however, had not gone far when the *Induna* called to us to stop, and that he would not soil his hands in killing women and children. He told us to go back to the country from whence we came, and tell our people that we had come, but that we had not found the Zulus such fools as we expected. We saw Mr. Owen go back to Dingaan's, and then he came to us and we had prayers, and then

"spanned" in our wagon and started. Mr Hulley accompanied us, taking his wagon. We only took with us our bedding ; our clothes which we had on, and a few necessaries. Mr. Owen left the mission wagon behind.

We went on to the "Great Tree," where Retief had encamped, and where the saddles and guns of the Boers were piled. Mr Owen was from there called to Dingaan. Dingaan told Mr. Owen that his (Owen's) wife had said when the *Induna* came to us that he was going to kill us and Dingaan warned him that he must not speak about him, even when alone, as a honey bird reported our sayings to him. I had said this to Mr. Owen when alone with him, and I could never understand how Dingaan could have heard of it. He may have guessed that we would say so of him.

Mr Owen returned to us, and we were ordered to go on our way. Looking back we saw a strong smoke ascending from the places which we had abandoned. We were joined by an English deserter who called himself Lovedale, and who had fallen into disfavour with Dingaan. In fear of Dingaan he quitted us, however, and went by himself to Port Natal through the bush.

On the Wednesday following three Indunas came after us and told us that Dingaan desired we should give up all needles, pins, thimbles and sewing materials which we might have. Mrs. and Miss Owen gave up all they had. I kept mine. I have some of the knitting needles yet. They also required all plaid and dungaree we had. I had concealed mine in the mattress. This supply alone, by bartering, supplied us with food on the road.

We were about six weeks on the road before we reached the Port of Natal. Dingaan had promised to send some of our things after us. The carriers passed us on the road, intending to convey the things they brought to the mission station of the Rev. Mr. Champion, situated about eight miles on the Zulu side of the Tugela. I saw my Welsh Bible on the head of one of the carriers. And the man had arrayed himself in female clothing belonging to me.

I afterwards got my old cloak, and a print dress, but not my Bible. We found the Tugela swollen, and Mr. Hulley had to construct a kind of boat to assist us in crossing.

From the Tugela, Mr. Joseph Kirkman, who I have mentioned before, and who we now met again, returned with me to the station of Mr. Champion (then already abandoned) in search of stores. We only found a little mealie meal and some tea and sugar. We also secured two barrels, which we took to help float the wagons through the Tugela. We failed to drive two or three cows which Dingaan had given to us on our first arrival—through the river, and so abandoned them. We were attacked by the Zulus at Port Natal, and some of the white's took refuge on board of the *Comet*, and some secreted themselves on the Island. We ultimately left Port Natal in the *Comet*, and went to Delagoa Bay, and after a stay there of sixteen days, we were taken in the same vessel to Port Elizabeth.

(Signed) JANE BIRD,
nee WILLIAMS.

Caledon River District,
6th November, 1877.



CHAPTER XXXII.

BLAAUW KRANTZ ATTACK.

DINGAAN, following the precept of Caesar, who deemed nothing done as long as anything remained undone, at once ordered ten of his regiments to descend into Natal to attack the Boers, who, in perfect security, were spread over the district awaiting the return of their friends who were heaped on the Zulu Golgotha. The young men were enjoying the pleasures of the chase, and the women fondly looking forward to the return of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, when the Zulu army, having divided itself into small detachments, fell, at break of day, on the foremost parties of the emigrant Boers, near the Blaauw Krantz River, and close to the present township of "Weenen," which, as before stated, has obtained its name (wailing) from the sad events of that day. Men, women, and children were at once surrounded and barbarously murdered with horrors which would be sorrowful to dwell upon in detail. Altogether forty-one men,* fifty-six women, one hundred and eighty-five children, and about two hundred and fifty coloured servants were thus cut off without warning, on that day. Other detachments of Zulus surprised in other places similar small

*The names of the men were Christian de Beer, Stephanus de Beer, Zacharias de Beer, Josua van den Berg, Andries Bester, Wyand Bezuidenhout, George Biggar, Johannes Botha the elder and younger, Roelof Botha, Abraham Bothma, Louw Bothma, the elder, Louw Bothma the younger, Jacobus Coetzee, Gerrit Engelbrecht the elder, Gerrit Engelbrecht the younger, Willem Engelbrecht, Laurens Erasmus, Michiel Grobbelaar, Stephanus Grobbelaar, Willem Jacobs, Johannes Joubert, Josua Joubert the elder, J. sua Joubert the younger, Laurens Klopper, Frederik Kromhout, Christian Lochenberg, Hendrik Lochenberg the elder, Hendrik Lochenberg the younger, Marthinus van der Merwe, Willem van der Merwe, Joachim Prinsloo, Carel Roos, Johannes Roos the elder, Johannes Roos the younger, Adrian Rusesouw, David Viljoen, Willem Wagenaar, Pieter de Wet, Frans van Wyk, and Cornelis van Zyl. And the total killed in one week from Retief's death—six hundred.

parties, who all fell under the Zulu assegai. But from one wagon a solitary young man escaped who spread the alarm, and the Boers flying into "laagers" (a hasty fortification formed by drawing up the wagons in a square and weaving boughs, when obtainable, betwixt the open places, and a cannon at each corner) in every instance repelled the impetuous and daring onsets of the redoubtable Zulus. A strong party of Boers had thrown themselves into "laager" at "Vecht Laager" (Fighting Laagar) at Bushmans' River, where they sustained a furious engagement which lasted throughout the whole day, but where, when their ammunition was nearly exhausted, luckily their last shot from a three pounder, struck down some of the leading Zulu chiefs, and forced them to a precipitate retreat.

The moment these attacks were thus repulsed, the Boers sallied out of their laagers to rescue, if possible, any of their friends who had been in advance and to ascertain the havoc which had been caused among them, when upon reaching the stations which the latter had occupied, a scene of horror and misery was unfolded which no pen can describe. All the wagons had been demolished, the iron parts had been wrenched from them, and by their ruins lay the mangled corpses of men, women, and children thrown on heaps and abandoned to the beasts of prey. Amongst those heaps at the Blauw Krantz River they found literally amongst the dead corpses the bodies of two young females, about ten or twelve years of age, which appeared to show some signs of vitality. The one was found pierced with nineteen and the other with twenty-one stabs of the assegai, leaving every part of their little frames perforated and every muscle and fibre lacerated. The one was named Johanna Van der Merve, and the other Catherina Margaretta Prinsloo. They were taken up and tended with the utmost care, and strange to say, live to this day,* the sole survivors of the immediate branches of those families; but they are, and will ever remain, perfect cripples, although one of them, still more strange to say, has married and is the mother of two or three children. But with these solitary exceptions all those small

* Holden, 1855.

parties which had not been able to combine and concentrate in *laagers* were utterly destroyed, and in one week after the murder of Retief and his party, six hundred more Boer victims were thus immolated by the fury and treachery of Dingaan and his army.

The survivors of this fearful catastrophe, after recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown, resolved to avenge themselves for their fearful loss.

The whole clan of Uys, which from some little feeling of jealousy of Retief had lagged behind upon the Drakensberg, and had thus escaped this onslaught, on hearing of this destruction came down into Natal with many other small parties of farmers who were advancing towards Natal, and their precarious position was soon made known to the English party at the Bay, when, as before stated, the latter, under Biggar and Cane, determined to act in concert with the Boers against Dingaan.

Dingaen himself, however, with his principal forces was watching the Dutch Emigrant Farmers, who having collected 400 fighting men in Natal, placed themselves under the command of Piet Uys and of Hendrik Potgieter, and advanced upon Dingaan's capital with the intention of burning it and expelling the king from the country.

This wily chieftain allowed the Boers to advance to within a few miles of his capital, where the approach to the town is closed in between two hills; and there the Zulu forces first showed themselves, but, gradually retiring, drew the Boers still further into this hollow way; when another division of the Zulus emerging from behind one of these hills, and cutting off all retreat, a desperate hand to hand fight ensued, the Boers being so hemmed in that they could not fire, then fall back rapidly on horseback and again load and charge, as was their usual efficient mode of warfare. They accordingly, as by one consent, directed all their fire on one mass of the Zulus, when, their fatal aim having cleared the path by bringing down hundreds in this volley, they rushed through and thus escaped. But their chief and unquestionably most gallant commander, Piet Uys, having taken a somewhat different course, in a country but little known to them, found himself surrounded with a small party of about twenty faithful followers and

his favorite son, a lad of twelve years of age, before a ravine which their horses could not get over or clear.*

Finding himself wounded he called to his followers to fight their way out, as he could not follow. All obeyed his command except his loving son, who remained by his father, till both fell pierced with wounds. The remainder of the party, and the great majority of the Boers, having ultimately succeeded in fighting their way out of this trap, which had been so ably laid for them, effected a retreat out of the country without any further great loss of life; leaving, however, the prestige of victory with the Zulu chieftain, to whom the loss of several hundreds and sometimes thousands of his best warriors was always considered but of little moment, imparting only an exciting interest to his fiendish propensities and habits.

The Boers were, however, so disheartened by the result of this attack, and that of the Natal English army from the Bay upon Dingaan's forces, that they gave up all hope of resuming hostilities for the present. They had been taught a lesson of prudence by the talent and daring displayed by the Zulu armies; and they accordingly kept a watchful eye upon their northern frontier, and they sent out messages to all parts imploring accession to their numbers. Many parties, on hearing of their distressed state, came to join them, but this at the moment only increased their misery and wants, as their cattle and herds having been swept away, and having been prevented from cultivating their lands, they were not only exposed to the severest want, but were actually in a state of starvation, when some liberal-minded countryman of theirs at the Cape, hearing of their distressed condition, sent them supplies of food, medicine, and other necessaries of life; which helped them through the miseries of the winter of 1838, during which season want, disease, and famine stalked over the land, making fearful ravages amongst them.

Dingaan, ever watchful when to attack his foe with advantage, being fully informed of their wretched condition, made another attack upon them in August, 1838; but on

* Ten men fell here viz., Pieter Lavrus Uys, Dirk Cornelis Uys, Joseph Kruger, Francois Labuschagne, David Malan, Jacobus Malan, Johannes Malan, Louis Nel, Pieter Nel, and Theunis Nel.

this occasion the Boers, having their scouts always out to give them timely information of his advance, were everywhere prepared to give him a warm reception ; and at every *laager* the Zulu forces were driven off and defeated with great loss, only two or three lives having been lost among the Boers during the series of actions.

But although Dingaan was thus defeated, the Boers were still contending with great difficulties. Small parties were pouring in to join them, but bringing little effectual support, until the beginning of December, when the season appearing propitious, and a number of young men having come in from the Free State, 460 fighting and mounted men put themselves under the command of Andreas Pretorius, who had also recently joined the emigrants, among whom he had made himself extremely popular.

They were powerfully aided by the brave and sterling Carl Landman, who joined them with all those Boers who had settled down at the Bay of Natal ; and these combined forces, profiting by the experience of the past, advanced with great caution, securing their position every evening, so that when they had nearly reached the Umslatoos River they were fully prepared, as, at the earliest dawn of day, on Sunday, December the 16th, 1838, the whole of Dingaan's forces, about 12,000 strong, attacked their position with a fury far exceeding all former attacks. For three hours they continued rushing upon them, endeavouring to tear open all their defences, and force their camp, until Pretorius, finding the Zulu forces concentrating all their efforts upon one side of the camp, and their own ammunition nearly failing, ordered 200 mounted men to sally forth out of one of the gates at the rear of the line which the Zulus were attacking ; and these mounted warriors, charging both flanks, and pouring their deadly volleys upon the immense masses which were gathered together within a small space, at length beat them off with fearful loss. The immigrants assert that nearly 3,000 Zulus bit the dust before they retreated ; and their defeat must have been complete, since Dingaan fled quite panic-stricken, set fire to the whole of his town, Umgungunhlovo, and hid himself, with the remainder of his force, for a considerable time in the woods skirting the Umvolosi River.

I here give an account of these affairs by Chaarl Cilliers, the old Voor-trekker.

Chaarl Cilliers was for many years an elder of the Dutch Reformed Church at Pietermaritzburg, which he and others of the primitive Boers erected as a memorial of the gracious Providence which crowned their arms with victory on the occasion of the battle with Dingaan in 1838. Latterly, we believe, he resided near Cronstadt in the Orange Free State, where he made the following declaration, which is given, with other interesting details, in "Hofstede's History of the Free State :"—

I desire, by the aid of a higher hand than my own, to write down the truth ; for our God loves the truth. I shall, therefore, shortly recount the three engagements which we emigrants had with our great enemies the Kafirs, with Motzalikatze, and afterwards with Dingaan.

The first time with Motzalikatze, near the Vaal River, I was on a commission to Zoutpansberg, when it happened that a frightful murder and plunder had taken place ; and when I returned to our laager after an absence of three months, I found it in a most melancholy state. Many had been murdered, most of our cattle had been taken by the enemy, and with deep sorrow I witnessed the agonies of the wounded. My heart was almost broken. We returned then to Rhenoster River. One party went back to Valsch River, and we removed on to Vechtkop above Rhenoster River. On arriving there we received tidings from two Kafirs that the commando of Motzalikatze was coming against us, and that it was already at the Vaal River. We sent the news to those at the Valsch River, so that they could come to our assistance, but on hearing it they fled with all possible haste to Marokko. We sent two spies to ascertain the truth, and one of them discovered the formidable commando. As soon as we received the news of the approach of the commando we had formed our laager, and encircled it with thorn bushes in the best way we could. In the morning early thirty-three of us left the laager to go and meet the Kafirs, and found them about an hour and a half's distance on horseback from our camp. When they saw us, they quickly assembled and sat down orderly, the one next to the other, and we rode up to within fifty yards of them. I had a

Hottentot who spoke the language well. I told him to speak loudly and distinctly with them, and that he must ask them what harm we had done to them, and why they had come to murder us, and to rob us of our goods. When they heard this they all jumped upon their feet, and cried "Motzalikatze," and only that word. We sprang from our horses, and shot as fast as we could on the enemy. There was great confusion until the third round of fire, when they divided into two parties, so as to surround and close us in. As we had to fight with such a great enemy we had continually to retire, and then fight again before we reached our camp. I fired sixteen shots before coming to the laager; few of the shots missed, and I killed two or three in one shot. Our wives at the laager had made bullets while we were away. The Kafirs separated into three clumps of about two thousand each, at a little distance from us. They gave us time to clean our guns and to put our laager into good order. Then I called all together, and addressed them briefly to this effect,—that we have one Almighty God in heaven and upon earth, and that we must fall down and pray to Him. We all kneeled with our wives and children, and I prayed to God in his infinite mercy to look upon us in our great danger, and if it was His will not to forsake us and to give us strength to withstand our enemy; and so on. When this was finished I ordered what was more to be done, and I took the command, for I saw that the men had come with the object of killing us. I said that no woman or child was to be seen or heard, and I had seven wagons drawn in the centre of the laager into which the women and children were to go as soon as the fight commenced. It was also ordered that when the Kafirs approached, all were to wait until I gave the first shot, which was done. Then some one suggested we should tie a white sheet to a whipstick and hoist it up. I approved of it, and as soon as it was hoisted up there was a great commotion in the three clumps of Kafirs, who in one mass advanced and surrounded our small laager so that nothing could pass between. I had two guns, one loaded with slugs, and the other with ball. When they were about thirty feet from us, I shot with the slugs and then took the other gun. It was dreadful the force which the enemy used to wrench out the thorn bushes, but these

were interlaced through the chains, and they only succeeded in dragging the wagons half a foot out of their place. The wagon by which I was had seventy-two assegai holes in the tent-cover when the fight was over. On our side there were two killed and fourteen wounded, of which I was one. Around the camp 430 of the enemy lay dead, and inside were found 1,137 assegais. We also had two horses killed, and one wounded, and the Kafirs took all our cattle away. I had a wife and seven children, and was without corn or mealies, and unable to hunt. It was a bitter trial to me to see my children cry from hunger, and I as well, and nothing to give them. We were obliged to remain fifteen days in the laager, when we got some oxen from Mr. Archbell (the missionary), and our brethren who had been at Marokko, when they heard of our misfortune. Through God's mercy we were again safe; but I forgot something. At Vechtkop all the children that were able to use a gun, helped in the firing. When we came to Marokko's place, the Rev. Mr. Archbell and his wife were very kind to us. They supplied us with Kafir corn and mealies. We then wished to go against the enemy with a large commando, and we asked the assistance of the burghers on this side of the Groot-River, but the British Government forbade it, and said that whoever helped us would be severely punished. It was hard, for necessity compelled us; so we undertook with 107 men to go against the enemy, and our God gave them into our hands, so that we defeated them, and took 6,000 head of cattle from them, and not one of us killed. We went again with 330 men to attack them, and this time the Lord our God made us also victorious. Over 3,000 of them fell, and they left their country, and what was theirs has now become ours.

Now we were wavering between two thoughts, if we should go to Natal or Zoutpansberg. Mr. Retief had gone to Natal to see the country, and find out whether it was under Her Majesty's dominion. He returned and assured us that Natal was free, and that he had been to Dingaan, who had ceded to him the land from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu River, on condition that Retief should capture and return to Dingaan 900 head of cattle which Sinkonyella had stolen from him; then the land would be

ours. We began our march, but one woe was scarcely over before the other happened. When we reached the Tugela at Blaauwkrantz, near the Bosjesman's River, Retief with 100 men went to Sinkonyella, and without a single shot, took from him over 1,100 head of cattle, and gave them according to agreement to Dingaan for the promised land. But, alas! what a dark cloud hung over our heads! As we had heard, during Retief's absence, there was a missionary with Dingaan, who asked him what people we emigrants were, and that he answered that we were deserters from our king, and that Dingaan then asked what he thought he should do with these people. The missionary replied that he ought to know himself what to do with such wanderers. As far as we know, on the arrival of Retief, Dingaan was very friendly to him, gratified all his wishes, and signed the document for the grant of the land. When everything was settled he invited Retief and his followers to come in and eat and drink with him as friends, and then the treason broke out. Everyone was cruelly massacred, but our God saw it, and from His high throne took His own resolve. We were expecting the return of the chosen governor from Dingaan's country, but the first news we received from him was a large commando from Dingaan who committed a terrible and bloodthirsty slaughter among us, so that 500 of our poor emigrants fell. But our God did not entirely forsake us. We knew that the Lord in heaven looked down upon us in mercy, and strengthened us who had survived to take up arms against our enemy; and I can tell you that I fought, and, like Joshua, held my life in my hand. With five men I first saved the laager of Gert Barends, which was on the point of surrendering to the greater strength of the enemy. The laager was on the one side with the wagons drawn up in the form of a crescent. When I neared the laager and saw the danger to which it was exposed, I said to my brethren, "Keep God before your eyes, and be not afraid, and follow me." We spurred our horses on, and I shouted at the top of my voice, for I saw that the Kafirs were quickly coming up to the laager to storm the opening. Yes, had I arrived five minutes later the whole laager would have been a pool of blood; but our great God forbade it, and said to our

enemy, thus far and no farther. Our enemy was surprised and intimidated, and with God's help five men saved the laager. The Boesman's River was full, five men drove them into the stream, and many more were drowned than we were able to shoot. I fired so much that the barrel of my gun became so hot I was afraid when I put in the powder it would burst.

After this fight we passed the laager and attacked another lot of Kafirs, who were still on this side of the river, and we drove them over the mountain with great loss upon their side. Our numbers had increased twelve-fold, and when we got behind the mountain we found the horses belonging to the laager, which the enemy had taken with them. We caught all the horses and sent them back to the laager, and sent them word to come and help us as soon as they could. Then I saw the enemy driving before them some cattle, and I wished to ride along the mountain and retake them, but when I reached the top of the mountain I saw another band of about say six men also driving cattle. We shot at them and at once began a hard fight, eleven being killed at the first fire. We fought so well that numbers fell and the rest were driven to take refuge in a cave. We took all the cattle, and went on our way until we came to a place called Klijue Kop, where the Rensbergers and a number of other persons were surrounded by the Kafirs. Great numbers were scattered all about and a new struggle commenced. At first the Kafirs were hopeful, and when we fired they rushed upon us. We could not dismount, but shot from our horses : my order was that in retiring we were to load our guns as quickly as we could, then turn round and fire again. This was continually repeated, and our hands were strengthened by fresh arrivals, while the enemy grew weaker, ran round the Nek, and fled before us. Again, through God's mercy, we were victorious. We followed the enemy and so completely conquered them that they were driven into a cave in the mountain, and I ordered the cattle to be taken. We went on and came to a place where a number of people who had fled from the Kafirs had been followed and murdered by them ; I saw babes lying in their mothers' arms, murdered in cold blood. I cried to my God and said :—

“Oh, my God, shall the blood of the suckling not be avenged.” Further on there was more cattle on a mountain whose ascent was dangerous. Our horses were tired, and many a heart was sorrowful at this sad sight, but I said there was no time for mourning and sadness, for the Lord had given the enemy into our hands. We must follow them and retake the cattle. I galloped on and ten men followed me to the foot of the mountain, on the top of which was a large commando. I did not think it wise to go up the mountain with only ten men, and so the enemy remained in possession of a great part of the cattle.

After this a commando set out against Dingaan, but, alas ! this time our side was the losing one. Piet Uys, a valiant commandant, fell with ten men. Then another misfortune came : Commandant Potgieter with more than half the people left the mountain ; we were very much weakened, and divided into two laagers, the one at Bushman River and the other at Tugela. Dingaan sent again a commando against the laager at Bushman River, who attacked it, but fortunately we did not lose any lives. The majority now wished to leave the country, but I could not think of such a thing. I therefore made an agreement that three of us should go and try and find help, and if we got none then we would leave the country. Those sent were, Frans Hetting, William Pretorius, and myself. We received aid from Andries Pretorius, who came with a lot of people, and also from Piet Jacobs. We thus got together a commando of 400 men, and with this small band in a not very hopeful mood, we marched against the mighty people of Dingaan. We saw that if the good God was not with us we could have little hope of success, so I tried to cheer them up and told them to pray to the Lord to go with us to battle, as he did with Moses and Joshua. I told them that if the Lord were not with us, then we certainly would be lost. Mr. Andries Pretorius was our chosen general in this commando. He spoke to me and I also with him about the promise which the believers had made, and that we should make a promise to the Lord that if He gave us the victory over the enemy we should observe that day every year as a Sabbath. But I noticed that David had said, promise and pay the Lord, it is better not to promise,

than to promise and not to pay. It was then his wish that we should one and all make him a promise. But as a commandant and some of the others were not with us, I said he must postpone it until Cobus Uys was with us. He came to us at the Tugela, and we spoke to him about the subject, and it was his wish, as well as the Field-cornet's, that the promise should be made. We then determined to make the Lord our God a solemn promise that if the Lord went with us and gave the enemy into our hands, that we should dedicate that day every year to the Lord and spend it as a Sabbath-day.

We then went on to Dause Kraal, where the ceremony was to take place, and it was the universal wish that I should do it in the name of all the people. The General ordered that not a single man was to be absent when it took place. It was on the 7th December, 1838, that I, in my weakness, fulfilled the wish of my brethern, and I knew that most of the burghers were also for it. I got upon a cannon wagon, with the 407 men encircling me. I spoke in a simple way, and as solemnly as the Lord gave me the strength, to the following effect :—"My brethren and fellow countrymen, here we are assembled for a few moments before a Holy God of Heaven and earth, to make him a promise, if He go with us and protect us, and give us the victory over our enemy, that we dedicate that day and all succeeding days every year as a day of thanksgiving and spend it as a Sabbath day. We must tell it to our children so that they can help us to celebrate it and transmit it to the following generations. If any one had any scruples to make the promise he was to leave the place, for the honour of his name would be increased thereby for the praise and glory of the success would be given to him alone." I further said we should join in prayer and let it ascend to the throne of the Most High, and so on. I stretched forth my hands, heavenward, in the name of the assembly. Further, each evening, also the following Sabbath, we dedicated to prayer, and every evening special service was held at three different places. The Lord was with us on the 15th, when we marched to the Blood River, which got its name after the battle. A patrol had gone out, and they reported that the commando of Dingaan was in sight. We immediately sped on and

found the commando on a mountain, and a part of it was to be seen at one end where there was a path, but the mountain was surrounded with krantzes, and the path was between two rugged kloofs in each of which was stationed a commando, so that if we had climbed the mountain, we should have been hemmed in by the two commandos. I wished to commence an attack at once, but the general said it was too late, we must wait until the next day. I then proposed to go with fifty men and try and decoy them from the mountain on to the plains, and that the rest should come to meet me. But my plan was not carried out, and I was rather annoyed; but afterwards I saw it was for the best that we had done nothing that day. For the Lord hath said "My counsel shall remain, I will fulfil my desires." That evening we returned to our laager. I must particularly mention how the Lord, in His watchfulness over us, brought us to the place where he had ordained that the battle should be fought. To the west there was a ditch which opened into the Blood River, and the bank on the side of the laager was fourteen feet high, so that no man could get out; then again, in the Blood River, there was a Zekoegat, which was certainly 1,400 feet long, this was on the east side; if I well remember, the Zekoegat and the ditch were at right angles, so that the laager was on both sides, through God's care, entrenched, otherwise it lay upon open ground. On the 16th the Kafirs attacked the laager; four times they tried and each time were repulsed. One could easily see and also hear their captain urge them to storm again but the people would not. When all was quiet at Zekoegat, a great many unable to cross the water had remained behind, and were lying down under cover of their shields, so we left the laager and neared the water within easy distance, and shot at them. When the rest saw their comrades fall they took flight, but not without great loss. Some were still in the ravine, so I called out for the volunteers to attack them, and with eighty men we entered the ditch. It was a wide one, but the Kafirs were so closely packed against one another that they could not see their aims to throw their assegais, only one assegai was aimed, and wounded a man in his leg. On the other side of the ditch was also an opening through which the Kafirs could have

escaped, but the rest of our laager seeing us attacking the enemy came to our assistance, and as the blacks tried to escape they were fired upon with such deadly aim that 400 were left dead in the ditch. The General then ordered the gate to be opened, all the horses were saddled, and we fled out of the laager. So was fulfilled as God hath said, "By one way shall thine enemy come to me, but through the Lord's grace they shall flee from before thy face." A great number, almost half of the commando, had not fought at all, so the General ordered us to fire upon them with the cannon, and when this was done they rushed forward and fell upon the laager. I think 150 men went to meet them; they then divided into two parties of 2,000 each, and being on a level plain they could not resist us any longer—we were to the right and left of them. We were endowed with great courage, and we left the Kafirs lying on the ground as thick almost as pumpkins upon the field that has borne a plentiful crop. Seeing there was no rescue at hand for them, and they were approaching the Zekoegat, one and all jumped into the water and laid among the reeds on the opposite side, but we continued our fire and killed almost every one. I am convinced that the river got its name from this event, for its colour was red like blood; I have told what we all did upon that day, and it is reckoned that more than 3,000 of the enemy fell. Anyone who reads this, will be not be convinced that our great God is the hearer and answerer of prayer; and shall we not praise Him? That evening we had a universal thanksgiving for His help and deliverance shown to us.

Shortly after this we started for Dingaan's Town and arrived at this side of it. A patrol rode to the top of the hill to reconnoitre the town. Commandant Jacobus Uys thoughtlessly shot at a crow, and not ten minutes afterwards the whole town and palace were in flames. In the neighbourhood were two other kraals, where Dingaan's two chief captains lived. These were also quickly set on fire by the inhabitants. Next day we went on to the town, but on reaching it found it empty and totally deserted. On searching about we discovered the shocking scene of the martyrdom of our Governor and sixty-four others who had accompanied to Dingaan, in order to

restore the cattle captured from Sinkonyella. We found the corpses about 1,200 yards from Dingaan's hut, thrown alongside of one another, their hands and feet bound fast with thongs of ox-hide, and their bodies fearfully mutilated, in a manner which tongue cannot name; their clothes were still upon them, and no insects or birds of prey had touched them. We recognized Retief by his clothing, and a leathern bag which he had across his shoulder containing all his papers, amongst others the document and treaty between him and Dingaan about the land. It was wonderful that the corpses and even the papers were in such a good state of preservation, just as if the latter had been kept in a closed box. I leave it to the imagination of my reader to think what must have been our feelings in witnessing such a sight. One looked upon the corpse of a son, another on that of a father, the third upon a brother, and so on. The General gave orders for a large grave to be dug, and all the bodies were put in and buried there. Evidently the men must all have been dragged from Dingaan's hut to this place, for we saw the whole place strewn with kerries, mostly broken ones. I do think, if they had been collected, they would have filled a wagon. The General ordered a headstone to be placed over the grave, and having found a suitable block we placed it there with the day of the month and year cut out upon it.

Our laager then marched to the south-east of Dingaan's kraal on to a small mountain. Part of our commando, about 317 men, went further east where the ground was very rugged. There we encountered a number of Kafirs, about 600. They were a bait for us, and we attacked them, but soon after took flight, and were very soon surrounded by the Kafirs. Commandant Hans de Lange shouted to us to jump upon our horses and fight our way through, he also ordered us to rush forward abreast of one another. God be praised we fought our way through without any loss on our side, but a continued one among the enemy. We were continually firing and retiring, the Kafirs driving us in the opposite direction from our laager and away from level ground. The fight had already lasted seven hours, we tried to the best of our power to get back to our laager, but there was a river between which

was also full. The Kafirs got there before us, and pushed us hard so that we lost five men in crossing. Biggar had a number of Kafirs from Natal with him. He fell with seventy of them, and we were pursued by the enemy until within a short distance of our laager. The Kafirs lost about 1,000 of their men. We remained over the next day and burnt the three towns to the ground. The third day we went backwards a little and from there on to Nieuwejaars-spruit, which got its name from its being the 1st of January. On the 2nd we rose during the night, and again attacked the enemy ; seventy-two fell upon their side, and we took considerable booty from them. We now returned to our laagers, and on arriving there were very much put out by the receipt of a proclamation from the British Government, in which we were told that if we went to Dingaan's country and took up arms against him, it would assist Dingaan against us. But we were able to thank God, for the war was already over. But another calamity was at hand. Whilst we were fighting Dingaan, Ncapai was continually stealing our cattle, always committing his thefts when the river was swollen and we could not cross to get at him. However, we now made up a commando to go to the Umzimvubu river, thinking it was Ncapai ; but before going we first wished to hear from Faku if he could throw any light upon the matter, and tell us who the robbers were. We went to the west of Ncapai, and the General sent competent persons to Faku, agreeing to wait the return at the Umtowobe. Whenever anything of importance happened, the General always wished me to have a seat in the council of war, and this time it was also his wish that I should be present. The delegates returned, and they were questioned as to what they had learned from Faku. Their answer was that five days before their arrival Faku had been fighting with Ncapai, and taken from him a number of cattle, amongst which were seven oxen which Ncapai had stolen from us, and they knew to whom they belonged. Thereupon the General asked if we thought Ncapai guilty or not, and if we should go and punish him ? I answered the first, he is guilty, and must be punished, for we had seen the seven oxen and knew to whom they belonged. Then all the members of the council echoed my words.

We immediately marched against him and punished him well, and took so many cattle from him that whoever had suffered from his thieving was amply repaid. The day of the battle two native women were taken prisoners and were questioned as to whether they knew if Ncapai had stolen from us. The one seemed to wish to speak the truth, but the other did not, and I said to the General and other members if they agreed to it, I should take the matter into my hands and they gave me leave to do so. I separated the two women, and the one who spoke the truth I examined first. I asked her if she knew that there was a Holy God who lived in heaven, and who saw and knew everything that took place upon the earth, and she said she did not know that there was a God. I told her that it was the Lord who gave the clouds and rain and thunder, that He tells us in His Book we may not lie, and if we lie He will be very angry with us and will kill us with his thunder and lightning. I asked her if she knew that it had killed Kafirs and cattle? She said, yes. I then told her I would put her questions, and she was to tell no lies, for if she did, the great God would strike her dead with His thunder and lightning. So I asked her if she knew that Ncapai had stolen cattle from us, and if she knew nothing about it she was not to say that he had done it. She then swore by the sun that he had stolen our cattle, she knew it for a fact, for in his kraal there was still a span of red oxen. This was a span belonging to one Uys. Seventeen of my cattle were also stolen, and amongst them a milch cow called "Bruijdonker," which several could testify belonged to me, was found amongst the cattle that were captured, and several others belonging to different people.

Again, another calamity was awaiting us. Jervis came first to disarm us, but we had rather lay down our lives than to submit to it, so he went back. Upon that we were accused of having shed innocent blood at Ncapai's. Captain Smith came and ordered us about with a high hand. Now I leave it to each one to think how we must have felt in our hearts. Believe me, everything came fresh and vividly before my mind, and I looked upon us all as burghers, of whom Paul says he got his citizenship by the payment of a sum of money, although he was born one, so

I thought that when I left my country as a burgher and went to another place, I was guilty of no offence, and that a Civil Government had no longer any control over or upon such a one. Matters went so far that we fought with Captain Smith. It was truly to me like a child who has attained his majority and left his father, and is then so terribly wronged by his parent that he is obliged to go away from him. When we were deliberating with Captain Smith, two vessels arrived with troops to help him, and the Kafirs had murdered a man at the "Umlaas," so it was impossible to offer further resistance, and we had to negotiate with him. Commissioner Cloete came soon after, to investigate the case of Ncapai, about the innocent bloodshed, of which we were the cause, and our General was regarded as the great instrument of bloodshed of Ncapai. I came to hear of it and wrote a letter to Her Majesty's Commissioner Cloete, putting before him the whole case of the robberies which had taken place whilst we were fighting with Dingaan, and we, not knowing who had stolen our cattle, could stand it no longer, and raised a commando, but first tried to find out the thief, and had gone to Faku, and our delegates had come back from him with the intelligence that Ncapai was the culprit. Upon this the General assembled his council of war and asked them the question, Is Ncapai guilty? Shall we punish him or leave him alone? And that I was the first to say he is guilty, and we must punish him. I gave the names of all who sat in the council. I also wrote about the confession of the native woman, and further about my cow and the other cattle and oxen we had found in his possession. I also wrote in my letter to the Commissioner, that if the General was found guilty in this affair, and even if he were sentenced to be hanged, then I, first, and after me the other members must be condemned, and then the General. Upon the receipt and reading of this letter, the Commissioner pardoned our General and said that we were innocent of the last mentioned event.

Again another woe befel us, namely, the battle of Governor Smith at Boomplaats, when all who had fought in commando against the Governor, and caused the expense of the war were heavily fined.

It is impossible for me any longer to write down all the

reasons why I left my mother-country. First I was dissatisfied with the Bastardland which we had bartered with the Boesjesmans, and after that the Bastards came and killed the Boesjesmans, and took possession of our property, and we lost it. Secondly, we had sent a commission of 100 men to the Vet, Sand, and Valsch Rivers who found that tract of country waste and uninhabited. We memorialized the Governor of the Cape. Seventy-two persons signed the memorial, all family men who had no land; and it was refused to us. Thirdly, the freedom of the slaves. Government promised that two agents would be sent, and after being valued the money would be paid out. I possessed slaves, valued at rds. 2,888, and I only received about rds. 500 worth of goods in return. But I will remain quiet. What I have written, He who knows all things knows this, that I would not deliberately write down an untruth.

(Signed) C. A. CILLIERS, Elder.

By God's forbearance I have reached the age of sixty-nine years.

A true copy—W. S. VAN RIJNEVELD.

After decently interring the remains of their unfortunate countrymen, the Boers found that their horses and their ammunition were ill-calculated to continue a harassing warfare upon Dingaan in his fastnesses, and they therefore resolved gradually to fall back, which they did with little loss, taking with them some 5,000 head of cattle, which they distributed among themselves, as the lawful and hardly-earned trophies of this campaign.

After the interment of the remains, a camp was formed some miles further on, and then Mr. Pretorius sent a patrol of two hundred and eighty horsemen in pursuit of Dingaan. A Zulu army was found in an extensive and broken valley having rocky and precipitous sides, and here for nearly a whole day the farmers were skirmishing. Towards evening they found that another body of Zulus was closing them in from behind, when they resolved to turn at once and cut their way out. In doing so they were obliged to cross a swollen rivulet, and here the enemy got among them and killed Mr. Alexander Biggar, five Emigrants, named Gerrit van Staden, Barend Bester,

Nicholas le Roux, Marthinus Goosen, and Johannes Oosthuizen, and five of the Natal natives. The others got away in safety.

The commando then commenced its return march. When it reached the Buffalo River a patrol was sent out, which was fortunate enough to fall in with a herd of four or five thousand cattle guarded by only a hundred men. The guards were shot and the cattle seized.

During the absence of this commando, a military detachment arrived from Port Elizabeth and took possession of the Bay of Natal. It consisted of a company of the 72nd Highlanders and a few gunners, altogether about a hundred men, and was under command of Major Samuel Charteris of the Royal Artillery. Mr. (now Sir) Theophilus Shepstone accompanied it in the capacity of Kaffir interpreter. After landing the troops, on the 4th of December Major Charters proclaimed that he had taken military possession of all the ground surrounding the Bay within two miles of high water mark, and declared martial law in force within these bounds. There was standing near the Point a substantial stone building, recently erected as a store for Mr. Maynard, with a small wooden building close by belonging to Mr. John Owen Smith of Port Elizabeth. These were obtained from their occupants, and were converted into storehouses for provisions, magazines for arms, &c. Three guns were landed and mounted on neighbouring sandhills which commanded an extensive range. The troops were provided with tents, which they occupied until wattle and daub barracks could be erected. The whole encampment was enclosed as soon as possible with stockades cut in the mangrove thickets, and it then received the name of Fort Victoria.

On their return from this successful inroad they were not a little surprised to find that Sir George Napier (who succeeded Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the Government of the Cape Colony) had sent a small detachment of Highlanders, under the command of Major Charteris, to take possession of the Bay of Natal. This measure had been evidently taken, and in fact was acknowledged in a proclamation of the 14th of November, 1838, to have emanated from a desire to put an end to "the unwarrantable occupation of parts of the territories belong-

ing to the natives by certain emigrants from the Cape Colony, *being subjects of His Majesty*," and that proclamation gave the officer commanding these forces the further power to "search for, seize and retain in military possession all arms and munitions of war, which at the time of the seizure of Port Natal, shall be found in the possession of any of the inhabitants."

Major Charteris returned immediately to the Cape, when the command of the detachment devolved on Capt. Jervis of the 72nd Regiment; and from the vague and ill-defined nature of his instructions, some serious difference, if not conflict, might have risen between him and the Boers in regard to the authority and orders he had received to seize upon their gunpowder and ammunition; but the good sense and good feeling of that officer soon smoothed away every difficulty between them, and he delivered them up their gunpowder, which he had previously seized, upon their engaging not to use it in aggressive hostilities against the natives. The necessity for keeping and maintaining the detachment led to some regular demand for supplies, which kept up a mutual interchange of wants, and the most friendly intercourse was afterwards maintained between them. In the mean time the main party of the Boers, some fifty miles up country, laid out the town of "Pietermaritzburg" (named, as we have said, after Pieter Retief and Gert Maritz), and also what is now called the seaport town of "D'Urban" after Sir Benjamin D'Urban—Landdrosts or Magistrates were appointed to both townships. They established a more regular system of government; and with the able assistance of Mr. Boshoff, who about this time arrived in the district with his entire clan, various laws and regulations were framed which gradually redeemed them from the state of anarchy into which they were fast falling.

While the winter of 1839 was thus taken up by these duties and labors, Dingaan, somewhat recovering from the effects of his late defeat, commenced sending in some special messengers, first delivering up 316 horses which he at various times had captured, and thereafter professing every disposition to enter into amicable relations with the Boers. Their answer was plain and manly—that they

would not enter into any treaty of peace with him unless ample restitution had been made of all their cattle and sheep, and until the value of their property, taken or destroyed by him and the Zulus, had been paid for. This led to frequent embassies, promises of restitution, and fixing places where, at least, some of the cattle and some guns were promised to be delivered. But the Boers soon saw that these messages and promises were mere pretexts to keep up a system of espionage upon them, as when one of these pretended messengers or spies being caught admitted that he had been sent by Dingaan to see whether the Boers were returning to their farms or were in laager, evidently contemplating another raid upon them. This naturally paralysed all their agricultural enterprises, and prevented them from spreading themselves about to carry on their farming pursuits, being thus kept constantly on the alert ; when, in the inscrutable decrees of Providence, one of those events was brought about for which they were quite unprepared, and in which they were not even the chief agents, but which led to their undisputed possession of the whole colony of Natal.

There were at that time remaining alive only two brothers of Tshaka and Dingaan : the elder, Um Pande, (the "Um" being a prefix corresponding to a kind of "Mr.") and a young man Klookloo. Pande had just reached manhood, but brought up in the midst of debauchery and sensuality, he was only known for his unwarlike habits, and became an object of derision with the warriors, and of contempt with Dingaan, and he seemed for a time to give full scope to the indulgence of his passions, as most conducive to his own personal safety : whilst Dingaan's appetite for war was so burning and insatiable that notwithstanding his signal defeat by the Boers in the previous December he again mustered a strong army, and furiously attacked Sapusa, the Amazwazi King, but was again defeated with fearful slaughter.

It was therefore not unnatural that even among the Zulus, a party was forming, deprecating these murderous wars, and apparently inclined to support Um Pande, with a view to bring about peace with the Boers and the surrounding natives. From that moment Dingaan determined to watch the opportunity of murdering his brother, but it

appears that a hint of his intentions to this effect had transpired. Pande at once fled, with a number of followers, and crossing the Tugela near its mouth, and near where Fort Pearson now stands, took possession of some lands near the Umvoti, and sent messengers to the Boers asking their support and protection. Some suspicion was at first entertained that this was a deep laid plot between the black brothers to inveigle them into Zululand, but after repeated conferences, which were managed with great tact and ability by the Landdrost Roos, of D'Urban, G. Kemp, Moolman, Morewood, Breda, and several others, a formal treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded with him by the terms of which the Boers pledged themselves to support and defend Pande, while he on the other hand promised to support them in any attack upon Dingaan.

The beginning of the year 1840 being considered the best season for commencing offensive operations, the Boers again mustered a force of 400 mounted warriors, who, under the chief command of Andreas Pretorius, joined Pande's army, which was about 4,000 strong, and this combined force, in January, again entered Zululand by the Sunday River and Biggar's Mountains, but, with proper caution, the Boers kept themselves at some distance from Pande's army, which, under the able guidance of Nonkalaas (still alive and with Cetywayo), seemed quite intent upon coming into action.

Whilst this "commando" was mustering its forces, one of Dingaan's principal messengers, Tamboosa, arrived with a specious message and offer of peace. He was, however, with his assistant, seized, and upon being rigidly questioned, frankly admitted that he had been sent to report upon the affairs of the combined army under "Pande" (as the Zulus pronounce it—"Panda," the name is usually pronounced by whites).

The latter, evidently embittered against this person (Dingaan's principal counsellor) charged him with having been the chief cause of the murder of Retief and his party, and that he had plotted and advised his (Pande's) death, and, in short, brought such a series of charges against him that, contrary to every usage of civilised life, he was taken along with the army as a prisoner until they reached the

banks of the Buffalo River (about eleven miles from where the 1-24th were annihilated by Cetywayo's Zulus at Isandhlwane), where a court martial was formed which, under the excited feelings of the occasion, soon passed sentence of death upon the unfortunate prisoners, which was carried into execution a few hours afterwards. Tamboosa not only nobly upbraided his executioners with the violation of all usages towards messengers, but expressed his perfect readiness to die. The Boers did not want to shoot his attendant named Kombazana, but the man, faithful to his master, declared that if they shot his master they must shoot him, separated they should not be. Both accordingly fell under one volley.

This may be said to be the only blot which seriously reflected on the conduct of the Dutch Boers in their engagements with the Zulus, for they otherwise constantly endeavoured to spare the women and children from massacre, and have uniformly conducted their wars with as much discretion and prudence as bravery.

A few days after this sad execution, the Zulu army, under Um Pande, encountered that commanded by Dingaan, whereupon a bloody and desperate engagement ensued, in the course of which, and in a critical moment, one or two of Dingaan's regiments went over in a body to Pande, upon which two of Dingaan's best regiments, who were fighting bravely for him, were totally destroyed to a man, and the battle ended in his utter defeat and flight. The Boers, not having been engaged in this action, followed up this success as soon as they heard of it with great vigor. They drove Dingaan over the Black Umvolosi, and from thence still further to the banks of the Pongolo, where, deserted by almost all his followers, he endeavored with about 100 warriors to find shelter amongst a small tribe living near Delagoa Bay, named the Amasuree, but who, it is supposed, murdered him to insure their own safety from his constant and fearful forays upon them and the adjacent tribes.

There existing, however, no doubt as to his death, and the dispersion of all his army, the Boers assembled in great state on the banks of the Umvolosi on February 14th, 1840, and there, under the discharge of their guns, Andreas Pretorius proclaimed Um Pande the sole and the

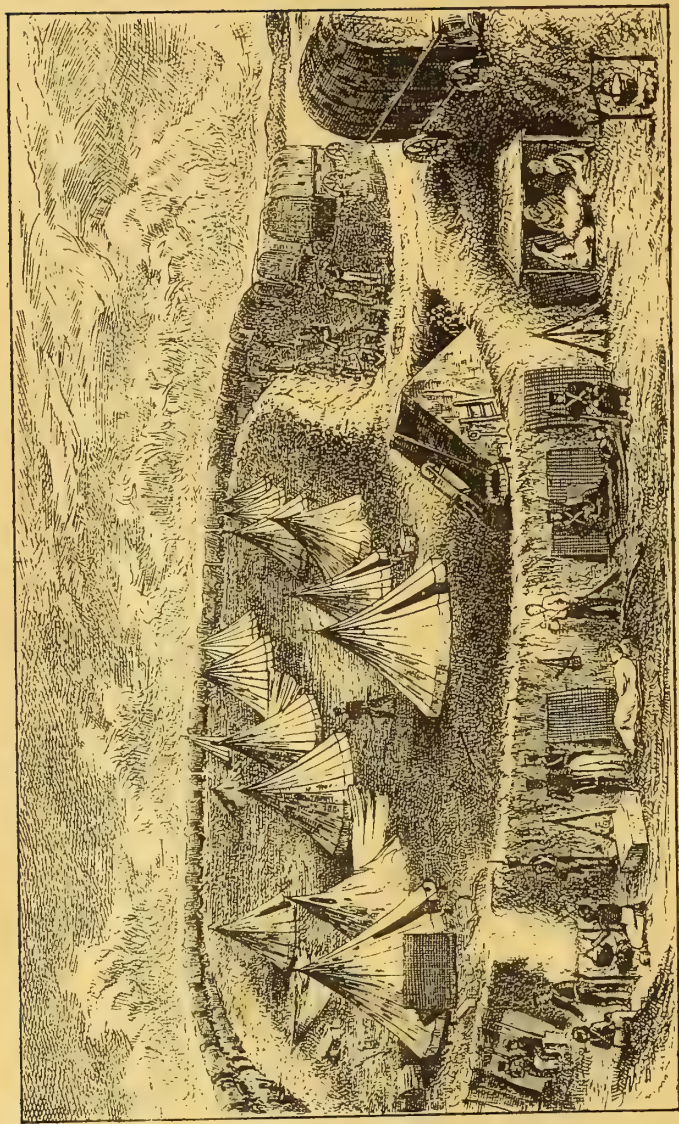
acknowledged king of the Amazulus; and by a proclamation issued by him, and attested by the other commandants, they declared their sovereignty to extend from the Umvolosi Umnyama, or the Black Umvolosi, and the St. Lucia Bay, to the Umzimvubu, or St. John's River, and, in fact, by their proceedings of that day, assumed a certain authority over Um Pande himself, from whom they received, as their indemnity, 36,000 head of cattle, 14,000 of which were delivered to those farmers who resided beyond the Drakensberg, and had only come in as allies to their friends; and the remaining 22,000 (or rather the sad remains of them, for many were lost and embezzled on the way) were brought to the foot of the Zwatkop, near the town of Pietermaritzburg, where, at a spot still named the *Deel Lager*, they were distributed among such farmers as belonged to the Natal district, and had claims for losses sustained in the previous wars and engagements.

A few days before the emigrant farmers started on their last and crowning victory over Dingaan and his forces (it may be here said that when in the sanguinary conflict above described, Pande's chiefs called out, "The Boers are coming!" his own Kafirs were elated in a degree corresponding to the dejection of Dingaan's warriors), Sir George Napier having been ordered to send the 72nd Regt. home, and finding that the Secretary of State for the Colonies still continued little inclined to support his policy of occupying the Natal district, sent a vessel to the Bay, with orders to Captain Jervis to embark with his whole detachment, on which occasion he addressed a letter to Landdrost Roos, at D'Urban, which, after referring to some complaints of natives as to encroachment on their gardens, contained the following farewell address and peroration:—"It now only remains for me on taking my departure, to wish you, one and all, as a community, every happiness, sincerely hoping that, aware of your strength, peace may be the object of your counsels; justice, prudence, and moderation be the law of your actions; that your proceedings may be actuated by motives worthy of you as men and Christians; that hereafter your arrival may be hailed as a benefit, having enlightened ignorance, dispelled superstition, and caused crime, bloodshed and

oppression to cease ; and that you cultivate these beautiful regions in quietness and prosperity, ever regardful of the rights of the inhabitants, whose country you have adopted, and whose home you have made your own."

From these expressions, enunciated by the officer commanding the forces on the eve of his departure, and from the general tenour of the intelligence received by them at the time from the Cape, there can be no doubt that the Boers became then fully impressed that Her Majesty's Government had determined, by no consideration, to swerve from that line of policy which had already declared that nothing would induce Her Majesty to assert a sovereignty over these territories. They therefore conceived that by this act of abandonment, and by their conquest and installation of Pande, as a chief set up by themselves, they had become both *de facto* and *de jure* the undisputed rulers of the country. They saw themselves respected and dreaded by all the neighbouring tribes ; every farmer had now for himself the opportunity of sitting down under his own vine and fig tree, none making him afraid ; and there is further no doubt that if they, as a body, had possessed sufficient intelligence to feel the exact position in which they were *then* placed, Her Majesty's Government would have bestowed upon them all the advantages of self-government, consistent with a mere acknowledgment of their allegiance to Her Majesty and her heirs.





Murray & St. Leon.

CAMP ON THE ITAFA AMALINDE PORT NATAL JUNE, 1842.

Cape Town.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

NATAL TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH FROM THE DUTCH.
A.D. 1842.

THIS, by far the most eventful year in the annals of Natal, was ushered in by the appointment of the officer commanding the Umgazi Post, Captain, now Major Smith, of the 27th Regt., as Commandant of Natal :—

Head Quarters, Cape Town, Jan. 14, 1842.

1.—His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to appoint Capt. J. C. Smith, 27th Regt., Commandant of Port Natal; and all detachments of Troops stationed in Faku's country, the territories of Natal and its dependencies, are placed under his immediate orders.

2.—Captain Smith, on being relieved at the Umgazi Camp, will march with his Detachment to Port Natal according to such Instructions as he shall receive.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lieut.-Colonel,
Deputy-Qr.-M.-General.

In closing the last chapter we left the Dutch in quiet and happy possession of Natal; Dingaan, the immolator of Retief and his party, was no more. Um Pande was a king of their own making, holding his position between the Umvoti and Umhlali by their permission, so that now, after their many wanderings and great privations and sufferings, they fondly hoped that a long course of repose and prosperity lay before them, in which they might frame their own laws, establish their own institutions, consolidate their power, bring up their families, secure their own possessions, and, as soon as possible, obtain their own ministers, worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences. A church and minister's house at Pietermaritzburg were amongst the first buildings to be erected.

But how soon were these hopes to be blighted and a dark cloud cover the horizon! How soon was their bright sunshine to be succeeded by shadows, darkness, and death!

The English Government had once or twice informed them that although military occupation of Natal had ceased, yet the Boers were still considered as British subjects, and they would not be allowed to establish a Republican Government of their own, and to precipitate matters the Boers attacked the Baca Chief 'Ncapai, thus disturbing matters on the Cape frontiers.

Attempts at an amicable arrangement were tried, but these failing, recourse was had to force, and Captain Smith, of the 27th Regiment, being appointed military commander of Natal, was directed to march from the Umgazi post to Natal with the ridiculously small force of 200 men and two field pieces. Captain Smith left the Umgazi on the 31st March, 1842, and arrived at Natal on the 12th of May following. The Umgazi military post had been established the year before to protect Faku, the Pondo Chief.

An account of the march of the expedition to Natal—its extreme difficulties and danger—its exhausted state on its arrival there on the 4th of May, are graphically described in the following letter of an eye-witness and fellow sufferer, one of the troops, who thus describes the journey:—

12th May, 1842.

I received your epistle on the south bank of the Umzimkulu River. It was after travelling 18 miles, and the whole day raining on us, and then had to mount guard the same night. I promised to send you all the particulars relating to our march, but I am sorry to state that opportunity will not allow me at present, in consequence of our sad situation.

Our march was *long* and *fatiguing*, and we had a great many delays at rivers, and *bad weather* was the cause of detaining us likewise. I will just mention a few particulars on the occasion, and draw to a close unto Natal, as you will be somewhat surprised to hear how we came on since we came here. On the 1st of April we left the Umzimvubu River, after taking leave of Faku's king-

dom, and all its inhabitants, singing the song "We fight to conquer," chorused by the men and officers as we marched along. We were three days marching through Faku's territory. * * * The same night Mrs. Giligan was delivered of a son, and the next day the Commissariat Issuer's wife was delivered of a beautiful daughter. On the morning of the 9th we arrived on the sea-coast, where we took breakfast, and every man had a good swim in the salt water, and had great eating of oysters and many other varieties of shell fish. On leaving this place Fisher was nearly killed in crossing a river; he was jumping up on the gun to pass over dry and save himself the trouble of stripping, but he fell under the gun wheel and it went over his left shoulder, and only for one of the artillery being so expert in drawing him from under the wheels, it would have gone over his head and killed him on the spot; the doctor had great work to bring him to, and he complained for three or four days after of having a great pain in his chest and breast, but now he is quite recovered. You must understand that the three buglers were divided every day into three divisions, one with the artillery, and one with the division, and one with the rear guard. Our march chiefly was along the S.E. coast the whole way, until within a few days of Natal. We came across many pieces of wrecks belonging to unfortunate vessels, and skeletons of whales, and many curious shells, and many other things were picked up by the men and officers as we went along. The men caught three brown bucks and gave them to the officers; we saw a great many sea cows, and came across the spoor of lions and elephants in the woody parts along the coast. *We suffered much from marching in the sand, it got into our boots and cut our feet to pieces, and the sun reflecting the sand burned our faces. In like manner the men had many fatigues in repairing the roads every four or five miles they went along.* Mr. Archbell, the Wesleyan Missionary, and family, were in company with us the whole way. We never saw a sail the whole time on the water, until the 29th morning we beheld a small brig sailing from Natal harbour. We marched from the sea-coast the same morning, and continued on the inland the whole day, until we arrived at the east banks of the Umkomanzi River.

I must draw to a close with the remainder of the march, in consequence of having other bread to bake at present. As I mentioned before, and at the same time informing you that *we crossed 122 rivers, and the most of them we had to swim over*; some of them extending across 6 and 700 yards in breadth; they are the largest and greatest rivers ever I saw in my life. We stopped two days and part of the third at the Umkomanzi River, during our stay here we had muster parade, articles of war. The night before James Devitt, of No. 2 company, died, and was buried next evening with the usual martial ceremonies. Poor fellow! *His death was occasioned from the fatigues of the march, and it is a wonderful mercy of Providence, that a great many more did not share the same fate.* The next day we departed from this river, and when the guns went over, they loaded with grape, and every company according as they reached the other side all loaded with ball, and every soldier on the expedition, for the captain did not know the moment the enemy might approach him, and due precaution was taken every night in pitching the camp; the guns and infantry were ordered to be kept loaded until further orders. The next day's march we came within 25 miles of Natal, and that evening there came four Englishmen out to meet us, all armed with swords, pistols, and double-barrelled guns.

You may depend it alarmed us very much to see them so well armed, but you would not believe how much they were overjoyed to see us. They stated to the captain that they were obliged to fly for refuge; the Boers threatened to hang them, and a good many more that stopped in the town. The next day's march we met the whole of the Englishmen coming out to meet us, all armed in the same manner as the first two. When they came up to us they all shouted unanimously together, "Welcome, welcome, boys, you are the brightest sight we saw this many a day; our lives are in danger this month past—since they heard of the troops coming up, and we were all obliged to make our escape from the band of ruffians, who said they would hang us all if we would not go in arms against the troops that were coming up, but we never would consent, and we had to fly, leaving our property and houses behind us to get some protection from you, and thanks be to the Almighty

you are at hand." Now they told us many yarns about the Dutch barbarians, the ill treatment they gave them, and how they made them pay heavy revenue and duties upon all kind of goods they purchased out of different vessels. But to draw to Natal—the last day's march being the 4th May, as we drew within 12 miles of the town, it was surely handsome to see all the pretty cottages and handsome villages belonging to the peaceable Dutch farmers. The captain received word outside of the town about the enemy abandoning the town and port. We arrived in Natal about 4 o'clock in the evening, and pitched our camp on a projecting hill, about the distance of six miles from the town and harbour, for the captain thought the enemy might give him a visit that night, and all preparation was accordingly made in placing the guns and wagons all round the camp. The English Agent paid us a visit before we were long arrived; his name is Mr. Dunn.* He has a magnificent house and premises, and a splendid garden here on this hill. *He wondered very much to see such a small force going to face the enemy as we were, and he asked the captain if there was not a force coming by sea, but the captain told him there was not, and that he was not the least afraid to meet as many more. The Agent smiled to think he would face 1,500 men armed in the manner they were, with swords, pistols, and double-barrelled guns—the best armed men in the colony.* They purchased all these arms since they came up here out of different shipping that came into the harbour. The evening we came in here we saw the haughty Dutch banner was displayed on the fort at the harbour as large as life. But the next morning the captain and the engineer officer, with all the Cape Corps, and a few of the Artillery, went down to the port, and *hauled down the rebellious flag, and hoisted the British Union of old England, and spiked their gun alongside of it—a six-pounder.* In the meantime the captain and engineer officer† planned out a place for our camp, alongside of the town, but in an open plain. The captain and the remainder of them arrived at the camp about 4 o'clock in the evening.

* Father of chief, John Dunn, Zululand.

† Lieut : Gibb.

During our arrival here for those two days the enemy made no appearance about the town, but their chiefs sent in a great many letters to our captain, but when he found out that they were from the impetuous chief he would not read them, and desired no person to attempt to take any letters from any of his followers, for he said he wanted to see him himself, and not his letters. All this time the Boers were encamped about 20 miles from the town, at a place called Long Kloof. The next day we marched to our camp, where we were destined to remain, with fixed bayonets, and the officers with their swords drawn, and in full uniform. We passed through a small village belonging to the Dutch, called Kongela, but there seemed to be very few inhabitants in it, as they were all out in the country. We marched through the town and came to our camp-ground at 11 o'clock; but such a place for *bad water* I never saw in my life; *it is as black as ink and full of different insects, and stinks in the bargain. I am very much afraid it will make away with the whole of us before long.* But for Natal I think it is one of the handsomest places ever I saw in my life.

Ever since our arrival in Natal the whole of the men are obliged to wear their accoutrements the whole night and keep their arms alongside of them, lying on top of their blankets and great coats ready at a moment's warning to turn out, and the artillery in like manner, lying alongside their guns. *The duty is very hard here: the men have only two nights in bed.* We give 36 men and two officers and a bugler every night for outline picket, and an advance picket of the Cape Corps. No person of our camp is permitted to go to town ever since we came here; we are *locked up the same as if we were in a French prison.* A great number of the Kafirs came here to our camp, and showed us by their backs the manner the Dutch so unmercifully flogged them; they are almost afraid to speak to a white man. On the night of the 8th we were alarmed to hear wagons going the whole night through the woods northward of our camp towards the Dutch village. But news soon came to the captain next morning of all the Boers being assembled in town, and this day being Sunday, the captain made all preparations for action that night. The captain sent word to

the Dutch chief next morning to come himself in person and he would let him know the general's mission, but he refused coming. But the captain was determined to fetch him, accordingly he ordered out all the Cape Corps, one gun with six rockets and a hundred infantry. I and Blake were the two buglers, with them we marched away from the camp at 10 o'clock, leaving all in the camp under arms during our absence, and to be ready the first gun they heard fired to proceed and reinforce us. We proceeded towards the village, and during our march we saw multitudes of armed parties galloping through the woods towards the village, and drawing near the village we could see the Boers all in the utmost confusion, running here and there, and we could hear their women and children roaring and crying, and the men exclaiming violently, they were sure we were going to have at them at once. When we drew nigh to the village we saw the valiant chief coming out and two more to meet us. When the captain saw him coming he halted us, and made us order arms and stand at ease. When he came up to the captain he made a low bow and took off his hat. We had a fine view of him for the first time, during the time he was speaking to the captain. He is about six feet high and has a belly on him like the bass drum. The captain stated all the General's orders to him, but he seemed to decline them, and told the captain he did not want to meddle with the troops, but he nor his men never were to come under the English laws and be subjects of England, and said he would trade to the harbor; but the captain told him this would not do, he must come to a resolution at once, and he gave him fifteen days to think about it. He parted with the captain here and we marched home to our camp. They were peaceable now for two days, but the third morning they were seen brigading about the town in large parties as before, but the captain was rather vigilant for them, and ordered out a forlorn hope party, the same number as before, and came down to the town, and sent word to the chief, if he did not soon disperse his men he would burn, murder, and destroy all their property, and set fire to the village; they all dispersed in about an hour's time, and the troops marched home again. Nothing extra has happened since, only they are all in camp at the

village within a gun shot of our camp, with all their wagons round the camp, the same as ourselves, but we expect some bloodshed at the end of the fifteen days the captain gave them to come to a treaty to become subjects of England. I forgot to mention that the Boers bought up all the provisions in the town before we came up—flour and meal. Their foolish idea led them so think they could starve us by so doing.

To draw to a close with my small narrative, I wish to mention that the Boers *were not far astray of us being starved, for our provisions are out these four days, and we are living on one handful of rice*, but thanks be to God, a small brig arrived in harbour this day with plenty of provisions, viz. biscuit, salt beef and pork, and plenty of rum. She brought two long 18-pounders with her for to put upon our battery; there came also nine settlers in her (Englishmen) to stop here from Cape Town, and a canteen man for the troops, but the captain would not allow him to sell any liquor to the troops until all is settled; as the town at present is under martial law, all the Englishmen are doing their duty the same as our men—mounting guard over their property day and night, and relieving their sentries correctly, and having a trumpet to sound any time they require him; the Boers are all mounted men and have beautiful horses.

I conclude now, and I hope you will excuse my hurried epistle, as my time is short, and I am so much fatigued, for I can assure you that I and many men of our expedition have not closed our eyes to sleep since we came here, and this is the ninth day since our arrival, and I am just the same as usual.

JOSEPH BROWN, Bugler, 27th Regt.

Things remained in this state until fourteen out of the fifteen days given to the Boers for consideration had elapsed, when the officer commanding the expedition determined to strike, what he appears to have considered would have been, a decisive blow, the disastrous result of which will be seen by his own statement of the "*untoward*" affair. The following account of the previous proceedings will serve to connect the narrative:—

"On the 4th instant the troops arrived here after a long,

tedious, and arduous journey. *A month was occupied in marching from the Umzimvubu.* They entered the Natal country without the least opposition.

“Capt. Smith” (the commander of the expedition “took up a temporary position on the mound, upon which stands the residence of Mr. Dunn, but after due inspection of the ground around, he removed to the flat immediately in front of the town, and distant from it about a mile. The day after this movement a few farmers, about twenty in number, under the command of Pretorius, came to the old Dutch encampment, or Laager, on the Kongella, about three miles distant from the English camp, and took up their quarters there. During the night the number was somewhat increased, and it continued to increase by dribblets until the 12th, when their number might amount to 150 or 200 men. This I believe is the utmost that he had to that date been able by any means to persuade to join him.

The day after Pretorius’ arrival at the Kongella (Laager), Capt. Smith, at the head of about 100 men, and a six-pounder, marched down upon them with the design of dispersing them, and which seemed the more desirable in this embryo state of their proceedings, as their numbers were gradually augmenting, and as it had been reported that two cannon had been sent down from Pietermaritzburg.

On the sudden appearance of the troops the Boers were thrown into great commotion, and each ran to his gun and horse, though, had they intended to maintain their position, the latter would have been useless, as they could not have used them against an enemy on the ground. In a moment, however, two men were dispatched to meet Captain Smith, and to desire him to stand back. The reply to this was a message that he would talk with their leader in his camp. Finding that he continued his march, and was so determined, C. Landman and de Jagers, both men of the best spirit, and desirous to adopt pacific measures, galloped forward, and meeting Capt. Smith, entreated him to suspend his march, as *there were women and children in the camp.* To the entreaty of these men Capt. Smith at once listened, but demanded an interview with Pretorius, who, after making many objections, was

at length induced to come to a parley, which he evidently would, if possible, have avoided. On meeting Capt. Smith his eye glanced at the carbines of his escort, and observing the hammer at half-cock, he requested that it might be let down upon the nipple, or otherwise they might shoot him. Capt. Smith, in the course of the conference, gave him some very plain advice, and upon understanding that it was his intention to disperse his followers, he marched back the troops to the camp.

“The following day, instead of dispersing, the Dutch camp received some reinforcement, and on the 11th, Pretorius, at the head of about 100 armed men, came towards the camp, on the plea, as he said, of visiting his friend, Jan Meyers. This movement brought out the English forces. They were drawn up in line directly before them, and the guns at the camp pointed accordingly. Observing this, Pretorius sent forward two men to explain to Capt. Smith that his intentions were not hostile. Capt. S. would scarce hear them, but, enraged at the evident duplicity of Pretorius, and his breach of faith, told them that he thought he had said enough to him on the former occasion, but if he had not he would tell him something more, in language too intelligible to be misunderstood. He concluded by ordering them immediately to disperse, telling the messengers that if any more of their number were sent to him he would make them prisoners, and treat them according to martial law. They made no reply to this, asked for no further explanation, but at once retired.”

The day before the arrival of the troops Mr. J. N. Boshoff left for the colony, in company with the supercargo of the Dutch vessel, which recently put in here, and which visit has done incalculable mischief. The master, Capt. Reus, gave the Boers to understand that the Dutch Government would espouse their cause, and advised them not to offer actual resistance to the English, but to avoid collision, and, by an evasive line of policy which should determine nothing, keep them in play till his return.

In accordance with this advice they drew up a protest against the occupation of the country by the English, but which Captain Smith refused to receive. In this document they declare allegiance to what they term the Dutch Government, and the King of Belgium!

This display of turbulence on the part of the Boers is the result of two causes. The first is the evil interference of the Dutch skipper, Reus, by whose advice they are obstinately guided—and secondly *by the weakness of the military force sent from the colony.*

“My last gave you an account of our affairs to the 17th (May), and little did I then think I should have had to inform you so soon of actual collision between the farmers and the troops, that is between the latter and that portion of the farmers who are known to be men of desperate fortunes, and who are capable of anything. They had assembled in a force of about 300 men, and this, had Capt. Smith not have been bound down to suffer anything rather than proceed to extremities, he might easily have crushed in its rise or embryo form; for it was 15 days in collecting; but being tied down by his instructions, he was obliged to submit to observe an enemy raising a force before his eyes, and encamping within shot of the 18-pounders in the camp.”

This forbearance was construed by the Boers into fear, and this idea, added to the evil influence of the Dutch Captain, Reus, brought matters to a most painful issue. On Monday, the 23rd, the first aggressive act was committed by the Boers. They commenced by seizing about sixty oxen and then moved down upon the camp. On this Capt. Smith opened a fire upon them with one 18-pounder, which he had just got mounted, and had not been on its carriage more than three hours.

CAPTAIN SMITH'S DESPATCH.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to direct the publication of the Despatch from the Officer commanding Her Majesty's Troops at Port Natal for public information.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 15th June, 1842.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,

Acting Secretary to Government.

SIR,—It is with feelings of deep regret I have the honour to communicate to you the disastrous result of an

attack made by the force under my command on the Emigrant Farmers, congregated at the Congella Camp at this place.

In my last Despatch I detailed the various steps taken by the Farmers to annoy the troops, and my determination to abstain, if possible, from hostilities, if it could be done without detriment to the honour of the service, in the vain hope of conciliating these misguided people, and smoothing the way to a quiet settlement of their long-disturbed position as regards the Government of the Cape. But the receipt of an insolent letter, demanding that the force I commanded should instantly quit Natal, followed up by the removal, by armed men, of a quantity of cattle belonging to the troops, rendered it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken in order to prevent a repetition of such outrages.

I therefore determined, after mature consideration, to march a force and attack their Camp at the Congella (a place about 3 miles from our position, where they have been for some time collecting), and set apart the *night* of the 23rd instant to effect that object. As the road leading to the Congella from the post the troops now occupy lies for the most part through thick bush, I thought it best to cross the sands at low water, as by this means I could avoid annoyance from the Farmers until within a short distance of their station. Fitting a howitzer, therefore, into a boat, under the superintendence of Lieut. Wyatt, of the Royal Artillery, and leaving it under charge of a sergeant of the same corps, I gave him directions to drop down the Channel to within 500 yards of Congella, and await the troops, in *order that they might form under cover of its fire*, aided by that of two six-pounders, which accompanied the force I took with me. This consisted of 1 Subaltern, and 17 Privates Royal Artillery ; 1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, and 7 Privates Royal Sappers ; 2 Captains, 2 Subalterns, 5 Serjeants, and 100 Rank and File, 27th Regt. ; and 2 Mounted Orderlies of the Cape Rifles.

Having previously sent a piquet out to feel the skirts of the wood in front of our position, in order to prevent our movements being discovered, I put the whole party in motion at 11 p.m. (it being a bright moonlight) and arrived without molestation within nearly 800 yards of the place

I proposed to attack. To my great mortification *I found that the boat had not dropped down the channel* according to my instructions ; but, as I considered it imprudent to await the chance of her arrival, I was forced to make the attack without the valuable assistance a discharge of shells and shot from the howitzer would have afforded me. Giving the order to advance, therefore, the troops had just moved to where the termination of a range of mangrove bush opened to a level space in front of the Congella, when a heavy and well directed fire from the bush was poured on them ; upon which they immediately formed, and commenced a fire in return, while the two six-pounders were loading. Unfortunately, one of the draught oxen being shot caused some interruption ; but this being soon got over, a destructive fire from the guns silenced for a while our opponents ; but several more of the oxen becoming wounded, and escaping out of their trektouws, rushed among the troops, upsetting the limbers, which caused much delay in re-loading, and some confusion in the ranks. This circumstance, added to the partial and at length total silence of the guns, being taken advantage of by the Boers, they again opened a heavy fire (their long pieces carrying much farther than an ordinary musket), a severe loss resulting to the troops in consequence. Finding, therefore, I was not likely to accomplish the purpose for which I had put the detachment in motion, and that the men were falling fast, I thought it expedient to retire, effecting this object after some delay, the partial rising of the tide rendering the road difficult. The troops, however, reached the camp about two o'clock in tolerable order, leaving behind them, I regret to say, the guns, which the death of the oxen rendered it impossible to remove.

Thinking it probable this partial success of the farmers might induce them to make an immediate attack on the Camp, I made such preparations as I thought necessary, and found my suspicions realized shortly afterwards, a large body of them opening a heavy fire on three sides of it. This was met by a spirited resistance on our part, but they did not finally retire until about an hour before day-break.

Such, I regret to inform you, has been the result of this

attack, and the consequent loss has been severe, the total in both skirmishes being as detailed in the Return enclosed. One great cause of failure I attribute to the mismanagement of the boat, in which I had placed the howitzer, with the shells of which I had hoped the farmers might have been thrown into confusion, but she dropped down too late to be of any use, and even then took up a position too distant for her fire to produce much effect.*

Among the many matters connected with the subject of this report, and awakening the deepest regret, is the death of Lieutenant Wyatt, of the Royal Artillery, who, for the two previous days, had exerted himself much in making the necessary arrangements. He was killed early in the action. Of the zealous services of Capt. Lonsdale and Lieut. Tunnard, of the 27th Regt., I was also deprived, both these officers being severely wounded. In fact, under the trying circumstances in which the detachment was placed, I have only to regret that, with such willingness to perform the duty assigned them, the result should have been so unfortunate.

The loss on the part of the Boers it is difficult to estimate, but I am told it has been severe. The whole of this day they have made no movement, but I have to give them the credit of treating such of the wounded as fell into their hands with great humanity. These, with the bodies of those who fell, they sent to the Camp, in the course of this afternoon, and to-morrow the sad duty of interring our departed comrades will take place.

What steps the Farmers may subsequently take, I cannot at this moment surmise with any degree of certainty, though I think it probable they will again demand that I should quit the Territory they call their own within a specific time. I shall of course do what I can to maintain myself in my present position: but, considering the number of the disaffected, and the means they possess of molesting the troops, I beg to urge the necessity of a speedy reinforcement, as I scarcely consider

* There is no doubt that the gallant Captain miscalculated the tide. The late Commissary Palmer, who was on board the boat, told me that she grounded too far off for effect. When the tide rose it was, of course, too late.

the troops at present stationed here sufficient for the performance of the duty to which they have been assigned.

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) J. C. SMITH,
Captain 27th Regt., Commanding.

His Honor Col. HARE, C.B. and K.H.,
Lieut. Governor, &c. &c.

On the following day, 26th, the North Eastern point of the Bay, on which the provisions and two 18-pounders, landed from the *Pilot*, had been stored, fell into the hands of the Boers, when two persons were killed, two wounded, and several of the old English resident at the Port, who had joined the troops, made prisoners.

A large grave with an upright stone slab in the burial ground of the seaport town of D'Urban still records the names of the thirty-four gallant fellows killed in this action. An old Boer told the writer of these lines that he should never forget taking two wounded young officers out of the water as they, unable to move, were drowning in the rising tide. He and his mate tended them, but they did not survive the night.* Another Boer showed me an enormous elephant gun, throwing about four balls to the pound, with which he had shot an unfortunate sentry from amongst the brushwood near the camp. He had crept close up to him, and the enormous bullet silenced the poor fellow for ever.

It might perhaps be interesting to mention that the 27th Regiment mentioned below is at the present moment (February, 1888) stationed here (Cape Town). Whilst enjoying a short time ago the hospitality of Col. Taylor and the officers of this gallant regiment at mess, I observed a

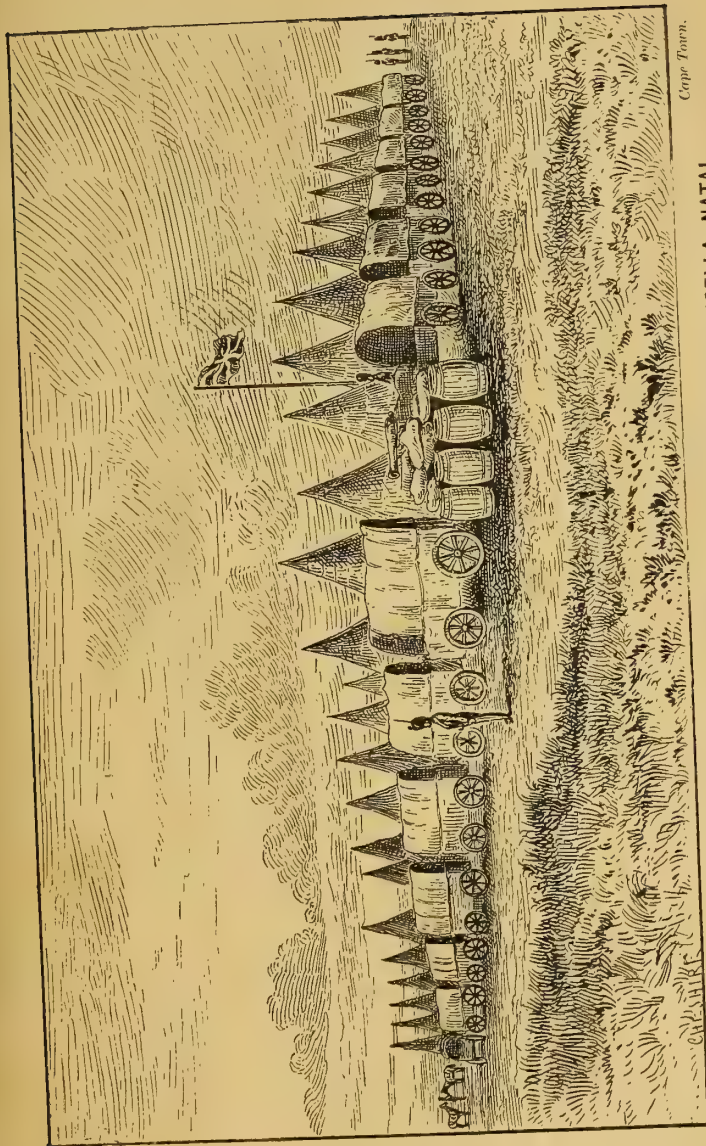
* Alluding evidently to petty officers, as the only officer killed, Lieut. Wyatt was shot dead right through the band of his cap on the forehead.

picture of the *interior* of Capt. Smith’s camp on the D’Urban flats, hanging on the wall. By the courtesy of my hosts I was enabled to have a photograph taken of this picture, which appears in its proper place in addition to one of the *exterior* of Capt. Smith’s camp.

On the morning of the 26th about 150 Boers attacked and took the “Point,” as also the two vessels in the Bay, the *Mazeppa* and the *Pilot*. Both were ransacked and the goods therein, and all the Boers could find in the town they appropriated to their use. The following persons were taken prisoners:—A sergeant and guard, Messrs. G. C. Cato, Benningfield, Ogle, Toohey, Douglas, Armstrong, Hogg, and McCabe. They were sent to Maritzburg and put in chains in the night and the stocks in the day time.

Capt. Smith and his devoted little band were now cooped up in the camp, with prospects as poor and hopes as forlorn as ever fell to the lot of mortals, but there is a courage and power of endurance in British soldiers which is truly astonishing, as will be seen in the sequel, when these determined fellows were reduced to horse flesh, crows, and stirrup leathers, and yet were determined to hold out. In this dire extremity Capt. Smith applied to Mr. Cato, who had managed to procure his freedom, to provide him with means of forwarding to the Cape, overland, his despatches for relief. On this difficult but urgent mission *Mr. Richard King at once volunteered to go*, and was conveyed across the Bluff Channel, with two horses, in two boats, by Mr. Cato at midnight, in order to escape the notice of the Boers by taking the path along the shore of the Bluff. There were six hundred miles to be traversed through the heart of Kafirland, two hundred rivers to be crossed, and tribes of hostile savages to be passed through, the journey being enough to damp the courage and break the heart of any one but a hero.

This herculean task was successfully performed in ten days. Many of the rivers had to be swam from bank to bank, so that taking the whole journey into account, it was one of the most wonderful performances ever recorded in the pages of history, reminding one of the determined deeds of daring done in the olden times. Mr. King travelled the whole distance alone, and so prompt were



Cape Town.

THE BRITISH CAMP, HASTILY FORMED "IN LAAGER" NEAR KONGELLA, NATAL.

Murray & St. Lewis.

the measures taken by the Governor of the Cape, that in thirty-one days succour arrived for the almost famished little force. But before it did arrive Capt. Smith had his hands full. The Boers on the 31st made a desperate attack upon the camp, throwing into it during the course of the day 122 round shot, besides keeping up an incessant fire of musketry. On the second day they threw in about 124 round shot, and on the second opened fire with the eighteen-pounder, which they had contrived to get up from the *Point*, and they still continued their discharges of musketry. Our practice from the camp was excellent, a shot from the eighteen-pounder having dismounted one of the six-pounders of the enemy, besides wounding several attached to it. Capt. Smith says in his despatch to the Governor :—

Natal Camp, June 30, 1842.

SIR,— I have the honour to lay before you the following particulars respecting the position of the force under my command, from the date of my last despatch until the period of their being relieved on the 26th of this month by the troops sent for that purpose from the Colony.

Various reports having been brought to me on the 25th May respecting the intention of the farmers to make a combined attack on the camp that night, I kept the troops under arms, but nothing transpired until a short time previous to day-break on the following morning, when volleys of musketry, accompanied by the fire of large guns, was heard at the *Point*, which post, I regret to say, the Boers carried after a desperate resistance on the part of the detachment stationed there. By this untoward event, an eighteen-pounder, which there had not been time to remove, fell into their hands, as well as the greater portion of the Government provisions landed from the *Pilot*. Fortunately all the powder, with the exception of a small portion for the eighteen-pounder, had been brought to the camp, in which I had caused a field magazine to be constructed. The engineer stores were also saved, but there being no place at this post wherein the provisions could be protected from the weather, I had been obliged to leave the greater portion at the *Point*, merely bringing up a few wagon loads from time to time as required.

Finding myself thus cut off from my supplies, I

resolved to concentrate the remainder of my force in the camp, and there await the reinforcement which I made no doubt would be sent from the Colony on the receipt of the despatch forwarded by me overland on the evening of the 25th May, and entrusted to the care of Mr. King.

The Farmers having desired the Captains of the *Pilot* and *Mazeppa* to write and express to me their willingness to enter into arrangements for the removal of the troops, which letter reached me the day after the Point fell into their possession,—I accepted their proposal for a truce, being desirous of gaining time to strengthen the post as much as possible. During its continuance, they sent in terms so ridiculously extravagant that, although the quantity of provisions in the camp was extremely limited, I immediately broke off all communication with them, being fully determined, sooner than submit, to endure the extremity of privation. I therefore placed the men upon half allowance, destroyed a small post which I had caused to be erected between the camp and some buildings occupied by the English Residents, and made my position as secure as I possibly could, with a view to holding out to the last.

Their arrangements being completed, the farmers about six a.m. on the 31st, made a desperate attack on the camp, throwing into it during the course of the day 122 round shot, besides keeping up an incessant fire of musketry. On the following day (June 1), they slackened their fire of musketry, but threw in 124 round shot, and on the 2nd opened a fire from the eighteen-pounder which they had contrived to bring from the Point, while they still continued their discharges of musketry. During the course of this day they sent the Rev. Mr. Archbell with a flag of truce, proposing to allow the women to quit the camp, and to send back two wounded men, but this was done merely to gain time to repair some works thrown down by the fire from our batteries. Here I think it right to observe that they were incessantly employed every night in making approaches towards the post, which were constructed with considerable skill; this the nature of the ground enabled them to do with much facility, and from thence a most galling fire was constantly kept up, particularly on the two batteries, wherein I had placed the eighteen-pounder and howitzer.

Finding that a few cattle remaining at the kraal were dying either from wounds or want of sustenance, I directed that they should be killed and made into *biltong*, reducing the issue to half a pound daily. I also had a well dug in the Camp, which gave good water, there being a risk in going to the vley at night, from whence we had hitherto procured it.

In resuming my detail of proceedings, I may state generally that the attacks on the camp were continued from day to day with more or less spirit by the farmers, who, having soon exhausted their iron balls, fired leaden ones from their large guns, in some instances sending them with much precision. Our practice from the camp was excellent, a shot from the 18-pounder having dismounted one of their 6-pounders on the 3rd instant, besides wounding several of those attached to it.

On the night of the 8th I sent out a party to destroy some works in our front, which was accomplished without loss. In a subsequent sortie made on the night of the 18th instant we were less fortunate, although the duty was performed with great gallantry, the Boers being surprised in their trenches, and many bayoneted after a stout resistance. In this attack, which was headed by Lieut. Molesworth, 27th Regiment, I had to regret the loss of Ensign Prior, and two privates of the same Corps, who were killed, besides four others being severely wounded.

Upon inquiring into the state of the provisions this day, I found that only three days issue of meat remained. I therefore directed that such horses as were living might be killed and made into *biltong*. We had hitherto been issuing biscuit dust, alternating with biscuit and rice, at half allowance. The horse flesh, of which there was but little, we commenced using on the 22nd, and by a rigid exactness in the issues, I calculated we might certainly hold out, although without meat, for nearly a month longer, for we had eleven bags of forage corn in store, which I had commenced grinding into meal; and by every one contributing what remained of private into the public stock a tolerable quantity of various articles of sustenance was procured.

On the night of the 24th several rockets, apparently

from a vessel in the bay, assured us that relief was nigh at hand ; these we answered. On the night of the 25th the many rockets from seaward assured us that not only was a vessel in the bay, but that she was communicating with another in the offing, a surmise corroborated on the following day by the landing of the party under Colonel Cloete, and their final relief of the post in gallant style, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon.

To the dry detail of proceedings I have given, I beg to add a few remarks,—and first with respect to our loss. Within the period embraced between the 31st of May and 25th of June, 651 round shot of various sizes had been fired at the Camp, in addition to a continued and watchful fire of musketry ; and yet our loss during this period was but one Sergeant and two Privates of the 27th killed, and three wounded ; one Cape Rifleman and one Civilian killed, and one wounded, exclusive of the loss I have previously noted as occurring during the sortie on the morning of the 18th instant. The damage of the wagons and tents, and private as well as public property was, however, great ; for these it was impossible to secure in such a manner as to preserve them from injury.

Among the serious disadvantages I had to contend with, I may mention that the numerous people attached as leaders and drivers, to the different wagons, many having large families, who required to be fed, hampered me sadly in the trenches, while the vast number of cattle, originally with the wagons, were a very material encumbrance. These, however, were soon driven off, for nearly all the Boers (contrary to the opinion entertained in the Colony) were mounted, and thence enabled to move from point to point with a celerity which baffled nearly every movement that infantry could make against them.

I have thus given a detail of the chief circumstances connected with the command entrusted to me. That it should have been so far unsuccessful I regret ; but the resistance on the part of the farmers since my arrival has been universal ; those few who professed themselves friendly having carefully abstained from giving assistance, in most cases using that profession as a convenient screen for the purpose of hiding their disaffection from observation. All the property of the English residents the Boers

plundered and sent to Pietermaritzburg. They also took out the greater part of the freight of the *Mazeppa* (including the whole of my own property) which they sent to the same place. The prisoners taken at the Point, English residents as well as soldiers, have also been marched thither: and the former have, I understand, been treated with great harshness. After being plundered, the *Mazeppa* escaped from the harbour on the night of the 10th instant.

In conclusion, I beg to state that nothing could exceed the patience and cheerfulness evinced by the troops under the privations they suffered, and I feel satisfied that, had it been necessary to have held out for a longer period, they would have endured their further continuance without a murmur.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. C. SMITH, Capt. 27th Regt.

His Honour Colonel, HARE, C.B. and K.H.
Lieutenant-Governor.

P.S.—I omitted to mention in its place that a round shot on the 8th instant broke the carriage of the 18-pounder in two places, but we repaired it so as to be perfectly serviceable.

J. C. SMITH.

Port Natal, 28th June, 1842.

Sir,—On the 27th instant I availed myself of a Kafir messenger to report to your Excellency, in a few words, that Capt. Smith was extricated, and Port Natal in our possession.

It is now my duty to give the details of my proceedings.

Her Majesty's ship *Southampton* arrived and anchored off Port Natal on the night of the 25th inst.

Here was found at anchor the schooner *Conch*, with Captain Durnford, 27th Regt., and a detachment of 100 men, two small howitzers, and some stores, dispatched by Col. Hare, from Algoa Bay, on the 10th inst.

Captain Durnford reported that the insurgent Boers had

refused him all communication with Capt. Smith (vide enclosure No. 1), who was still holding his post; that the headlands at the entrance of the harbour were armed with guns, and that the Boers had collected in force to oppose our landing. Signal guns and rockets were fired from the frigate to intimate our arrival to Capt. Smith, and every arrangement made for carrying the place as soon as the tide served, and the frigate could be placed so as to cover our landing.

At 2 o'clock p.m. on the 26th inst., the *Southampton* was in position, and the troops were embarked in the boats, which, however, could only take eighty-five men. Thirty-five had been previously added to Capt. Durnford's detachment on board the *Conch*. The sea beach being impracticable the previous order of attack was changed, and I directed Capt. Wells, with a detachment of thirty-five men, to land on the first point of the high bluff within the bar, and drive the Boers out of the thick bush, whilst the *Conch*, the launch armed with a carronade, and the barge, were to proceed direct into the harbour, land, and take possession of the port.

A fresh sea breeze fortunately set into the harbour at the very time of our advance. The *Conch*, taking thus the boats in tow, crossed the bar at 3 o'clock. Capt. Wells landed where directed, when a brisk fire was opened on the *Conch* and the boats from both shores—that from the high wooded bluff within twenty yards of the boats; yet in spite of the short range and cross fire, under which the boats had to pass, so quick was our advance, aided by both wind and tide, that but little effect was produced from their fire. When opposite the landing place, from whence the firing still continued, I ordered Major D'Urban to land who immediately jumped on shore, and we rushed to the flagstaff to pull down the colours and give H. M. frigate notice that we were in possession, and to cease firing.

The Boers abandoned their strong ground the instant we landed, yet so thick was the bush and so broken the ground, that though from the smart fire kept up, they must have been in force, yet not half a dozen of them were ever seen; and on the southern bluff, so thick was the wooded covering, that nothing but the smoke from their firelocks was ever seen; I have since learned that the number of

Boers who defended the port amounted to 350 men ; their loss it has been impossible to ascertain.

Having thus seized the port, and landed the men from the *Conch*, the troops were immediately formed, Capt. Durnford was ordered to enter the bush on the right and drive the Boers before him, whilst I placed myself on a roadway in the centre ; Major D'Urban taking the left along the harbour beach.

In this order we advanced through a bush, the character of which it is difficult to describe, and which might have been held by a handful of resolute men against any assailants.

On reaching the open ground, we found the direction of Captain Smith's entrenched camp by firing of his heavy gun : we marched upon the point. Capt. Smith now threw out a party, and we joined him at 4 o'clock. Having thus executed your Excellency's commands with all military promptitude by extricating the brave detachment of troops under Capt. Smith's command, I strengthened his post by Capt. Durnford's detachment, and directed Major D'Urban to hold Stellar's Farm, returning myself to the Port, to arrange a post of defence with such of the troops as I expected would have been landed.

The gallantry with which Captain Smith defended his Post for a whole month, under no ordinary circumstances of privation, having been reduced to horse-flesh for food, closely hemmed in by a desperate and vigilant foe, with no less than twenty-six wounded within his closely confined camp, is highly creditable to him and his party.

Thus was accomplished within the incredible short space of one month, from the date of Captain Smith's Report of his position, the relief of his party, at a distance of 1,500 miles from Cape Town, whence the relief was despatched, his communication having had to pass through hostile bands and a savage country.

I have now reported to your Excellency the proceedings which have placed me in possession of Port Natal ; and I have kept them distinct from any mention of the Naval co-operation and assistance I received from H.M. ship *Southampton*, feeling it to be due to Captain Ogle, Commanding, to Commander Hill, and the Officers and Seamen of that Frigate, that their services to us should be separately

noticed, whether as to the cheerful good will displayed towards us whilst on board, or subsequently in the more important services performed in covering our landing, by the admirable practice from the ship's heavy battery, and spirited assistance given us by Captain Hill, in command of the boats.

In my order of the day I have inadequately endeavored to express my thanks to those Officers, and I should not be doing them justice without repeating it here in the strongest terms.

If our success be not absolutely indebted to the opportune presence of the *Conch*, to her protection must be mainly ascribed the very small loss we suffered in forcing the entrance.

The troops conducted themselves with the greatest steadiness, and I am much indebted to Major D'Urban, for his prompt landing, and the assistance he has afforded me throughout these operations.

I also received the best support from every Officer under my orders in conducting these operations, and particularly so from Lieut. William Napier, who acted as my Aid, and has been of the utmost service to me, not only by his spirit in our active operations, but equally so by his attention to all details and arrangements so essential on such occasions.

I enclose a return of casualties.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. J. CLOETE, Lieut. Colonel,
Dept. Quart. Mast. Gen. Commanding.

His Excellency Sir GEORGE NAPIER, K.C.B., Governor,
Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

P.S. I also enclose a return of guns and ammunition captured on the 26th.

[ENCLOSURE No. 1.]

De Generaale Commandant van de uitgewekene Emigranten van Natal is stellig van mening hoe ook genaamd geene correspondentie met het lager van Captain Smith toe te laten.

Den 25 Juny, 1842.

(Translation.)

The General Commandant of the Emigrants of Natal has positively determined to allow of no correspondence with Captain Smith's camp.

[ENCLOSURE No. 2.]

H.M.S. *Southampton*, 26th June, 1842.

MEMORANDUM.

The attack on the Emigrant Farmers' position at Natal will be made in two divisions.

The first under the immediate command of Lieut. Colonel Cloete, who will cross the bar, force the entrance, and seize the sandy point.

The second division, commanded by Major D'Urban, will land, if practicable, on the sea beach, about a mile above the sandy point, spread himself, take insurgents in flank, forming by his left a junction with Colonel Cloete's division, and extend his right towards Captain Smith's camp, with whom he will open a communication.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lt. Col.
Dept. Qr. Mast. Gen. Commanding.

[ENCLOSURE No. 3.]

Port Natal, June 27, 1842

BRIGADE ORDERS.

1. Lieut. Colonel Cloete, commanding the troops at Natal, has to congratulate the detachment Royal Artillery, under Lieut. M'Lean; detachment 25th Regiment, under Major D'Urban; and detachment 27th Regiment, under Capt. Durnford, with the success of the expedition on which they were employed in extricating a detachment of Her Majesty's troops under Captain Smith, closely surrounded by bands of hostile insurgent Boers, against whom they had gallantly maintained their post for a whole month, though reduced to horse-flesh for food.

Lieut. Colonel Cloete has to thank Major D'Urban and the troops for their steady and spirited conduct in the affair of yesterday.

To the able assistance and spirited co-operation of Captain Ogle, commanding, and Captain Hill, and the officers and seamen of H.M.S. *Southampton*, is entirely due the very trifling loss sustained in forcing the entrance into the harbour, in which the troops received the valuable protection of the *Conch*, schooner, commanded by Mr. Bell.

2. Correct returns will be sent immediately to Headquarters of the exact strength of the several detachments composing the forces employed at Natal, with a nominal list of the casualties that occurred yesterday evening.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lt. Colonel,
Dep. Qr. Mr. Commanding.

Enclosures Nos. 4 and 5 contain returns of killed and wounded, and of guns and ammunition taken.

2 Killed—4 Wounded

Port Natal, 3rd July, 1842.

SIR,—The immediate effect of taking Port Natal on the afternoon of the 26th ultimo, as reported in my despatch of the 28th to your Excellency, was that on the same night the Master of the *Pilot*, brig, who had been detained as a prisoner among the Boers, and four other persons, made their escape from Congella during the panic caused by our advance movement on Captain Smith's Camp, and joined me at that place. They reported to me that the Boers had abandoned Congella in the greatest haste, and had taken flight.

On the morning of the 28th, however, we discovered with our spy glasses that there were a number of horses about Congella, and I immediately determined to march upon it, for which purpose I collected from each of the outposts one hundred men, and with this force and a howitzer I took the road to Congella. A small party of the insurgents' scouts were seen a little in advance of the place; on perceiving our approach they retired under the shelter of a bush, and we entered the village, consisting of about fifteen or twenty houses, without any opposition. Here we found some stores, merchandize, spirits in casks,

and their curious establishment for moulding six-pounder leaden shot. I resisted the burning of the place and prevented all plundering ; as, however, the troops were still without any of the provisions to be landed from the *Southampton*, and with only two days' provisions in hand, I directed such articles of consumption as were necessary for the use of the troops to be put into a wagon, which we found there, and conveyed these supplies to the Camp.

Four persons, inhabitants of Congella, gave themselves up to me ; one Gueinzus, a German Naturalist, another Scholts practising as a doctor, and two others ; I availed myself of these people to convey to the misguided Boers, the merciful intentions of Government ; placing in their hands a copy of a Public Notice, which I affixed to one of the houses at Congella, and having liberated these people I returned to the out-posts with the troops. I regretted my force did not permit me to leave a guard for the protection of the property, the more so as I felt every apprehension that the number of Kafirs, who had made their appearance as soon as we got into the place, would plunder it the moment of our leaving it.

I understood the Boers to have retired to one of their camps about twelve miles off, where they were said to be four hundred strong, with four or five guns.

Without any of my provisions or ammunition yet landed from the *Southampton*, or any means of organizing transport, I did not feel justified in entering upon any forward movement, which would tend only to lead me away from the more important object of strengthening my posts, forming and securing my magazines.

Upon these objects I have since been engaged, and having required of the Kafirs to bring me in as many horses and cattle as they could get, I have no doubt that I shall soon be in a condition to take the offensive with some effect.

The Boers will in the meantime have had ample time to consider their position, and the terms of my notice ; upon the subject of which I received, on the 30th ult., a letter from Pretorius, their Military Commandant, asking me if I wished to confer with them, and if so, to appoint a place between Congella and Captain Smith's Camp to meet him. I answered that I could enter into no negotiation with him,

without a previous declaration of submission to Her Majesty's authority. To this I have received no reply.

Several inhabitants, fifteen in number, have come in and taken the oath of allegiance.

On the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the weather had continued so boisterous that, on an attempt being made on the last of those days to send on shore some provisions, the men's packs and our ammunition, the boats struck on the bar, one man of the 25th Regt. was drowned, the whole of the provisions were lost, all the men's packs thrown overboard, and 18,000 rounds of ammunition destroyed. The greater portion of the men's packs were fortunately picked up on the following morning; when we found that the Frigate had been obliged to put out to sea.

I regret to be obliged to close this dispatch with a report which reached me last night, that the Kafirs had begun to set upon the Boers, and that three had been killed by them. The enclosures explain the manner in which I have treated this subject, and upon the principles of which I purpose strictly to act; for if England will not put down the Boers on her own legitimate means, it were better to abandon the question altogether, and submit even to the insult we have received, than to adopt the degrading process of enlisting the savage in our cause, or call upon the Zoolah assegais to commit all the atrocities of indiscriminate bloodshed and spoliation.

I have received such aid from Lieut. Maclean, Royal Artillery, and his services will be of such advantage to me in our forward movement, that I have not sent him back in the *Southampton*.

I hope to be able to send the sick and wounded by her.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

A. J. CLOËTE, Lt. Col.

Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen., Commanding.

His Excellency Major General

SIR GEORGE NAPIER, K.C.B., &c. &c.

P.S. Since writing the above, the *Maid of Mona* has come to anchor, and the *Reform* is in the offing.

A. J. CLOËTE.

[ENCLOSURE No. 1.]—NOTICE.

Congella, Port Natal, 28th June, 1842,

1.—By the authority vested in me, a *free pardon* is hereby granted to all Deserters from her Majesty's army who shall return to their colours at the head quarter of the troops at Port Natal, within *ten days* of this date.

2.—All inhabitants of Natal who shall be peaceably disposed, shall, on making their submission to her Majesty's authority, receive protection and remain unmolested. All those neglecting to do so, will be treated as being in arms against Her Majesty's Government.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lt.-Colonel,
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen., Commanding.

[ENCLOSURE No. 2.]—NOTICE.

Port Natal, 2nd July, 1842.

A report having been brought in to me that the Kafirs have killed three Boers, (Dirk van Rooyen, Theunis Oosthuizen, and another,—the insurgent Boers are warned of consequences such as these, which it will be impossible to arrest while they continue in arms against Her Majesty's authority; and thus bring all the evils and horrors of Kafir murder and devastation upon themselves, their families, and properties, in spite of every endeavour on the part of Her Majesty's Troops to prevent them.

A. J. CLOETE, Lt.-Colonel,
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen. Commanding.

Port Natal, 4th July, 1842.

Sir,—Since writing to your Excellency yesterday, I have received from Pretorius a communication, complaining that the Kafirs were committing fierce outrages upon the Boers,—that we were receiving the cattle plundered from the Boers,—that the destruction of the Kafirs must follow such proceedings—and that anxious as the Boers were to put a stop to all this war and coming bloodshed, that it was impossible for them to accede to the conditions of my notice, which required, as a first step, a declaration of

submission to Her Majesty's authority ; and he ends his letter thus :—

“ I must also acquaint you that we have already made over this country to his Majesty the King of Netherlands, and have called upon that power to protect us, so that we have every right to expect that our cause will be supported in Europe.”

My answer to this letter is enclosed. [See below.]

I have also been informed that Pretorius and his hostile bands have retired from this neighbourhood to within fifteen miles of Maritzburg ; this sudden move I ascribe to the rumour that has just reached me that Panda and the Zoolahs were marching against the Boers.

All this is a melancholy state, but unavoidable, when dealing with such elements.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

A. J. CLOETE, Lieut.-Colonel,
Dep. Qr. Mr. Gen., Commanding.

His Excellency Major General

Sir GEORGE NAPIER, K.C.B., &c. &c.

P.S.—The detachment by the *Maid of Mona* has been landed.

A. J. C.

Copy.]

Port Natal, 3rd July, 1842.

Sir,—I have received your letter of this day's date, and no one can lament more than myself the melancholy prospect before us of seeing the savage engaged in a murderous onset of extermination against you and your fellow countrymen ; but it is an evil so unavoidably consequent upon the events which you and your unfortunate misguided people have brought about by your acts of determined hostility against Her Majesty's Government and Troops, that it ought not to surprise you ; and in spite of all my efforts to prevent, and my determination to arrest as far as in me lies, these excesses (as you will have seen by my public notices of yesterday which I have sent

to you), you must be perfectly well aware that beyond such positive prohibition, and the having employed persons to explain my determination to the Kafirs, I have no power over these people.

I have certainly required the Kafirs to bring into my cantonments all the horses and cattle they can get, so as to enable me to act with vigour, and put down the state of war and bloodshed which you have spread over these districts ; and to expect that I should deprive myself of the only means I possess of equipping myself, and that, too, in the face of your having cut off the whole of Captain Smith's cattle, to the amount of some seven hundred oxen, besides causing the destruction of his horses, and having further seized all the stores of those inhabitants who are peaceably disposed towards Her Majesty's Government, is to suppose me incapable of reasoning and acting.

You have caused the horrors of this state of things, and you must bear the consequences to yourselves, your properties, your wives and your children.

You say you would still be disposed to avert the evils of this coming bloodshed, which you are aware will lead to extermination. If you are sincere in this there can be nothing degrading, in so great a cause to humanity, in your giving in your submission to Her Majesty's authority, as an indispensable and preliminary step to a final adjustment which you may be certain the Government has every disposition to settle with justice and leniency towards the Emigrant Farmers ; and in the favourable interpretation to your interests, you will find in myself a friend, rather than one inimical to your unhappy countrymen.

I regret much that you should have allowed yourselves to be so grossly deceived with regard to the intentions of the King of Holland, by a person totally unaccredited, and that you should have been urged to act as you have, upon the vain supposition that any of the European Powers would lend an ear to any question arising between England and her Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, of which you cannot be so ignorant as not to know that Port Natal has always been a dependency.

I shall be happy to lend my best efforts to arrest any general rising, or partial acts of violence of the Zoolahs or

Kafirs ; but I feel my incapacity to do much in this respect, while your people continue in arms against Her Majesty's authority, and thus lead these Tribes to think that whatever injury they do you must be pleasing to the Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

A. J. CLOETE, Lieut. Colonel,
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen., Commanding.

To Mr. PRETORIUS.

A BOER'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHTING AT NATAL IN 1842.

The following is the Boers' account of the resistance at Natal and the loss they experienced in the affair (seven killed and nine wounded). It is from a letter picked up in the trenches at that place, the day after Colonel Cloete had forced an entrance and relieved Captain Smith, and the force of the emigrants had been driven from the port :—

Round the English Camp, this 19th June, 1842.

SIR AND GOOD FRIEND * * * I hereby give you an account of our proceedings here and what we have been doing, and that through God's mercy I and the man who came with me have still been spared from the murderous balls which by hundreds have been flying around us.

On the 23rd inst. our Commandant took his (Capt. Smith's) oxen, whereupon he commenced a heavy firing upon us, but we did not return a shot. In the same night Capt. Smith crept up to our camp along the sea-shore with two guns and a party of soldiers—but our guards espied them, and, when he had come near upon us, we commenced with barely fifty men to fire, and we repulsed him. About thirty Englishmen were killed, either by our fire or drowned. We took two beautiful guns with their carriages and oxen, and not a single man of ours was wounded. On the same night our Commandant attacked their camp, and kept up firing until all our powder and

shot were expended. In that attack were killed Piet Greyling and his son John ; J. Prinslo, P. Vel, and F. Schuts were wounded, but not mortally.

The day after this two ships arrived, bringing provisions, ammunition, and two immensely large guns for Captain Smith, whereupon he broke open our store on the beach and placed the goods from the ships in it, leaving there one gun and a strong detachment, whereupon our Commandant made an attack on the store on the 30th and took it. Three soldiers were killed and seventeen taken prisoners, whom we took together with their gun, and the English who had lived at Natal, and who are all now in custody as criminals at Pietermaritzburg, as they also fought against us in the beginning, and two of them were killed. We then took possession of all the things of Smith's, as also of the English residents, as well as what we found in their houses as in the ships, and between 70 to 80 wagon loads of those things were taken to Pietermaritzburg, and a quantity of their cattle is also there. The two ships were also taken possession of, but one run away on the 13th inst., and with the latter Archbell* also made off, who we believe came here with Captain Smith, but he has left two wagons behind, of which we have also taken possession. All this time, Captain Smith began fortifying his position with his wagons and trenches and ditches, having still two cannons in his camp. We therefore could make little impression on him, but we also made trenches all around him, so that not one could show his head without having some balls fired at him—for we also made ditches round his camp from which we fired day and night, and he also returned us the fire. From which between the 6th and 12th inst. were killed, Ths. Marais [the next name is illegible] and B. Kloppers by cannon shot, and on the night of the 17th† the English crept out of their camp quietly and stormed our trenches where a party of ours lay asleep, having two sentries out who were

* A respected English Missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion

† This is the night attack mentioned by Capt. Smith in his despatch of the 30th June, headed by Lieut. Molesworth, in which Ensign Prior and two privates were killed, and four others severely wounded.

both killed ; their names were Strydom and Hattingh.. Six more were wounded, but not mortally. Three English bodies are lying dead on the ground, but we dare not venture to go out of the trenches to see whether there are more lying, as they keep firing upon every one who comes out. We therefore keep in our trenches, and as these advance fire from them at the camp continually, as we can do no more than starve them out, for he has not more in his camp than about 20 horses.

My good friend, * * * I have now to beg of you that you will make this news public throughout your division, so that every one may know the truth, for I fear that many lies go abroad, and particularly tell this to my wife. I now end with kind regards to all, and chiefly to my wife and children, who perhaps I may never see again. Tell the Boers in your division to keep themselves in readiness to relieve us on the first order being given, for it is uncertain how long still this may last."

The deplorable situation of the troops in their entrenchments, their privations, and praiseworthy endurance, are well told by Capt. Lonsdale of the 27th, in a letter to his mother. This is his description of the Boers as an enemy :—" Before proceeding further, I must tell you that the Boers' mode of fighting is much on the same principle as formerly in America—not in a body, but in skirmishing order. They have the very best description of arms, that carry from eight to seventeen balls to the pound. They have almost all of them horses ; they will ride within shot, dismount, fire, then mount and retire. They are most excellent shots."

He proceeds—" I was lying in my tent, down with fever, and we were doing all we could to fortify the camp. On the morning of the 21st of May, just before sunrise, we were saluted by a six-pound shot, which passed through the officers' mess tent, knocking their kettles and cooking apparatus in all directions. Every one of course went to his station in the ditch, and the Boers then kept up an incessant fire from four pieces of artillery and small arms, never ceasing for a moment during the whole day till sunset. During the whole day Martha and Jane were lying on the ground in the tent close by me. Many shots, both large and small, passed through the tent close

to us. James was lying in my other tent on the ground, with his legs on the legs of a table, when a six-pound shot cut off the table-legs just above him, and the splinters struck him in the face. When the attack was over all the officers came to our tents, expecting to find us all dead. I said if they attacked us next morning we should all have to go into the trench. Margaret then got up and put on a few things, and assisted me in putting on something. I had scarcely got on my trousers when we were again attacked. Margaret and the children ran immediately to the trench, and I was carried into it, and we all lay down or sat up. The fire continued all day, as on the day before. About the middle of the day the children were getting very hungry. Jane said there was a bone of beef in the tent, and she would go for it, but we did not wish her, as she might have been shot ; but before I knew much about it she was back with the bone.

‘We all slept in the trench this night. Next morning we were awakened by a shot from one of the great guns passing just over our heads. Shortly after a flag of truce came, and Margaret and the children went under the escort of Boers to board on board the *Mazeppa*, in their possession. They asked Margaret if she was old Capt. Smith’s ‘vrouw.’

“On the 10th of June the *Mazeppa* slipped her cable and put out to sea, but not before she received a salute from the Boers at the Point, but she did not receive any injury. After the children and she left, and they did so in such a hurry that they had not a change of clothes, the Boers continued the attack, and they made trenches all round us, so that no one could go outside the camp, or into a tent, without having a shot at him. We attacked one of their trenches, surprising them. They fired one round and killed poor Ensign Prior, of our regiment, and two men. Our fellows did not give them time to load again, but rushed into the trench and bayoneted almost all of them. The wounded suffered very much, as the doctor had nothing in the way of medical comforts for the poor fellows. I was lying prostrate in the trench twenty-seven days, hardly able to move, and with not so much as a jacket on.”

During the short respite referred to in the preceding

letter, a number of families and individuals embarked on board the *Mazeppa*. It was in May, 1842, that this gallant little vessel left the Bay, under the fire of a four-pounder from the Boers, besides small arms. Fortunately, the only gun likely to do any damage, the eighteen-pounder, could not be brought to bear in time. But it was a hazardous affair—neck or nothing. She was in charge of Mr. Joseph Cato, and his mission was to look for a man-of-war along the eastern coast. He failed in finding one, but on returning to Port Natal found that the *Southampton* had arrived already and relieved Capt. Smith.

Her Majesty's ship the *Southampton*, attended by the *Conch* with the boats in tow, had to cross the formidable bar which is such an obstruction to the entrance of the beautiful and safe Bay of Natal—a difficult thing at all times, but especially so when exposed to the fire of an enemy. The *Conch*, landed a few men on the rocks of the Bluff, but tried in vain to land men upon the "Back Beach." In this position a few Dutch on the Bluff, and a few more at the "Point," might have driven the boats back to the ships with great loss; but fortunately for the English, and fatally for the Boers, the latter had no expectation of such an attack from such a quarter, and therefore were not prepared for it. They had one field piece on the Bluff, but a shell from the *Southampton* silenced it at once, and those who worked it ran away with all convenient speed; and as there were only a few Boers at the "Point," they made little resistance. Under these circumstances, the *Conch*, commanded by Captain Durnford, of the 27th Regt., came on with her line of boats, filled with those who by their courage were to take possession of Natal in the name of Her Britannic Majesty, and who, after landing, at once tore down the Republican flag that was flying at the "Point." The *Conch* was despatched by Colonel Hare from Algoa Bay, and contained a detachment of one hundred men of the 27th Regt., two small howitzers, and stores.

In Colonel Cloete's report, he says:—"Having thus seized the Port, and landed the men from the *Conch*, the troops were immediately formed. Capt. Durnford was

ordered to enter the bush upon the right and drive the Boers before him, whilst I placed myself upon a roadway in the centre, Major D'Urban taking the left along the harbour beach. In this order we advanced through the bush, the character of which it is difficult to describe, and which might have been held by a handful of resolute men against any assailants. On reaching the open ground we found the direction of Capt. Smith's entrenched camp by the firing of his one heavy gun. We marched upon this point. Capt. Smith now threw out a party, and we joined him at four o'clock. Having thus executed your Excellency's commands with all military promptitude, by extricating the brave detachment of troops under Capt. Smith's command, I strengthened his post by Capt. Durnford's detachment, and directed Major D'Urban to a house nearer to the "Point," to arrange a post of defence with such of the troops as I expected would have been landed."

It is stated that the report of the firing was heard as far as Algoa Bay in the south, and Um Pande's kraal in the north.

In another despatch to Sir George Napier, Colonel Cloete says:—"I regret to be obliged to close this despatch with a report that reached me last night that the Kaffirs had begun to set upon the Boers, and that three had been killed by them." The following notice was then posted up:—"A report having been brought in to me that the Kaffirs had killed three Boers, the insurgent Boers are warned of consequences such as these which it will be impossible to arrest, while they continue in arms against Her Majesty's authority, and thus draw all the evils and horrors of Kaffir murder and devastation on themselves, their families and properties, in spite of every endeavour on the part of Her Majesty's troops to prevent them."

The following is the official account of the termination of hostilities:—

"Lieut. Colonel Cloete left Port Natal on the 21st on board Her Majesty's ship *Isis*, and has reported to His Excellency the Governor the final cessation of hostilities between Her Majesty's troops and the insurgent Boers, no further hostile demonstration having been shown by them after the troops under Col. Cloete were landed.

“The Emigrant Farmers having made a solemn declaration of their submission to the Queen, having released the prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians, having given up the cannon captured, as well as those belonging to themselves, and having restored all public as well as private property seized by them, the Lieut. Colonel, acting under the powers vested in him by the Governor, granted a general amnesty or free pardon to all persons who might have been engaged in resistance to Her Majesty’s troops and authority, with the exception of Joachim Prinsloo, A. W. Pretorius, J. J. Burgher, Michael von Breda, and Servaas von Breda.

After these things Andreas Pretorius became, after years of trouble, the head and representative of the Vaal River Dutch Republic, now the Transvaal. This man’s head was worth £2,000 in 1848, which amount was offered by Sir Harry Smith ; but in 1852, four years later, he first treats with Her Majesty’s Commissioners *re* the Sovereignty, and concludes with them a treaty, in which the existence and future independence of the Dutch Transvaal Republic are acknowledged, and then, as the representative of that Republic, visits Natal, and many of the gentry of Pietermaritzburg and D’Urban go to meet him on his approach, and escort him with much honor into their respective towns. An account of his death appears elsewhere.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

MR. J. N. WHEELER'S ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF PORT NATAL.

IN giving accounts of eye witnesses of events that happened at the time of this fighting in 1842, the narrators are of course responsible for their own tales. One of my informants says (I made these notes in Natal) that on Capt. Smith's arrival at the Bay, "a large party went and pulled down the Boer flag" whereas Mr. Armstrong, who is now in Maritzburg, says that there were just six present, viz. Capt. Smith; an officer of his; and that officer's servant; Cato; Benningfield and himself. Another (Mr. Wolhuter) says that old Kamies van Amsterdam (a respectable coloured old man who still lives (I hope) in Maritzburg) was his servant, when he, Kamies, went with a wagon and loaded up the dead bodies of the soldiers shot by the Boers at Kongella, and took them to Smith's camp; when the latter tore his hair in despair; whereas Mr. Armstrong says old Kamies was, to his certain knowledge, in Maritzburg at the time, and so on,*

Mr. Wheeler says "Dingaan's kraal was formerly where the Durban Town Hall now is. He found the place unhealthy and removed to over the Umgeni. It was the ambition of the Boers to get a Port. McDonald, who arrived in 1842, was liked by the Boers who did not molest him. I noticed Messrs. Grout, Lindley, Adams, and the Revd. Archbell there at the time, also old Mr. Benningfield, and old Mr. Dunn (father of John Dunn). I met an officer of the 27th Regt., Pringle by name. Capt. Smith posted a notice requiring Boers to clear out from where the late Mr. Kaht's house now is. Morewood was the Harbour Master, and the Boers were levying Customs dues.

"Now arrived the *Pilot* (March 1842), she had been chartered by the Government. She brought two eighteen pounders, ammunition and provisions for Smith, and a few men belonging to the Engineers. Capt. Hughie McDon-

* Old Kamies is since dead.

ald was master of the *Pilot* brig. He built the first Royal Hotel in D'Urban. I was supercargo on board, and we landed the guns and the provisions at the Point. Other people I then met in D'Urban were Cato, Frank Armstrong (on *Mazeppa*), Bill Perkins, returned to Algoa Bay; John Hogg, whose son is now (1886) at Dundee; Carl Behrens, in the butchering business then—old Kahts, Cauvin, Botha, of Botha's Hill, who was cast away on the Annabella Bank—he was master of the *Annabella*; Cowie, of Cowie's Hill, who married into the Dutch families of Oudendals and Laas; of Noodsberg, Phil Ferreira, and Wolluter, now of Maritzburg, who was a prisoner.

“The Germans would not fight, so the Boers made them work. Other men in D'Urban, I remember, were Douglas, McCabe, and Toohey.

Mr. Wheeler says, in speaking about the Kongella affair, that two-thirds of those returned as killed in the action, were simply first disabled and then drowned by the rising tide. His account of the affair, which, he says, he witnessed in the very bright moonlight from the deck of the *Pilot*, is substantially the same that has been given in a former part of this work. It is nowhere stated who was in command of the attacking party. Mr. Wheeler says Capt. Lonsdale was.

“Lieut. Tunnard, of the 27th Regiment, who had been shot through the fleshy part of the thigh, floated down to the Point, and was picked up by the crew of the *Pilot*, and sent to camp next day.* The camp was in the form of a triangle, with a ditch round it—in one corner an 18-pounder worked by Bombadier Porter (the terror of the Boers). The bulk of troops were taken from the Point to protect the camp. A small force of 18 men under Sergt. Berry, and one 18-pounder and 2 gunners, being left to defend the Point—these gunners were afterwards shot. A neutral day having passed, the Boers marched from their camp at daylight and attacked the Point. The first to be shot was the sentry† at the Flagstaff. The Boers took up

* Capt. Smith's

† In the upper districts of Natal the writer saw the gun with which this poor soldier was shot—A flint lock elephant-gun, six to the pound.

safe positions, around, in the sandhills and thick bush, and opened fire on the barracks—I was close by at the time. The barracks were afterwards the old Custom House. The gunners were now shot, and the fire was so heavy that the soldiers retreated into the building, when the Boers immediately surrounded it in force. Charlie Adams, a servant of Ogle's, swam off to our brig, the *Pilot*. When he got about half way, the Boers fired at him, and shot him in the back of his head, when he sank to rise no more. The Boers were at that moment under the command of Breda and Spies. Ogle was also afterwards in the Stocks.*

“After the Battle of Kongella, Cato, Armstrong, Benningfield, and their families, came to the Point, and went on board the *Mazeppa*, schooner, which had arrived soon after the *Pilot*. She belonged to J. Owen Smith of Algoa Bay, and was consigned to Cato. The Boers hailed the *Pilot* under the impression that the civilians who left D'Urban were on board. They asked for a boat to be sent on shore. As I have said, I was witness of the whole affair, at close quarters, and I went ashore in the boat, and was treated well, and was asked to communicate with the soldiers in the building, and tell them that if they would lay down their arms they would be treated kindly, as they—the Boers—had nothing personally against them.

When the Boers were convinced that there were no civilians on board the *Pilot*, they hailed the *Mazeppa*, and demanded the disembarkation of all males, or they would sink the vessel with the 18-pounder they had just captured. They called over the names of the males, but omitted those of John McKenzie, of Umkomanzi, and Joe Cato—the reason of the omission being that when the Boers picked up the dead bodies at Kongella they thought they recognised these amongst the slain.

“Recurring to the neutral day, the dead bodies were picked up by the Boers and sent to the camp under a flag of truce for Christian burial. The names of those killed are still upon the monument near where the camp is at present (1888).†

* These quaint and clumsy affairs are now in the Imperial Hotel, Maritzburg.

† Those recorded are given in the appendix.

Reverting to the Point. Upon the landing of the civilians they were taken by the Boers and marched, with the gun, and the soldier prisoners who had surrendered at the barracks, to Kongella, and a day or two afterwards, through behind Pinetown, to Maritzburg, where the soldiers were left at large, but the civilians, Ogle, Benningfield, Cato, Swiggard, and John Hogg, put in the stocks, and every day exposed outside, for a while, to public ridicule.

"The Boers meanwhile held the Point and cut off all supplies, having bagged all stores, &c. On the neutral day, Dick King was put across the Bluff Channel to carry despatches to Graham's Town (King and Ogle were elephant hunters and traders). The Boers were aware of this, and sent a party to Isipingo, where King's place was, thinking he would call at his home first before starting on his long ride, and that so they might intercept and shoot him. But King (who afterwards told me himself) had a presentiment of this danger, and so galloped off, without stopping, straight along the beach southwards, and never drew rein until he was miles and miles away.

It was the Revd. Mr. Archbell who was sent by the Boers, on the neutral day, to bring what women that would leave the British camp to Kongella, or board the vessels, as the Boers announced their determination to completely invest and bombard the camp. They placed the 18-pounder on the sandhills at the, then, end of West-street, and the field pieces were under the Berea Bush. The 18-pounder at the camp faced the Bay.

The wagons and tents at the British camp were completely riddled, and all hands would have been shot had it not been for the trench, which, fortunately, was dry at this time of the year. The Boers had offered Capt. Smith to send him and his force on board the ships, with provisions, if they would abandon Natal, but the old Irishman scorned the idea.

The Boers now made zig-zags so close to the camp that those within it could hear their pickaxes working, when volunteers were called for to make a sortie, which being made, Lieut Prior and several men were shot.

Turning to the Point, the Boers ran short of ammunition and so took the cable from the *Mazeppa*, and coating them

lead, fired it links at the camp. Cato's boat took the cable with some stores on shore. This boat could be seen passing and repassing daily. The late Philip Ferreira was one of the crew. Capt Smith, suspecting what was going on, asked Gunner Porter if he thought he could hit the boat with a shot from his large gun? After firing a shot or two at the Island, Porter got the range and direction, and pointed the gun at a certain opening that the boat daily passed. Ferreira related the story—and he saw Porter let fly. The shot struck the water close on the starboard side of the boat, and ricocheted right over her, wetting the terrified passengers to the skin. That boat never ventured to go up again. We often joked Ferreira on the matter."



CHAPTER XXXV.

BEING A BACKWARD GLANCE.

BEFORE going on with the thread of my story, I must revert to the troubles of the Boers in Natal after the Retief slaughter in Zululand in 1838.

From the written statement of a young Boer, named Daniel Pieter Bezuidenhout, one of the few who were saved by accident from the midnight massacre of Boers by Zulus near Blaauwkrantz in Natal, and who hastened to warn many others to prepare for defence, I take the accounts, which (collected by John Bird, Esq.,) have not appeared in book form yet, from the columns of the *Times of Natal* :—

We had remained behind with the women and children. We were not in a laager, but in little bivouacs of three or four wagons each, every family separately, along the course of the Blaauwkrantz downwards. We were in tranquil security, for there was peace ; and as Retief had recovered and restored the cattle belonging to Dingaan's people, we could not imagine that things would not go all right. Dingaan knew this, and, in order to come upon us unawares, immediately after the murder of Retief and his sixty men, he sent an army to fall on us at night. Blaauwkrantz is between Ladysmith and Weenen, a little nearer to the sea.

The first assault of the Zulus was on the outspan of Barend Johs. Liebenberg, later in the night on that of Wynand Frederick Bezuidenhout, my father. Each outspan was separate ; the cattle were kept near. There was no "laager."

Of the Liebenbergs, four of the sons came forward, who, together with young Biggar, went to meet the Kafirs. All the other Liebenbergs were murdered at the wagons. . . . The second attack was on Adriaan Rossouw, who was murdered with his wife and four

children. On the following day we found two children badly wounded, but still alive. Elizabeth Rossouw had sixteen wounds, and died the next day. Adriaan had twenty-three spear wounds, but escaped with life. He was my sister's child, and lived on my farm till his eighteenth year. He then died of one of the wounds, which had never completely healed.

The third attack was on my father's outspan, consisting of five wagons and three tents. There were three men there—my father, Rudolph Botha, and myself. It was about an hour after midnight, and there was no moon. Our wagons were on a rough hillock near thorn trees. We had three or four bold savage dogs that would tear a tiger to pieces without difficulty. I heard the dogs fight and bark, and thought there was a tiger. I got up with little clothing on, and went to urge on the dogs; and when I got to a distance of about three hundred yards from the wagons, I heard the whirr of assegais, and the noise of shields; and I perceived that we had to do with Kafirs, and not with tigers. The dogs were attacking the Kafirs. I shouted to my father, "There are Kafirs here, and they are stabbing the dogs." I ran back to the wagons to get my gun, for I was unarmed. But the wagons were already surrounded by three rows of Kafirs. I strove to push them aside, and struggled very hard to make my way through the Kafir ranks to get at my gun; but I found that there were still a number within those ranks closely surrounding the wagons. Whilst I was yet advancing I heard my father cry "O God!" and I knew from the cry that he was suffocating in blood. He had a wound in the gullet above the chest. Rudolph Botha had fired three times, and there lay three Kafirs. Then he too gave a similar death-cry, "O Lord!" I heard nothing after this. I tried to make my way back from the wagons through the three rows of Kafirs. Then I received the first wound from an assegai on the shoulder-joint through the breast and along the ribs. A second assegai struck the bone of my thigh, so that the point of the blade was bent, as I found when I drew it out. The third struck me above the left knee. All the wounds were on my left side. A fourth wound was inflicted above the ankle,

through the sinews under the calf of the leg. Then I found myself among the cattle, and stood a moment listening. I heard no sound of a voice—all were dead. The Kafirs were busy tearing the tents, breaking the wagons, and stabbing to death the dogs and the poultry. They left nothing alive. Of the women and children who were murdered at my father's wagons, there were my mother, my wife, my mother-in-law, my sister (the wife of Rudolph Botha) and her little child, five months old; another sister, the wife of Adrian Bezuidenhout, and also two of my unmarried sisters, a young brother, my little daughter, eleven months old, and another infant daughter, only three days old, also murdered with her mother. On the following day we found my wife, with her bosom mutilated; the dead infant lay at the blood-stained breast. I had another brother, fourteen years old: he slept in my father's tent; and when I shouted "Here are Kafirs," he understood me to say that the sheep were running off. He jumped up, and received only an assegai wound along the skin of the back, and then ran among the thorn-trees. He arrived at Doornkop the next day.* He had known where the horses were running, had made, a bridle of the strips of his braces, had caught and mounted the horse that was most gentle, and drove seven horses, and so escaped. From the outspan, I went up along the Blaauwkrantz River. The first family I came to was that of Tybrand van Dyk; this was at about two o'clock in the morning. There was no moonlight. I had scarcely awakened the women and children and removed them from the wagons when the Kafirs were there. The second family that I roused was that of Scheepers, who had been murdered with Retief. There were only women and children there. The third outspan was that of Hans Roetz, Van Vooren, and Geer. This was the last. Day broke, and then, numbering 196 men, women, and children, we made our way to Doornkop, where the families of Retief and of the Greylings, were. We reached Doornkop

* Mr. George Pigot Moodie, at present of the "Vineyard," Newlands, near Cape Town, for some years, subsequently, owned and with the writer, lived upon this fine farm. The remains of an old mud fortification, were still to be seen.

at noon. The people who had their outspans along the Moord Spruit and Bushman's River were all murdered."

This description of one of the scenes of that sad night differs little, in conveying a distinct impression of the atrocity of the massacre, from two other accounts that have a place in annals ; and it will be fitly followed by a relation of the efforts made next day to drive off and signally punish the aggressors. The extract is from the writings of Charl (Sarl) Celliers, one of the leaders of the emigrants, and subsequently an elder of their church. The frequent use which, as will be seen, is made by Celliers of the words of scripture, was common among his countrymen. When their ancestors left Holland two centuries before, such reference to Bible texts was in accordance with the spirit of the age, and usual in ordinary conversation. Their descendants in the wilds of Africa had been secluded from intercourse with strangers, and retained the custom, which might induce a suspicion of profanity, if it were not quite certain that the Boers were wholly free from levity in regard to their religion.

Celliers had been at some distance from the wagons on which the attack had been made. With five armed and mounted men he came upon the scene in the morning. He says :—

Mr. Retief, who had been on a commission to Natal for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was under Her Majesty's dominion, had returned and assured us that Natal was still free ; and also that he had gone to influence Dingaan ; and that they (the Zulus) had ceded the country to us from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu river, on condition that if, Sikonyela having taken 900 head of cattle from Dingaan, Mr. Retief should recover these, then the territory, as I have described it, was to be given over to us. We accordingly directed our course to Natal. But one woe had passed away ; another was impending. When we were in the country about the Tugela Blaauwkrantz, and Bushman's River, Retief with a hundred men repaired to Sikonyela's country, and without firing a shot took 1,100 head of cattle, and, having sixty-five men with him, drove them according to agreement to Dingaan, as the price of the district ceded to us

as aforesaid. But alas ! how dark a cloud was hanging over us. . . . So far as we have heard Dingaan was very friendly to Retief when he arrived, and complied with his desire very fully as to the recognition of previous negotiation regarding the territory. He signed the agreement, and then invited Retief and his companions to come and eat and drink with him. Then his treachery manifested itself in the death of martyrdom which all our friends were doomed to undergo. But our God too saw it, and from His holy throne directed His counsels.

We were waiting for the return of our chosen ruler from Dingaan's country ; but the first intelligence we received was a formidable commando sent by Dingaan, which perpetrated cruel and bloodthirsty murder amongst us, so that 500 of our number were slain. But our God did not forsake us. We acknowledge that our God from His heaven looked down on us in mercy ; and He strengthened with His might those of us who remained alive to take up our weapons again, and I can affirm that I strove, and that I, like Jephtha, had my life in my hand. With five men I rescued the camp of Gerrit Barends, which was on the point of being overpowered by the great force of the enemy. This laager was open on one side, the wagons being drawn in a half moon. When we were at some distance and saw the great danger of the disaster about to occur, I said to my brothers : " Have God before your eyes. Let not a hair of your head show fear, and follow me." We gave the reins to our horses, and I shouted as loudly as I could, for I saw that the Kafirs were running swiftly round the laager to rush in at the opening by storm. Yes ! had we come five minutes later, the whole laager would have been a bath of blood. But our great God prevented it, and said to our enemy " Thus far and no farther." Our enemies were terrified, and their hands were weakened. Five men liberated the camp with God's assistance. The Bushman's River was rapid. Five men drove the Kafirs into the stream, and more were drowned than we had shot. I had fired so many shots that the barrel of the gun became heated, and to such a degree that I feared in loading least the barrel should ignite. After that we rode at full speed past the laager

In the direction of another body of Kafirs still on the same side of the river. We drove them over the hill with great loss of their numbers. Our force, too, had been increased by about twelve men, and when we got to the other side of the mountain we found the horses that had been taken from the camp by the enemy. These were sent back, and a message was carried to our fellows at the same time, urging them to come to our assistance, to reinforce our party as numerous as possible. I then saw the cattle that had been driven off, and I wished, as the mountain was level on its summit, to ride hard and turn and recapture the cattle, but when we got to the top I saw another party of our men (if I am not mistaken there were six), who were also in pursuit of the enemy, and fired at them from a distance. Very soon we were actively engaged, as we came in contact with them. Eleven lay dead on the spot, and we attacked our opponents so vigorously that numbers fell till we had driven them into a fastness. We then rode in a direction that would enable us to recapture the cattle. In doing so we came upon a place where the family of Rensburg were hemmed in by the enemy on the summit of a small hill. A great multitude were collected round it—and here another battle had to be fought. The Kafirs were still full of courage. As we fired our first shots they rushed with great violence to storm down on us. We were unable to dismount, and fired on horseback. My order was that we would load as fast as we could in retiring. Then each time we turned round and came within a short distance of the enemy. This was done repeatedly, and we were constantly reinforced by others of our men who came up, whilst the strength of the Kafirs was more and more reduced, until they turned and fled before our faces. By God's mercy we had another victory. Then every thing gave way to rage. There was no further resistance. We drove the Kafirs into a confused heap, and overwhelmed them until they were driven by us into the fastnesses of the mountains. I now directed that pursuit should be made for the recovery of the cattle. We came upon a

* Most of the men were absent at a distance in pursuit of large game.

spot where many of our people had been murdered, who whilst flying to others for help had been overtaken by Kafirs. I was an eye-witness to the fact that little infants still in swaddling-clothes lay in their blood murdered in the arms of their mothers. I called on the Lord, and said ; ‘Oh my God ! shall the blood of the sucklings be unavenged.’ The cattle were on a high mountain, and the ascent was difficult. Our horses were greatly fatigued. The hearts of many of our men sank at the dreadful sight I have described. I said, however, that that was not a time for mourning, for the Lord had delivered the enemy into our hands, and we must pursue them and rescue the cattle. I spurred on in advance. Only ten men followed me. I reached the foot of the mountain. There was a numerous commando of the enemy on the top. I thought it unadvisable to ascend the mountain with ten men. Our foes remained in possession of large numbers of cattle.”

This extract brings to a close one of the histories of that eventful day. As the account, given by Bezuidenhout, of the midnight attack referred only to what he had personally witnessed at a single outspan of four or five wagons, whilst similar havoc and murder were being perpetrated among the occupants of at least a hundred more ; so, in looking upon the vivid picture drawn by Celliers of the scenes in which with a few followers he had taken so zealous a part, it must be borne in mind that similar retaliation and destruction were being achieved in every direction by not less than fifteen or twenty other bands of vigorous and infuriated men. The Zulus who fell in the carnage of that day cannot have been fewer than 3,000 or 4,000.

But before daybreak a contingent of the native army had driven far the greater portion of the captured cattle beyond the Tugela. Dingaan regarded the thousands of oxen and cows that were added to his herds not only as very valuable spoils of war, but as an evidence of victory in spite of great loss of life. He was led on to fresh effort. Another attempt to surprise a “laager” was made a few weeks later, when again the Zulus were driven off with severe loss. After a while the Boers sent a force to invade Zululand : but owing to disunion between two of their leaders the expedition failed of success.

In this dangerous position of their affairs it was im-

possible for the emigrants to attempt tillage or any useful occupation. They were obliged to be always on their guard, always on the alert, and it was not until another commando, sent out in November, 1838, had gained a signal victory at Blood River, on Sunday, 16th December, that Dingaan was so far humbled as to sue for peace. His prayer was granted on the condition that he should restore the captured cattle and pay an amend for the cost of the war. In these terms he acquiesced, acknowledging and promising to discharge a debt of not less than 19,000 head of cattle.

Nearly at the same time the Governor of the Cape, disquieted by rumours of these occurrences, sent a detachment of troops to Natal, ostensibly to claim and occupy the harbour, but probably with no other object than that of watching, and perhaps influencing, the course of events. The measure did not attain any very useful result, and the troops were withdrawn at the close of the year 1839.

Meanwhile Dingaan had been in no haste to fulfil his stipulations with the Boers. This delay raised a suspicion in their minds that he was seeking to elude the claim, and possibly was meditating treachery ; and although by a friendly message he sought to temporise, and to satisfy them of his good faith, the Volksraad resolved to wait no longer, and to enforce their claim by war.

Of the final campaign that then ensued against Dingaan an account, as before noted, is given by M. Adulphe Délegorgue. The war was bloodless on the side of the emigrants ; they left the contest, no longer an equal struggle, to be fought out by the forces of the King's brother Umpande. Alluding to the recall of the English troops first sent to Natal, M. Délegorgue says :—

The Boers, having now been released from a watchfulness that clogged their freedom of action, resolved to take immediate advantage of the favourable circumstances that presented themselves.

Dingaan put off from day to day the payment of the war-debt which he had acknowledged to be due. Panda, in deserting, had drawn to his party a number of influential captains, and a considerable contingent of fighting men. He and they had a common object. It was indispensable that Dingaan should fall. Without doubt that chief

counted many devoted men in his cohorts, but also many who were discontented, and silenced only by the fear of being put to death.

A commando was resolved upon. This is what the Arabs call a "razzia"; no other name suits that kind of warfare, which bears no resemblance to the warlike tactics of Europe. Pande was directed to act with his warriors on one side: the Boers were to advance on the other. With two hostile corps to encounter Dingaan, who could not possibly divide his forces, must infallibly succumb. . . . On the 13th January, 1840, the commando of the Boers was already on its way from Pietermaritzburg towards the Tugela River. . . . On the 18th, after having halted for some time, it was noon when we reached the banks of the Tugela, which were at that time covered by men, wagons and horses. The confused cries of the strong-voiced Boers, the clacking of their wagonwhips, the stamping of the wheels, as they crashed from stone to stone, the noise of the water stemmed in its course by oxen, wagons, horses, and men, all this repeated by echoes from the opposite banks, produced an uproar that would have made one suppose that the river was being crossed by twenty thousand men in the disorganization of defeat. So far from this there were but 308 armed men, and not more than sixty Hottentots, and 400 Kafir servants. There may besides have been 600 horses, 500 oxen, and fifty wagons.

I have to add that there was a commandant of the forces, but as a matter of form only, in whom no right of punishment was recognised, and whose command any one would obey only if he thought fit.

Several hours were spent in the passage of the river, after which we encamped at a distance of a mile further on. At this spot we spent the 19th and 20th of January, awaiting a reinforcement from among the colonists living beyond the Drakensberg. . . . These two days of delay, far from being turned to account in gaining information on which the conduct of the campaign might be based, far from being used for measures of usefulness so as to guard against dangerous risks, that ought to be forecast, were spent in reading the Bible and singing Hymns; while masses of meat, almost smothering the fires of the

bivouac, were being roasted. At intervals of intermission in these more serious occupations the young people, following their wits of little range, gave themselves up to meaningless games, to wrestling without any artistic skill, or seeking to shine by the rudest jokes. Habituated to live in the midst of their isolated families, they looked upon this great concourse of men as a holiday scene, the more so as the meat was excellent, and the daily ration not less than 10lb. . . .

The camp was broken up on the 23rd, and the wagons, one following another, soon after crossed the Klip River, a stony—and even detestably rocky—stream. Decidedly we were travelling in the country of the Zulus; but this was not considered a sufficient reason for adopting a more prudent system of advance. An interval of four miles separated the first wagon from the last. What force would three or four hundred men have represented, even though armed with guns, if spread over a long line, and if it had been attacked in rear and front by fifteen or twenty thousand Kafirs? Very certainly resistance would not have been possible. But the Commandant-General, Mr. Pretorius, had his own system of tactics, and that was to have no tactics at all. On the following day we remained at rest, for some who had not started with us were still to come up; and if we had gone on, the fear of advancing alone might have induced them to turn back. At ten o'clock there was an alarm, which made everyone take up his arms. . . . But it was a false alarm, the absence of reason for it becoming known without delay. About four hundred Kafirs, carrying their bucklers, had been seen by a patrol. But they were visitors, the contingent of Matuwana, who came to offer their services for acting with us against Dingaan. At the request of Mr. Pretorius they drew themselves up in line, and performed the war dance to an accompaniment of war-songs. The effect of the exhibition was picturesque and imposing. Each of the warriors had his head girt with a pad of otterskin, worn to protect the skull against a blow. From this a long single feather of the Numidian crane rose perpendicularly, swaying with the wind. From the neck hung rows of oxtails, a kind of loose vestment forming an upper shelter for the person. From the waist to the knee, following

the curves of the loins and the back, hung the elegant "simba," formed of four hundred strips of wild cat-skin spirally twisted, and sown so as to imitate the tails of monkeys. For ornamental garters there were oxtails, of which the tufts protected the front of the legs against thorns. Similar, but shorter, tails knotted above the ankle, covered the upper part of the foot for the same purpose. The arm bore similar tufts, the play of which as the limb is moved is very graceful. . . . In agreement with all who have seen them, I cannot too much praise the beauty, the grace, the elegance of these vestments, though they would not be a suitable attire for us. . . . The 25th and 26th were passed at the same place in the hope of fair weather, which did not come, and of a reinforcement of some men, who joined us in a state of exhaustion from constant rain.

At length, on the 27th, we travelled four leagues with great difficulty. . . . There we were visited by Kafir runners, sent by Nongalaza, the captain in command of Pande's forces. These men were commissioned to tell their master, who was with us, that the hostile armies were in presence of each other, and must be actually engaged at that very time. . . . On the 21st we left the mountains on our right, . . . and on the same day crossed the Sand River. The next day we passed the Umzimyati, or Buffalo, River. Some of the wagons were overturned, some were broken, but all, nevertheless, reached the side of a mountain near which we stationed ourselves. Here we found a quantity of bleached bones, a number of Kafir skulls scattered in the long grass. That was the place in which the memorable battle of the Sunday had been fought, in which twenty-five regiments of a thousand men each, rushing in turns on a "laager," defended by eight or nine hundred Bcers, had left 3,200 of their own numbers on the field. The attack had not lasted more than an hour and a half. This slaughter had occurred on 15th September, 1838, and the stream running near received from it the name of Blood River. . . . On the 30th, at about five o'clock, a Kafir bearing a white flag came from Nongalaza to inform us that Dingaan's last resource was to effect a junction with Umzilikazi, but that this would oblige him to pass through the country of the

“knob-nosed !” Kafirs who are called Amakazana, from whom he had everything to fear ; that to avoid these, and taking a more eastern direction, he must pass into the country of the Amaswazi, still more implacable enemies, so that on either hand there were dangers so certain that he must infallibly be overwhelmed by them. The messenger added that Dingaan, fearing for his life, had hidden himself in a cave near his town, awaiting an opportunity of escaping to the north.

On the morning of the 31st, a council of war was assembled. It was held in the open air, a sufficient reason for the judges to wear their hats. I speak of judges, because the council was composed only of judges and a reporter. To answer the public prosecutor there was no counsel for defending the accused. There would have been too little political wisdom in furnishing such means of resistance to those whom all desired to see condemned and shot. I have spoken of judges, because those men were in the position of judges, though they bore little resemblance to such high functionaries. If you attach importance to a distinct idea of this council, composed of weak and cruel people, have present to your mind what a revolutionary tribunal was in the days of the Reign of Terror.

Two capital sentences had to be pronounced and to be carried into effect immediately after the rising of the court. There, before these unimposing white men, appeared two human beings manacled to each other, the handcuff linking the left wrist of one to the right of the other. These men were Tambuza and Kombezana. Both had a firm demeanour. Who were these men ? How had they fallen into the hands of the Boers ?

M. Délargorgue in answering these questions enters so minutely into a detail of particular occurrences at Pietermaritzburg, that the text would add unduly to the length of a single lecture. A summary of his statements may be given, as follows :—

Tambuza and Kombezana were men of rank in Zululand, and had been sent by Dingaan to the Volksraad (or council of the Boers) at Pietermaritzburg, with a gift of 250 choice oxen, and

with a request that an extension of time might be allowed for payment of the debt which he admitted of a vast number of cattle. The Volksraad believed that the King's message only meant evasion, and that, as a considerable period had already elapsed, and preparations were in progress for a campaign with a view of enforcing their claim, it was not advisable to waste time in hesitation. They resolved to proceed with the commando. Pande, being admitted to the sitting of council, urged them to that course. It was his purpose to hasten, not to postpone, the destruction of his rival brother; and he accused Tambuza of having instigated the assassination of Retief, and the massacre at Blaauwkrantz. He also imputed countless atrocities to Kombezena. At once the two men, although they had come as envoys, and on a peaceful errand, were imprisoned and kept in chains until the military expedition was ready to start. They were then sent in custody to await their trial by a court martial at a convenient juncture.

M. Délegorgue proceeds :—

They walked along under escort. . . . When the rain fell in torrents, and cold set in, the space under the wagon was their shelter. It is true that I myself had no other, but I had woollen clothing. They, poor devils, had only the skin with which the Creator had covered their bones. The wind struck their sides; the shudder, the chatter of their teeth, the stiffness of their limbs, were continual; but great in their martyrdom, they allowed no complaint to escape them.

It was in this condition that they appeared—I will not say to be judged, but—to hear their sentence. I content myself with quoting here the words of Paul Zietsman, who was provisionally the secretary of Pretorius. The latter could not write, and to the former the task of keeping the journal-record of the expedition had been entrusted.

On the 31st January, 1840, it was resolved to decide the fate of Tambuza, ex-councillor of Dingaan, and of an

inferior chief named Kombezana. A council was called before which Pande and other captains were summoned to give their evidence. . . . The chief under arrest being called on to defend himself, acknowledged the truth of all that had been said against him, as also the justice of the fate that awaited him, adding nobly that though he was willing to pay for his numerous crimes by the sacrifice of his life, still Kombezana, his companion in captivity, was innocent and did not deserve death. Pande hastened to reply that Kombezana had been the principal instigator of the atrocities committed by Dingaan. . . .

The Commandant in-chief, by the advice of his court-martial, then resolved upon passing on the prisoners the terrible sentence of death. He impressed upon their minds how much that was dreadful was included in this act, and made them understand that, after having undergone their sentence, they would appear before another judge : but that they might avoid everlasting punishment if they would confess their crimes, and heartily solicit forgiveness.

Some hours after the prisoners were led away to a place in the neighbourhood, and human justice was satisfied.

Having been present and witnessed these debates, I am bound to add that though Tambuza was pressed to make admissions, he was wholly silent in regard to himself ; and only spoke in assertion of his comrade's innocence ; a proof of disregard of self, of admirable disinterestedness, at such a time : and when Pretorius spoke to him of a Supreme Being (Inkosi Pezulu) the master on high, the dispenser of eternal punishment, which he might avoid by a course of conduct till then unknown to him, Tambuza objected that he had but one master, that it was his duty to remain faithful to that one master to the last, and that, after having so acted, the master on high, if there were one, could not fail to approve of his conduct.

When the two prisoners arrived at the place of execution, they were as before linked to each other. Two farmers, who were ordered to shoot them, stood at a distance of about sixty yards. When the shots were fired both fell. Kombezana was killed instantly. Tambuza was only wounded in the body. Calm as before, though suffering, he rose, stood firm, and presented a full front to

the fire, and fell dead, struck by the second bullet. These men know how to die, I thought, and I withdrew full of admiration, but also with a thousand painful feelings, for this act of Boer justice seemed to me an infamy.

On the same day we passed the White Umfolozi, not far from which Dingaan's capital had been built. . . . Our march was resumed on 1st February. It was eleven o'clock in the morning when we received information that a great number of cattle, guarded by Kafirs, had been seen in the neighbourhood. A hundred and fifty horsemen were at once despatched to take possession of them, and the camp was once more formed at the same place. Soon after we heard of the total defeat of Dingaan's forces, of which one regiment had been totally destroyed. Tshlala had been run through the body by an assagai. . . . Nieuwkerk, one of our emissaries, returned to us on the evening of the same day. He had found the enemy's forces separated by a ravine, resting after their exertions, and he had been on the point of entering Tshlala's camp. Though Dingaan's army had not then retired, he was none the less disabled from renewing the struggle with advantage, a thousand of his warriors having fallen on the field. Success had been decisive on the side of Pande's army ; but Nieuwkerk had noted not less than 1,200 wounded men in the camp of Nongalaza, whose contingent was reckoned at five thousand armed men.

On the 3rd the Commandant ordered that every man possessing a horse should prepare for a start at seven o'clock. . . . In consequence 210 men started. . . . The spectacle afforded by these men was singular, setting off as they did in the utmost confusion ; scaling the hills helter-skelter, bearing their long guns ungracefully on their shoulders. From the commandant to the field-cornet, to the corporal, to the simple mounted man, there was no distinction in bearing, none in carrying out orders, and, indeed, no one was tempted to give any orders, because, as no mode of punishment was regulated for their infraction, no one would care to obey.

After marching an hour, a spy came to inform the Boers of the retreat of a body of Zulus. . . . Luckily for the enemy, whose rapid march had to be overtaken, his movements were masked by a dense fog, which covered the

mountains and the surrounding gorges. This favouring circumstance enabled the Zulus to escape unperceived. . . . The advance was continued for several successive days. On the 8th the party reached the Pongola River. . . . No precise information could be obtained as to Dingaan. It was known, however, that he had passed the river five days previously with some of his wives and cattle-herds, and that his flight beyond his own territory was a matter of certainty. . . . The conviction thus acquired of the dispersion of his forces and adherents, joined to the loss of horses from the prevailing distemper, were two causes influencing the resolution to turn homeward. Leaving to Nongalaza the task of watching the banks of the Pongola, Pretorius made him promise that in the event of his hearing anything of Dingaan he would dispatch two of his swiftest runners, adding that in that case he would make it his own duty to send off a hundred mounted men, in order, if possible, to seize alive the monster whose capture would cause so much joy. . . . On the evening of the 9th they rejoined the camp. It was a Sunday, but by reason of the incessant rains that had set in on the 5th there could be no numerous concourse for divine service. Nevertheless many a tent became a place of prayer, and they thanked the Almighty for the advantages they had gained.

On the 10th Pretorius complimented Pande on his conduct during the expedition ; and congratulated him in high terms on the success gained by the valiant Nongalaza. He admitted the claim of Pande to the throne vacated by the flight of Dingaan ; and said that in consequence he recognised, and named him as, the King or Chief of the Zulus, being authorised to act thus in the name of the Volksraad, which had its sitting in Pietermaritzburg : that henceforth he should be considered as their principal ally, and his enemies would be treated as those of the Boers. . . . Pande lost no time in accepting these decisions of the council, and replied in suitable terms. . . .

Nongalaza on the following day sent two messengers to report that it was quite impossible to obtain intelligence of Dingaan, and also to acquaint the boers that there were no herds of cattle in the country under his observation. . . .

On the 14th the commandant in chief, after displaying

the colours of the young republic, caused to be read, in presence of all, the proclamation by which he extended the territory to the North. The portion of the country thus annexed stretched from the Tugela to the Black Umfolozi, the bay of St. Lucia being included in these limits. He sought by all means to give great publicity to this act of taking possession, which after all was nothing more than an empty sound. No one applauded it : on the other hand, no one disputed. . . . The individual employed in keeping the journal took care to reproduce the text of the document, and did not fail to add gravely : After this a salute was fired in honour of the council of the people. Then all the men with one voice cried : "Thanks to the great God, by whose grace victory has been granted to us."

"Bound as I am to recur to facts in explanation of circumstances, I fail to discover any on which to found a claim to a victory worthy of a "Te Deum." I have to admit with humiliation that I bore a part in this war, which was terminated without a single battle in which the whites had taken any share."

The extract from M. Délegorgue's works is concluded with this last scene in the career of Dingaan.

In February, 1840, the Boers were masters of the country, and might have remained so, but they became engaged in hostilities with natives at no great distance from Kaffraria. The Government of the Cape foresaw a risk of disturbance on their frontier. As we have seen, they sent a handful of troops to occupy the country. The Boers protested, resisted, defeated the troops near Congela, and kept them for a month closely besieged in their camp near D'Urban. Reinforcements arriving, further opposition on the part of the Boers became unavailing. In July, 1842, they submitted to British authority. Natal became and remained a British possession as we have also seen. But far the greater number of the emigrants, some at once, others in successive years, withdrew from Natal and settled more permanently in the territory of the Free State and of the South African, or Transvaal, Republic.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHASE'S NATAL PAPERS.

FROM Chase's "Natal Papers" I glean the following important and interesting facts :—

The first compact party of Dutch emigrants who left the Colony, determined to settle down beyond its limits, was under the guidance of a Louis Trechard, an Albany farmer, shortly after the cessation of the Kafir war. They located themselves in a fertile and uninhabited tract between the 26° and 27° parallel of S. Latitude on the eastern bank of a large and beautiful river. The fate of this unfortunate pioneering expedition was ascertained on a visit of the *Comet*, a vessel which visited Delagoa Bay in June of this year. Extracts from the Journal of one Bronkhorst state :—

“ At Delagoa Bay we met with the unhappy remains of Louis Trechard's party, consisting when they left the colony of thirteen families. Only two married men, Trechard and his son, survived the ravages of war and the destructive influence of the climate. Some widows and children remain, but nearly all the party, Trechard and his son excepted, are afflicted with the fever incident to the climate. Many have been carried off by it, and in the short space of three weeks that the *Comet* was in the harbour, three souls passed into eternity. About a week before we arrived, Louis Trechard's wife died, and the son's wife was buried while we were there at her side. We left nearly all sick, without any hope of help from man, and as there is no one at the bay who has any knowledge of medicine. The Portuguese are very kind to them. They sent an escort to conduct them to the town, where houses are freely opened for their reception. About nine families separated from Trechard, and every soul of them was murdered by the savage tribes through which they passed, particularly by that of Sochangan, a chief tributary

to Dingaan. Trechard's party was attacked by the Mantatees and other tribes at five different times, generally in the night, but they escaped without loss. I saw the bow and poisoned arrows of a chief of the Mantatees, whom young Trechard shot, a body of sixty having fallen on them in the night. One would think that surely these dispensations of providence ought to make them look back with deep regret on their unhappy and unadvised pilgrimage. Trechard, the son, was anxious to join his fellow-countrymen, and fight with them. He would have taken his passage to Natal, if the captain had determined to touch there. They have immense flocks and herds; still their condition was truly pitiable; indeed it was almost hopeless, as there is every reason to expect that they will all die, one after another, of the fever.

The few survivors were afterwards removed to Natal by sea.

About the end of May two parties, headed by J. G. S. Bronkhorst and H. Potgieter, left the camp formed by some of the emigrants on the Vet River, one of the tributaries of the Ky Gariep, for the purpose of exploring the country to the N. E., of which journey, and of the first repulse the emigrants met with from the natives under Malzellikatze, the following is Bronkhorst's own relation:—

On the 24th May I departed from the Sand River, accompanied by the Burghers, Roelof Jansen, Laurens Jansen van Vuuren, Charel Cilliers, and Abraham Swanepoel; together with another group, consisting of the Burghers, H. Potgieter, J. Roberts, Adrian de Lange, Daniel Opperman, H. Mieuwenhuisen, and Christian Liebenberg. From the Sand River we travelled through a grass field twelve *schofts** and came to a ridge, which we, on finding the real sugar cane there, called the *Suikerbosch-rand*; fuel was scarce. From thence we proceeded four *schofts* further, and reached the Oliphant's River; here was no fuel whatever, but abundance of water and grass, the grass being sour, but still good for pasture. Two *schofts* from there we arrived at the Rhenoster Poort on the Rondberg; here the country is rugged, with sweet

* *Schofts*, the plural of *schoft*, a day's journey.

and sour grass, stocked with thorn trees. From thence we travelled two and a half schofts through grass fields, and came to a rugged plain, covered with all kinds of grass, until we came to the Zoutpansberg in thirteen schofts, where we found a saltpan. At the Rhenoster Poort we met the first nation, called Mantatees. At the Zoutpansberg we met the Burgher Louis Trechard, and company, all in good health. Proceeding on our journey we saw at the distance of two schofts from Trechard, trees, the leaves whereof I cannot describe, as they were blooming and very young ; they sprouted from the ground with a thick trunk, and are the size of an oak ; the trunk of these trees have many roots ; from the tree itself many roots issue, descending downwards, entwining themselves to the body of the tree, as if they were tied to it, until they are again rooted into the ground ; the trees bear no fruit,— the bark is white, It is supposed that each branch of the tree produces a sprig, straight or oblique, as it grows.

About three schofts from thence we found another tree, yielding a fruit resembling a cocoanut or gourd, the peel having also a similar appearance ; the fruit is hollow inside ; the kernel cannot be distinguished from cream of tartar, it being of the same stuff and taste ; the tree has a large size ; we measured one and found it to be of thirteen fathoms in circumference, and twenty feet high to its crown ; the tree had no leaves ; the bark and wood had much the appearance of a *Spekboom*. Proceeding further we saw several other trees with and without fruit, and amongst others a tree serving the people of the country for food and drink ; it is a large tree resembling an oak, having a green bark like that of a peach tree ; the leaf I cannot describe, as it resembles no known one, but had something of a yellow-wood tree ; the fruit is like a cherry ; we did not taste it, as being unripe ; we saw the people chop off branches, from which a liquid issued which they caught in basins ; they cook buffalo skins to glue, mix it with the liquid, and it becomes a sort of curdled milk which they use : they also make a sort of beer from it. We also found a tree, much like that of an apricot, its fruit having a great resemblance to a lentil, the stone and pod having a similar appearance, but larger ; the stone is soft ; it has the true smell of turpentine, and is oily. I must

also mention that we found the banana tree one and a half schofts from Trechard along the river and at other places in abundance ; it is the real banana ; we also found a large grove of bamboo growing in abundance and luxurious ; the above grove is half an hour's ride on horseback in circumference. Nine schofts from Trechard we reached a river of running water, about two feet deep, and 1780 paces broad ; the banks of the river are stocked with trees which I cannot describe ; they are beautiful—they are large ; the lower part of the trunk is smooth until where its branches issue ; under its shade six and seven wagons may be placed ; it has a small green leaf, the fruit resembles an acorn, but was then unripe. One schoft from there we again crossed a large river, and found similar trees ; thence we proceeded six schofts further, and came to the Knopneus (Knob nose) Caffers, being, with the exception of one, the last Caffer Captain ; they pointed to a town about six shofts from there ; we also spoke with the servants of the town inhabitants, who came there to barter elephant's teeth for beads, linen, and other wares ; they also informed us of there being ships waiting for elephants' teeth. The people from that town spoke Portuguese. They said that our approach was known in their town. These men were glad of our arrival, and showed us much respect, fell upon their knees, clapped with the hands on saluting us, and offered us lasting peace. From there we returned, as our horses and oxen began to give up. The Caffers accompanied us a great way, and showed us a road much nearer than the one we came. It is a defenceless and unwarlike people, always flying before their assailants ; many perish from want. They state having been robbed of their cattle by Matselikaze. We likewise met there two sons of Coenraad Buis, named Doris and Karel ; they received their ammunition from that town. The Kafirs called us Dutchmen, in their language, Magoas. The above are, to the best of my knowledge, a few particulars of the country we have travelled through. The climate is rather hot, and little difference between summer and winter, vegetables growing every where spontaneously and luxuriously. We were there in the month of July ; saw all kinds of fruit in full growth and blossom, and got from the gardens sweet

potatoes, millet, and various vegetables. There is abundance of water to irrigate the ground, and one might also say not sufficient land for the number of fountains; a large town might be founded if there were a sufficient number of inhabitants; each erf might have its own supply of water. Everything offers the finest opportunity for a settlement. Timber is abundant, the waste land large and extensive, so that thousands of families might subsist, it being also well adapted for breeding of cattle. We further found among the Mantatees a great quantity of iron forged by themselves; the iron is of good quality, and mixed with steel; they pointed to a small ridge to the south, where they melt, forge, and make spears of it, and then barter it to the Knopneus (Knobnose) Caffers for beads and other wares. The people also showed us a mine, from which they extract gold, and make rings, which I have seen; we have also brought some of the ore with us; this mine is just opposite the camp of Louis Trechard on the Zoutpansberg. We also found at the first nation we fell in with good tin, which they extract from the Ransberg and make rings of, calling it white iron. At Oliphant's River we saw banks of a kind of stuff resembling leaves, having the colour of silver; it is tough, and hard to separate, but I did not see anything forged or melted from it. There is also all kinds of game. From the Suikerbosch-rand we saw elephants all along our route. At the Vaale and Oliphant's Rivers we saw numbers of rhinoceros, buffalos, seacows, and black bucks with white bellies, a white stripe on the buttocks, and a star on the head, they are of the size of a hartebeest (deer); likewise cross-breed koedoes and gemsbucks; also the red buck and other known game in abundance.

We returned to our Camp, and reached it on the 2nd September, but found it in a sad state. When we were a third part of a schoft on this side of Trechard, we sent five men, named C. Liebenberg, R. Jansen, A de Lange, D. Opperman, and A. Zwanepoel, in advance to get fresh relays. Coming to the first camp they saw a wagon in the river; D. Opperman rode thither, while the others off-saddled, and on coming there he saw two wagons fastened together; he returned with the tidings that our camp presented a bloody scene; they all then rode thither,

and found Mr. Liebenberg, sen., and the wife of H. Liebenberg lying dead ; there were also several corpses which they could not identify. They returned to us the same afternoon with the said account ; five of us then rode thither, and found the killed to be B. Liebenberg, sen., Johannes du Toit and wife, H. Liebenberg, jun. and wife, S. Liebenberg and a male child, MacDonald, a school-master, and a son of C. Liebenberg. We then could do nothing there, followed the spoor of our camp, and reached it the third day ; we found the survivors and part of our cattle. The account here was equally melancholy. My son, G. Bronkhorst, and a son of Christian Liebenberg, named Barend, were missing, and not yet found. We found the son of Christian Harmse killed ; we then learnt how the sad disaster had occurred ; they began by killing Stephanus Erasmus, who, with eight others, were shooting at a distance ; four of them escaped, namely, Stephanus Erasmus and son, and Pieter Bekker and son ; and two sons of Erasmus, Johannes Clasens and Karl Kruger, are missing ; the Kafirs took all their wagons and goods ; they attacked us without the least provocation ; Erasmus brought the first report that the Kafirs were murdering. Ten of us then rode towards them, suing for peace. but the Kafirs drove them back to the camp ; the killed persons were separate, and not in the great camp ; a party of Kafirs divided and murdered them, while the other party fought against the camp.

There were only thirty-five men in the camp who fought against the Kafirs. They succeeded in repulsing them, killing several. Thence we retreated four schofts backwards to this side of the Vaal River, where the Kafirs attacked us a second time. The Mantatees informed us three days previous that the Kafirs of Matzelikatze were pursuing us, some of whom went to spy but did not discover them ; the next day thirty-five men left the camp, and met the Kafirs (about 9,000) an hour's distance on horseback from the camp ; we sued for peace through an interpreter, showing them our hair, as a sign that we did not wish to war with them, and that they should retire : they cried out no, and attacked us immediately, while we retreated, fighting, to the camp, where a peace-flag was set up. We

reached the camp sooner than the enemy, and had scarcely time to clean our guns; they had in the meanwhile approached our camp to within 500 paces; halted, killed two of our oxen, and consumed them raw. Ferociously and with great cries they stormed the camp, but could not enter as the wagons were drawn into a circle, and the openings closed with thorn branches; between the wagon wheels and above the coverings we were obliged to shoot them, to prevent their entering. We conquered and repulsed the enemy after a great loss on their side, while we had two killed and twelve wounded. More than 1,000 assegais were found in the camp. The killed are Nicholaas Potgieter and Piet Botha. This took place on the 29th October, 1836, when we lost 6,000 head of cattle, and 41,000 sheep and goats. Our horses we retained from having been in the camp.

Three days after this we followed them to try whether we could retake any of our cattle, but all we found were killed and skinned (about 1,000 head), and were obliged to return unsatisfied.

What I have here related are facts, and am willing, if required, to confirm the same on oath.

(Signed) J. G. S. BRONKHORST.

The barbarities of the natives on this occasion, inflicted upon the poor self-expatriated farmers and their families were horrible :—

Not even satisfied with stabbing their welshed broad-spears into the bosoms of unresisting women, or piercing the bodies of infants who clung to them, they cut off the breasts of some of the women, and took several of the poor little helpless babes by the heels and dashed out their brains against the iron bands of the wagon wheels.

It was no wonder, therefore, that atrocities like these should be visited with a fearful retribution.

A portion of the emigrants now remained with the wreck of their late flourishing camp, whilst others placed their wives and children under the protection of the Rev. Mr. Archbell's missionary station at Thaba Unchu for a short period, and then fell back on a new station at the

source of the Modder River. Here they were soon reinforced by a large party under Gert Maritz, a wealthy Burgher of Graaff-Reinet, who had been elected Governor-General. The number of emigrants, at this time assembled around Thaba Unehu, is computed at above 1,800 souls.

An old colonist, of the name of Bernhard Roedolf, who had emigrated to Natal, enlightened his brother colonists by the publication of the following Diary of their Proceedings, Government, and Discoveries :—

“On the 4th of April last I quitted Graham’s Town in a horse wagon. On the 14th of the same month I overtook my two brothers, Gerrit and Andreas Roedeloff, with their party, (who had left their farms to join the emigrants in the early part of the year), having with them twenty wagons ; they were encamped at the Storm Bergen, behind *Penhoek*, residing in great spirits and glee in their tents. My object in going after them was to endeavour to persuade them, if possible, to abandon their journey, and return to the colony—but all my endeavours and trouble were to no purpose. Up to this, my intention had been not to proceed further, but to return to the colony from the spot whence I should meet them ; I however here changed my plan, and continued going further. Friday, the 27th of April we rode over the Orange River ; on Saturday, the 7th of May, we arrived at the village of the chief Maroko, where we saw the Rev. J. Archbell, who there fills the honourable station of missionary, and who received us very hospitably. He informed me that Messrs. Maritz and Retief had started from thence not long ago, and that he had that day received intelligence that they were encamped not far off in five or six divisions. I was gratified on hearing this ; re-commenced my journey instantly, and was so fortunate as to find myself the same evening safely lodged in the camp of Mr. Retief, surrounded by a large number of my countrymen. Mr. Retief was much pleased on learning that I had arrived. The following morning was the Sabbath, and the spot where divine service was held was made by wagons drawn up on each side, covered over the top ; at the upper end a large tent was placed, the front pulled up, and looking into the space thus covered in ;—this served us all for a church ;

the service being performed, twice in the day, in the usual manner of our Dutch Reformed Church, by the Rev. Erasmus Smit, who was appointed to the situation by the head of the farmers, Mr. Retief, by the approbation of a majority of the emigrants. On the Monday morning, Mr. Retief invited me to come to his tent, from the opposite side of the encampment, where I had put up with an old friend. I immediately complied with the request; he received me with kindness. I understood from him that he had entered into treaties of peace with the native chiefs in whose vicinity they were encamped, viz., Maroko, Towana, and Sinkajala. These chiefs, it appears, had suffered much from Matsellikatse,—their people murdered and plundered, and the remainder finally driven from their country. On Wednesday, the 11th of May, the whole encampment broke up, and proceeded to a high ridge, which I named *Fine Prospect* (Schoone Uitzigt), and where we met Mr. Maritz and his party. Thursday we continued our journey to the first branch (spruit) of the Vette River, which takes its origin in the Draagsberg, and runs into the Vaal River. On arriving there we found a public meeting convened for the purpose of sending out a commando against Matsellikatse, either to meet him as a friend,—or, in case of refusal on his part, to treat him as an enemy, and which was to start on the 1st June. The three above-named chiefs, and also one of the Captains of the Bastards, volunteered their services against Matsellikatse. This, however, Mr. Retief refused, but requested that they would accompany the commando in person, to which they all agreed.

“On the same day three young couples passed the matrimonial court, held by Maritz, previous to the celebration of marriage.

“As respects the state of society, it appears admirable, which will be seen from the few disputes which have arisen. I could only hear of *three* cases of any importance: 1st. It was stated that a person intended blowing up one of the ammunition wagons; of this, however, there was no sufficient proof, and he was acquitted. 2nd. The dispute which arose four or five months ago, between H. Potgieter and Mr. Maritz, but which has since been amicably

settled ;—and 3rd, a person who attempted to take liberties with the wife of another, was condemned to pay a fine of Rds. 400.

“Provisions of all descriptions are abundant. The subjects of the chiefs before named, bring daily to the camp large quantities of produce on their backs and laden upon pack-oxen,—such as mealies and Kafir corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans, &c. &c., which they dispose of with difficulty. The emigrants have with them an immense number of cattle and sheep—many thousands :—the cattle, taken generally, are not fat, but still in good condition ; but the sheep are in good order. The country is healthy for all descriptions of cattle, as I have ascertained from more than 50 individuals, and water abundant, It is enchanting to the eye to view the beauteous face of nature here ; but particularly at the lovely spot whence I departed from the emigrants at the Vette River. It is very cold in winter, and firewood generally very scarce, on both sides of the Orange River to the residence of Maroko ; from thence there is abundance of olive wood (olyvenhout) on the sides of the mountains ; the first mimosa met with is at the Vette River.

“The encampment is surrounded by thousands of all sorts of wild animals,—such as lions, wolves, gnus, blesbok, bonteboks, springbucks, &c., &c.

“The intertion of the farmers is, immediately after the return of the commando against Matsellikatse, to resume their journey ;—in the meantime the whole will remove to and concentrate at, the middle branch of the Vette River. This river has three branches, uniting together in one a little below the spot where the farmers intend moving to, and further on running into the Vaal River. About thirteen or fourteen stages (schofts) over the Vaal River, more to the north than to the east, the farmers have found a suitable spot to build their town :—this place is plentifully supplied with good timber, abundance of lime and building stone, as good as can be found any where within the colony,—and having a fountain, which fifteen yards below its source forms a running stream seventeen yards broad and twenty-two inches deep. There is also a good salt-pan in the vicinity ; and it is only ten or twelve stages

distant from Port Natal. The spot is stated further to be extremely healthy and fruitful. This account I received from many individuals at the camp who had been to the place and *saw* what they related to me

“On Monday, the 19th of May, we parted, while a great number of wagons were already on their journey forward to the middle branch of the Vette River; every individual I looked at appeared in high spirits, and wore a pleasant countenance; with the greatest astonishment I stood silently gazing at them;—finally we parted,—they proceeded on their journey with pleasure, and I returned in grief to the colony.

“There are now upwards of *one thousand wagons* with the emigrant farmers,—and it is said that they can muster 1,600 armed men.”

In the same month of this year the migration was greatly augmented by the departure of one of the oldest inhabitants of the District of Uitenhage, Mr. Pieter Uys, with about 100 followers. The reason which led to this influential person's expatriation is explained in the leading Dutch newspaper of the day, the *Zuid Afrikaan*. Addressing the government of the Colony, the Editor of that journal says, speaking of the complaints of the Dutch farmers against the Government:

“You have established posts to the villages,—but are branch posts established for the purpose of communicating with those residing at an isolated distance from the villages?—You have made penal laws, without giving them the opportunity of becoming acquainted with them,—and yet they are punished for the slightest mistake!—You have laws for the protection of the property of the apprentices and Hottentots, and the dear Kafir,—but why do you remain behind in adopting laws for the security of the property of the farmers? You appoint special magistrates for the protection of the apprentices, and instead of fixing him in the centre of the district, so that he may be equally accessible to all, the special magistrate of Uitenhage district is residing at the very extremity of the district, “Port Elizabeth.”—If an individual brings an action against the special magistrate and fails to prove—however just his complaint—he must be

condemned in *treble costs*. But how stands the case on the other hand?—Piet Uys, the hero, who fell in his attempt to rescue a comrade in the battle against the Zulus,—who had volunteered in the war against the Kafirs in 1835,—was fighting for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects—and was shedding his blood for the integrity of Her Majesty's frontier,—when his wife was brought up to “Port Elizabeth” on a warrant of the special magistrate,—he brings an action for false imprisonment—makes a preliminary motion for papers, which the special magistrate opposes, but who is condemned by the Chief Justice, then on Circuit, with *the costs*,—which, however, were subsequently, on a warrant of the Governor, refunded to him *out of the District Treasury*!—“What!” says Piet Uys, “my complaint is as just as any,—if I get a sentence in my favor, the costs are paid out of the District Treasury;—if I fail in the *proof* of my case, I must pay treble costs; do you call that *equally protecting all parties*?—I prefer living amongst barbarians, where my life depends upon the strength of my arms; rather than——!” There he stopped—and—expatriated himself!”

The particulars of the departure of this much respected and regretted man is thus related in the local newspaper of the day, the *Graham's Town Journal*:

“We mentioned in our last Journal that a party of emigrants from the colony, consisting of upwards of 100 persons, were then in the vicinity of Graham's Town on their route towards the north-eastern boundary. As the circumstance excited considerable attention, and a feeling of deep and general sympathy, it was resolved that some mark of attention should be shown them, which, while it unequivocally displayed the fraternal regard of the English settlers towards the Dutch colonists, would also testify that deep commiseration which had been excited in their minds, by the fact that *any* circumstances should have arisen to induce so many productive hands to forsake the colony. As the most respectable and truly valuable present which could be made to them, a folio copy of the Sacred Scriptures was obtained, in massy Russia binding. The cost of this handsome volume was Rds. 100, which

was raised by a subscription of one shilling each. On the outside of the front cover was inscribed in gold letters as follows :—

The Gift
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF GRAHAM'S TOWN
AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD TO
MR. JACOBUS UYS
AND HIS EMIGRATING COUNTRYMEN.

On the inside of the cover was printed the following inscription :—

This Sacred Volume

Is presented to MR. JACOBUS UYS, and his expatriating
Countrymen, by the Inhabitants of Graham's Town
and its vicinity,

as a

farewell token of their esteem and heartfelt regret at their
departure.

The anxiety which they have evinced
to endeavour to obtain a Minister of Religion,
and their strict observance of its ordinances,
are evident proofs
that in their wanderings in search of another land
they will be guided by the precepts contained in this Holy Book,
and steadfastly adhere to its solemn dictates—
the stern decrees of

THE CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE,

THE GOD OF ALL NATIONS AND TRIBES !

This present was taken out to the encampment by a deputation of gentlemen, accompanied by about 100 of the inhabitants of Graham's Town, who were received with much respect by the assembled farmers and their families, drawn up in line in front of their wagons. The address,

which was read by Mr. W. R. THOMPSON, was as follows :

‘MY GOOD FRIENDS,—The inhabitants of Graham’s Town and its vicinity, hearing of your arrival in this district, with the intention of quitting for ever the land of your birth, have entered into a public subscription to purchase this Bible ; and I am deputed, with the gentlemen who accompany me, now to present it to you. We offer it to you as a proof of our regard, and with expressions of sorrow that you are now going so far from us. We regret, for many reasons, that circumstances should have arisen to separate us ; for ever since we, the British settlers, arrived in this colony, now a period of 17 years, the greatest cordiality has continued to be maintained by us and our nearest Dutch neighbours ; and we must always acknowledge the general and unbounded hospitality with which we have been welcomed in every portion of the colony. We trust, therefore, that although widely separated, you will hold us in remembrance, and that we wish always to retain for each other the warmest sentiments of friendship.

‘We have fixed on the Sacred Volume as the most suitable offering to you, knowing, from your constantly expressed religious feelings, that it will be the most acceptable ; and we now bid you farewell—trusting that the Father of heaven will continue to watch over you, and with the hope, that through your means the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ may be spread over the now benighted nations of the interior.’

The above having been translated into Dutch by Mr. MEURANT, and the Bible presented by THOS. PHILIPPS, Esq., J.P.

Mr. JACOBUS UYS,* the venerable leader of the party, made a reply in Dutch of the following tenor :—

“I thank you gentlemen most heartily for the good gift which you have presented to us, and still more for the very good wishes with which your present has been accompanied. I feel confidence in assuring you that your

* It is a remarkable fact that this party, though consisting of upwards of 100 persons, are all related either by birth or marriage, and that they have to address the truly patriarchal leader of it either as Father, Grandfather, or Uncle.

gift will not be ill bestowed, but that I, and every one of my company, will endeavour by every means in our power, to act up to the precepts which are contained in that Holy Book, and thus show that we are faithful disciples of our Lord JESUS CHRIST."

Mr. PIETER UYS, eldest son of the above, said he wished to say a few words. He begged to thank the deputation for the very kind manner in which they had expressed themselves. He felt deep regret at parting with so many kind friends, but he hoped that as long as they all remained on this side of the grave, although parted by distance, they should remain united in heart.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

MURDER OF BOERS AT BLAAUWKRAANTZ.

As the time fixed by Retief for his return had elapsed, and rumours were spread about that a Zulu—talking across the river at one of the encampments to another then in the service of the farmers—had said that all the white men were dead; as also that a large party of the Zulus had been seen together on the other side of the Tugela, a small patrol was at length sent over the Tugela into Dingaan's territory, pretending to be hunting buffaloes; and as they actually took their course towards the spot where Dingaan's army was then encamped behind a hill, and had approached to within a few hundred yards, an old Zulu met them and enquired what they were looking for, and upon being told that they were hunting, he pointed in a different direction, where he said there were many buffaloes. But as they still persisted in going on, the Zulu went before them, and strenuously insisted upon their taking the direction pointed out by him. Here, again, they were unfortunate enough, with a view to avoid suspicion, actually to suffer themselves to be turned about. On their return a report was made, of course, that they had discovered nothing, and the people were once more persuaded that there was no cause for apprehending any danger,—nay more, those who still inclined the other way were laughed at and accused of cowardice. Early in the morning of the second day after the return of this patrol, on a Saturday morning, the hour was come that all should be undeceived. The Zulus, who by their spies had mixed frequently with the farmers, and who knew their position so well that they could execute their bloody purpose to their utmost desire, began to attack both the encampments, situated at the Blaauw Krans River and Bushman's River, about ten miles asunder, at the same moment. The attack having been begun a little before daylight, many of the farmers at the outposts were

butchered before they awoke ; and others only just opened their eyes to close them again for ever ! As day began to dawn, the Zulus were perceived at some of the scattered wagons,—they had surrounded them, and the cries of the women and children were heard mingled with the report of the few shots that were fired now and then ; but the word “mercy” was unknown to these miscreants. So perfectly taken by surprise was the encampment that not a few of the parties in the vicinity, upon hearing the few shots fired, were congratulating themselves on the circumstance, thinking that Retief and his party had at last returned, and were firing a salute. No preparation for defence was made until daylight enabled them to see the approach of the ferocious enemy. Then every one flew to arms, and a resolute resistance was made. Parties of three and four, in their night-clothes, were seen to defend themselves with success against whole Zulu regiments,—the women assisting in carrying about ammunition for the men, and encouraging them. A little son of Mr. Maritz, about 10 years old, was repeatedly told by his mother to go and hide himself, but he as often replied “I see no place where to hide myself, give me the pistol and let me shoot too.” Small parties of three, four and five, were now coming in from all directions ; and at the Bushman’s River the savages, having at last been repulsed by less than fifty men, they fled precipitately through the river, which was rather swollen, and being fired upon as they crossed the river up to their breasts and chin in water, hand-in-hand to support each other, many were drowned and shot.

At the Blaauw Krans they were also repulsed, but the farmers, after pursuing them a short distance, had to return to their wagons, which they brought together to form a close camp, and then to search for and attend to the wounded, which fully occupied them that day. On the following day Mr. Maritz, at the head of about fifty men, resumed the pursuit of the enemy, but as they had been left unmolested for the greater part of the previous day, they succeeded in carrying off to a safe distance over the Tugela, the greater part of the cattle, between 20 and 25,000 head, as also some sheep, and the goods plundered at the wagons. Maritz only recovered what was still on

their side of the river ; and wherever his little band appeared the enemy fled without offering any resistance. At the river they found a large body of Zulus endeavouring to drive cattle and sheep across the stream, but upon being attacked they rushed into the water, and here again several were shot and many more drowned. It was now about dusk, the river greatly swollen, and the few fordable places dangerous in the extreme. Maritz and his party, therefore, with tears flowing over their cheeks, were compelled to leave their property in the hands of the enemy, and to return to their wagons. This day search had again been made for the maimed and wounded, and several found, but of these very few indeed were in such a state as to afford any hope of their recovery. To hear of the number of wounds inflicted upon some who have recovered is incredible ; one child who had received thirty, and a woman twenty-two assegai-wounds, are still living, though injured for life. It is believed that about 500 Zulus fell on this occasion, besides the wounded and those that were drowned. At one place about eight or ten families, the Rensburg's and Pretorius', were driven from their wagons to the top of an adjoining hill, which was only accessible from two sides. Fourteen men here stood to their defence against a whole Zulu regiment, the number of which increased to about 1,500. Repeated assaults were made for about an hour, but the gallant little party as repeatedly drove them back, until at last their ammunition failed, and no hope was left. But providentially at this critical moment two mounted men came to their assistance, and made their way to the top of this hill through the line of Zulus, and upon learning there that the ammunition of the party was almost expended, they undertook, at the most imminent peril of their lives, to force their way back to the wagons, from whence they safely returned at full speed with an ample supply. All this was done in less than five minutes, and as the firing now began with greater vigour than before, the Zulus retreated, and as a few more burghers arrived, they were soon put to flight, leaving on that spot about eighty killed. Several more striking anecdotes of bravery and resolution on this trying occasion could be told on the part of the defenders ; but it would require too much space.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A. BIGGAR'S ACCOUNT.

I SUBJOIN, says Mr. Chase, the account of Mr. A. Biggar, (the maternal uncle of John Dunn of Zululand), one of the British settlers of 1820, who had migrated to Natal, and who was soon himself destined to fall under the same fate which he herein deploras for his poor boy. This family, one of the most respectable of the settlers, was particularly unlucky, as the father and two sons all fell at this wretched place :—

Extract of a letter from Mr. Alexander Biggar, to Capt. Evatt, dated Port Natal, 17th March, 1838 :—

“ Your letter per *Mary* found us in a similar situation as your last did—within four walls, as a camp ; not from fear of an immediate attack from the Zulus but as a matter of precaution. I have an awful tale to tell of the base treachery of Dingaan, by which I have lost my beloved son, who fell a victim on the 17th February, in the attack of the Zulus upon the Boers' wagons. Retief, with 60 Boers and their achter riders, in all about 100, arrived at Dingaan's on the 3rd February, with their cattle which they had retaken. From the best accounts it seems they arranged matters satisfactorily with the tyrant, who gave them the whole of the Natal country, notwithstanding he had given it away so often.

They had saddled up to return, when they were invited to take leave of him, and partake of some refreshment, but were told *not to bring their guns with them*. While in the act of drinking beer and milk, they were suddenly seized and dragged about half a mile to the place for execution. They then fell upon them, and with knobkerries murdered them all. One young man of Port Natal (Thomas Halstead) had been employed as interpreter, and was privately informed of their intention, and we hear did tell Retief and party of what he had been informed, but they put no faith in it, as Dingaan had been *so kind* to them. Halstead, having his fears, carried his open knife,

and when about being seized, stabbed one Zulu through the throat, and gave another a deep wound on the side. He was kept a spectator of the murder of the Boers, and then shared their fate. After this dismal tragedy Dingaan dispatched a commando to surprise the Boers. The news did not reach me until the 13th, when in the utmost alarm for the safety of my dear George, I instantly dispatched two trusty men with a letter to apprise him of this sad event and to communicate the dismal tale to the Boers. But Providence had ordered it otherwise. They did not reach the camp until the day after the surprise, which took place on the dawn of the 17th February. The Boers were quite unprepared, never contemplating an attack from that quarter. The numbers killed* we have not heard. The rivers being full our communication with them has been cut off. How they could have been so fatally blind to their danger is much to be wondered at.

That Dingaan meant to kill the Boers whenever he could there is abundant proof. Retief and his party owed their safety on a former occasion to the refusal of a chief to whom Dingaan had given orders to kill them, and for which refusal he was nearly destroyed by Dingaan, and obliged to fly to this place for safety. I wrote to Retief to caution him to be on his guard, and he had warnings from other quarters not to place too much confidence : but all proved unavailing, —they are gone to that bourne from whence no traveller returns. Peace to their manes !

“The massacre took place on the 6th February. A commando from this place sets off to-day to co-operate with the Boers ; my lameness prevents my accompanying it, and the death of my son at present overpowers me. I remain to command this place.

“We daily receive deserters, who report the Zulu nation in great confusion from their severe defeat,—the Boers having, on recovering from the suddenness of the

* Altogether about 616 were massacred, viz. :—

African Dutch Farmers...	...	...	...	...	120
Women	...	...	...	...	55
Children	...	...	...	...	191
Coloured People	...	...	...	...	256

attack, killed vast numbers. Dingaan has called out the whole nation, but our informants state their refusal to renew the attack, alleging that "it was of no use to go against a people they could not get at, as they were killed before they could get near enough to stab." * * * The critical arrival of the *Mary* with lead has put all into good spirits, as we had little indeed before her arrival,—of gunpowder we have an ample stock. * * * * On the night of the surprise the boers took a Zulu prisoner, from whom they first learned the fate of Retief's party. He enumerated to one of my Kafirs the names of the ten Zulu regiments which made the attack, and as they are composed of about 1,000 each, the force employed must have been about 10,000.

"In consequence of the receipt of a letter by Captain Gardiner from Lord Glenelg, declining to acknowledge this place, and afford him any support, he also goes from hence. The *Ligonier*, by her charter, was to remain 21 days after her arrival, and she is to be kept on until the arrival of the *Comet*. Our commando left on the 13th, in the direction of the Boers, not to join but to co-operate with them. It amounted to about 1,000 men, of which 250 had guns. You shall hear further from me per *Ligonier*.

In the face of the reports, both by Government and the press, of the distress of Natal, the mania of emigration not only remained unabated, but was increased by the state of the frontier, and men of a superior stamp, both for piety, intelligence, and wealth, now joined the ranks of their expatriated countrymen. As a proof of the rapidity with which the abandoning process was going on, we have the following account in June of this year, from the pen of a credible eye-witness :

"On my journey I fell in with 124 wogons, which were going beyond the boundary. On Monday, the 11th June, several wagons crossed the boundary at the Orange River. Amongst the party was Stephanus Lombard, who lived formerly on the Kaga River. This party had with them above 6,000 sheep and goats, and a vast number of cattle. The party from Uitenhage district arrived on Saturday, the 2nd June. It consisted of 29 wagons. Among the party were C. van Staden, late Heemraad, and Gert Van Rooyen. On Saturday evening I counted the wagons at

Klein Buffels Vley, and found them amount to 72. Tents were pitched on the Sabbath. The party from Uitenbage assembled about 10 o'clock for Divine Service. About 150 souls, young and old, were present,—all clean, and neatly dressed. A sermon was delivered from Isaiah 53rd chap. ; 3rd verse. A prayer before and after service was read. The 84th Psalm, 1st part, and the 55th Hymn, were also sung. At the conclusion the 7th Hymn was sung. It was very suitable to their situation, the first verse being—

“Op bergen, en in dalen, en overal is God ;
 Waar wy ook immer dwalen of zitten daar is God ;
 Waar myn gedachten zweven of stygen daar is God ;
 Omlang en hoog verheeven,—ja, overal is God !”

Which may be thus paraphrased :—

“On lofty mount and lowly dell—and everywhere is God ;
 Where'er my eye may stray or dwell—there everywhere is
 God ;
 My thoughts if fix'd or wand'ring round—will ever meet
 their God ;
 Whether to skies, or deeps profound—yes, everywhere is
 God !”

The colonists of the northern frontier, feeling deeply the distressed state of their unhappy countrymen over the border, dispatched immediate relief for the more necessitous, and both Mr. J. N. Boshoff and Mr. Joubert became their almoners on the occasion. Mr. Boshoff gives the following account of the situation and sentiments of the emigrants :—

On the 22nd of May, 1838 last, the caravan to which I belong arrived at the first camp of the emigrants, situated at the distance of about five hours on horseback from the Tugela River, being a distance of 99 hours with a horse-wagon. A few days after our arrival we had an opportunity of also visiting the next encampment, which is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours on horseback from the first. We have ascertained that the emigrants, since the horrible murder in February, committed by the Zulus, were obliged to remain in their wagons and tents very close to each other, partly to prepare themselves for a “commando” against the blood-thirsty tyrant Dingaan, who still had upwards of 20,000 head of cattle in his possession, which he captured at the

time he committed the cool-blooded murder, besides a large number of sheep, which caused the entire ruination of so many widows and orphans, who fled on this occasion, saving no more than their lives, and who were thereby reduced to a state of incomparable poverty. They have since been fed by the benevolent who still had something left, or by those who did not share in their fate. Almost all the oxen have been taken from them, leaving thereby, of course, many a poor widow in a state of destitution, not knowing how to rejoin them, and to escape the vengeance of their fearful enemy. Their poverty was increased, as they were not able to cultivate their ground or to sow such seed as might assist them in the hour of need, and their supply of maize, flour, Kafir-corn and rice, decreasing daily through consumption, and very soon even these provisions were totally gone. *Among these were also sufferers by the LAST KAFIR INVASION.*

Gentlemen, fancy therefore to your imagination how many oppressed hearts were gratified when Mr. Joubert handed over to Mr. Maritz the provisions received from Colesberg to distribute the same among those who were most in want of them—as also when we understood that a general commiseration, with the exception of a few, existed all over the colony, for the undeserved sorrows and oppressions which they had to suffer. Tears of gratitude were seen upon every cheek, while others, weeping and sighing, said, “*Let our faith be on the Lord, for He will deliver us!*” I could see that they did not rejoice so much for the means so kindly forwarded to them, as on hearing that almost the whole Colony commiserated their fate, as they thought that their remembrance was entirely effaced from the memory of others.

On our arrival, we understood that the emigrants who were located there expected, according to promise, not less than 400 or 500 men for their assistance, by the aid of which they would be able, notwithstanding the bad condition of their horses, to meet their enemy and to recapture the cattle so treacherously taken from them,—but finding that our company consisted of no more than 64 persons, and *of which the majority were still residents of the Colony, we were aware that none of us could afford them any other relief, but only in case they intended to*

return to the Colony. They were therefore obliged, as their horses suffered dreadfully by the commando of Uys, and several other excursions, and were consequently very tired, as also driving the cattle together, that they were entirely unfit to be used for a second commando, to drop their plans until the winter season expired, or till the enemy would farther approach them. By this resolution they were compelled to remain in separate encampments, and to do the best they could to procure for themselves, with danger of life, such necessities as were indispensable to their support.

On our journey to the spot we met about 160 men with their families and cattle, who were retiring back, as they could not agree, on account of their being too near each other with their cattle, among whom were the Commandant Potgieter, to whose bad, treacherous, and cowardly conduct the farmers attribute their defeat and the death of Uys. *We thought from this example that we would find a great many, if not all, of the farmers of the same intention, to return to the colony.* We, however, found that very few of them had that intention. The number of persons who remained amounted to about 600 men and 3,000 women and children, with about 1,000 wagons. Upon a further investigation *we found that those who were the most in distress, viz. the widows and orphans, had the least inclination to return to the Colony.* They say, that their means of existence and their oxen have been entirely taken away from them, and in order to get their wagons back to the Colony not less than 500 oxen and 100 men would be requisite. But now, even supposing they were to return to the Colony, what then? Live on alms? Or to be apprenticed with their children? No! death is more preferable!—and particularly now, as there is still some hope that another commando under a better management, and by the grace of God, will meet with a better success, and that they may then perhaps re-capture their cattle, and live in peace on that land so dearly paid for with the blood of the men, without finding themselves obliged to beg for their support.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

J. N. BOSHOFF'S LETTER ON HIS TREK AFTER THE TREK BOERS.

“ON the 13th of August, 1838, Dingaan made another furious attack on the emigrants' camp under Potgieter, at the Bushman's River, where only about 150 men were encamped. The farmers met the Zulu army in front of their enclosed camp and drove them back with loss. They then sent only 15 men in pursuit, but upon these they turned round, drove them back, and made another still more violent rush upon the camp, so that the men were on the point of retreating behind the first line of wagons, but their Commandant Potgieter cheered them on and said, “Don't retreat one step—let us keep our ground outside the camp, lest they take courage.” They were then again repulsed with loss, notwithstanding their numbers appeared to be most overpowering; for to overcome the Boers they had apparently brought out every man they could spare, as a great many young lads were seen arrayed at a distance of about 400 yards behind the others—some of them from 10 to 14 and 15 years old; very old men were also found amongst the killed. On the part of the farmers, only one man named Vlotman, who was out with the cattle unarmed, was killed. Maritz, who was encamped at the “Klein Tugela,” on being apprised of this affair, sent 60 men to the assistance of their comrades, but the Zulus had retreated so far that they could not be overtaken, having only killed many cattle and sheep which were within their reach on their retreat.

On this occasion the Zulus had 100 men armed *with guns*, and many on horseback.”

It is also stated that at this time above 300 Dutch farmers had taken up their abode at Port Natal itself, where they were busied in all the operations of agriculture, and Mr. Ogle, an English settler at that place, stated, “*they were very desirous the Government should*

establish that Port as a British Colony;" to which, unhappily, a deaf ear was turned.

In the month of April, of this year, Mr. J. N. Boshoff, (who afterwards settled in Natal)—a Government servant—a very intelligent person—and possessing great influence with his countrymen, the Dutch Boers, visited the emigrants at Natal, for which step he was injudiciously removed from office by Lieut.-Governor Stockenström, and thus another individual inimical to British rule was added to the mass beyond the boundary. His object in resorting to that place was to satisfy himself of the prudence of several of his relatives and friends emigrating thither; who, placing great reliance on his judgment, requested him to ascertain the condition of the emigrants previous to their removal. On his return, he published an interesting narrative of the events which had occurred there, to which I have already adverted, and on the 1st of September he gave, through the medium of the press, the following account of the country and situation of the farmers.

"Our party left the Nieuw Hantam on the 30th April, 1838, and on reaching the Orange River found it greatly swollen by rains in the interior. The fords were utterly impracticable for wheel carriages, except by floating them across; and by this process, which occupied one whole day, we at length reached the opposite shore. On the 31st April we stopped at the first Griqua or Bastard farm-house, the residence of a person named William Neilsen. This man is superior to the generality of these people. His residence is about an hour and a half with a horse-wagon from the Orange River. He has much land under tillage, and we are informed, that he is the only individual among Kok's people who cultivate land to such an extent as not only to supply himself, but to have a surplus for sale to the colonial farmers. He has built a neat little cottage expressly for the accommodation of travellers and strangers; and a day seldom passes without visitors, either traders or Boers, with both of whom he appears to be on the best and most friendly terms, although one would suppose that if any of the Griqua Bastards had cause to complain of annoyance by trek-boers old Nielsen must be the greatest sufferer. The

main road runs across his place, and every day such visitors pass his door either backward or forward. Here we met with the two Italians and a woman I mentioned in my former communication, returning from the camp of the emigrants, having travelled the whole distance on horseback. These persons gave us such an account of the danger we were likely to encounter before we could possibly reach the farmers, whose situation was also described as so imminently perilous, that we began to entertain apprehensions that, even should we be so fortunate as to be able to make our way through the numerous and strong posts of the enemy, yet there was very little probability of our being in time to render any effectual assistance to our unfortunate brethren. But the greater the danger was described, the more determined were my brave companions, Joubert and his little party, to proceed.

The journey from thence to Moroko's station, a distance of 25 hours from the Orange River, was travelled so slowly that we did not reach it until the 11th May. A body of 200 men was expected here on the 12th from the Riet and Modder Rivers on their way to join the emigrants ; but instead of that number only two arrived. From Neilsen's place to the sources of the Modder River, we saw but three places which exhibited any traces of occupation. On one spot there was a small house half finished, and on the other two structures something resembling the habitations of men one grade in civilization above the savage tribes, and even these were in a dilapidated state. This unoccupied country is about 100 miles in breadth, and it abounds in pasturage and water for millions of sheep and thousands of large cattle. It is claimed by Kok's Griquas, and it is said that his right thereto was fully acknowledged by the Lieut.-Governor on the occasion of his meeting their chiefs and principal men on his visit made some short time ago to the frontier. They were then told that if they could agree with the farmers they *might allow them the use of these lands upon payment of rent* ; and as these people do not require one *fiftieth* part of the rich pasturage abounding in that extensive waste, several of them have rented out large tracts of land to colonial farmers for 6, 8, or 10 years, and longer.

We visited several of the farmers who are settled there, and they seemed quite happy. They appear to know little, and indeed not to care much, about what is going on in the colony. They have few servants; but these give them little trouble by bad conduct, as where they find it necessary they punish offences, *without any fear of vexatious law-suits in consequence. The servant aware of this, gives very little trouble*; he respects his master's authority, and, in general, conducts himself in a very exemplary manner. Few of these farmers sow corn or cultivate gardens, for want of running water or strong fountains for irrigation. They obtain wheat, Indian and Kafir corn, from the Griqua Bastards occupying the tract of country called "Newland," and also from Maroko's people, for money, or in exchange for cattle and sheep. They do not trouble themselves about politics; and as they can readily sell or exchange their slaughter oxen at the rate of Rds. 50 per head, cows at Rds. 20, and wether sheep at Rds. 4 or 4½, without the trouble of going any distance to market to dispose of them, and as the traders not only purchase their cattle, but supply them at their own doors with everything they require, they seem to be content. *There are no complaints of cattle stealing, instances of which are very rare. Vagrants are very few, indeed, except a small party now and then of wandering Bushmen and Coranas may be considered as such.* Independently of these advantages they enjoy a privilege highly valued by the grazier, viz., that of changing the pasturage frequently, which, without any expense worth mentioning, tends to cause an increase of their stock to an extent of 20 per cent. beyond that within the colony. *I believe these persons still pay their taxes, at least many of them repair to Colesberg for that purpose, and also to get their children baptized, and hence they consider themselves as still within the jurisdiction of the colonial Government.* During the whole of our journey from the colony to Natal we only met with two parties of Bushmen. On our way thither we fell in with a small company of six, and on our return with another consisting of eleven persons, and we heard there were but very few of those people in that part of the country.

Throughout that district, and for a distance of fifty

miles beyond Moroko's territory, there is abundance of game. The pasturage from Moroko's country to the Sand River, a distance of 90 miles, or 18 hours, is a mixture of sour and sweet grasses. With the exception of a few fountains, the Sand River was the first running stream we found after crossing the Riet River, and both of these are weak and inconsiderable. Still there is no scarcity of water, as for the whole of that distance there are along the road a number of large pools of good fresh water, so that the traveller is sure to find a plentiful supply of water every day, however short the stage he may make.

From the Sand River to the top of Draakberg, also about 90 miles, the country presents an irregular surface, and the pasturage is sour. On the Draakberg we crossed several running streams ; the largest is the Eiland's River, and which is much such a stream as the Hex River. All the way from the New Hantam to the Draakberg, the country is nearly destitute of wood, and the traveller is compelled to collect cow dung for the purposes of fuel. From the New Hantam to the Riet River our course was north east, thence to Moroko's due east, thence to the Vet River, a distance of 35 miles, again north east, thence to the Eiland's River, again east, and from the Eiland's River down the Draakberg to the emigrants' camp, south east.

On the 19th May we descended the Draakberg with six wagons and a cart, and reached its base in an hour and a half. Some parts of the descent were so steep that we were compelled to chain two wheels ; but upon the whole the road is not very difficult. From the foot of the mountain to Port Natal, the distance is computed at 42 hours with horse wagons (210 miles). In the winter the cold is as severe on these mountains as in the Sneeu-berg ; but on descending into the level of the country it is as temperate as in the Camdebo ; and as you approach Port Natal it becomes still warmer. On the 4th of June (nearly the middle of winter in this latitude) we saw in the garden of a native, under the Stinkhoutberg, a distance of between 50 and 60 miles from the coast, Indian corn of luxuriant growth, in full blossom, together with tobacco-plants, and pumpkins, and calabashes, all uninjured by frost. At Natal we partook of two large dishes of Indian corn in a green and unripe state.

On the whole the climate is healthy, and so mild that two crops of almost every kind of grain may be reaped in the year. The soil is a dark mould, deep, loose, and very fertile. Indian corn has been often found in the fields of the natives of such vigorous growth that a man on horseback, standing in his stirrups, could not reach the top of the plant. This grain, as also Kafir corn, pumpkins, and tobacco, are grown without irrigation. It is said that from September or October to March, and sometimes to April, rains are so frequent that the highest hills may be successfully cultivated. Independent of this, however, there is such abundance of water, both by rivers and springs, that by means of irrigation, a hundred times more produce might be raised within the comparatively small tract of country over which I travelled from the Draakberg to Natal than in the whole of the eastern province. But as irrigation does not appear necessary, with very few exceptions, it appears certain that were there sufficient population, the whole country might be converted into corn fields and plantations.

We crossed, in our progress, several beautiful rivers, the largest of which are the Tugela and Umgeni. The first resembles the Breede river, near Swellendam, or even lower down, and the second is not much inferior in magnitude. In rainy seasons I have no doubt but they are navigable for large boats for a considerable distance. The other rivers are, the Little Tugela, the Bushman, the Umvooti, the Umzalak,* the Umlas, and several other streams, resembling in size and volume of water the Berg river, the Hex, or the Zonderend, and some rather smaller. All these streams have their sources in the Draakberg, at a distance of from 15 to 30 miles higher than where the road crosses the range. In many places they are capable of being led out without any expense or labour than merely making a channel to conduct the water.

From the character of the soil and climate, I have no doubt but that every kind of fruit tree which grows in the colony will flourish there. I have seen bananas, dates, a species of medlar, and some others growing wild, as also a sort of cane, and Spanish reed, which are also indigenous.

* The writer of this journal has failed to make this name clear.

Timber for building purposes, wagon-making, &c., is everywhere to be had. The country is hilly, like that in the neighbourhood of Swellendam or George; but it is quite open, the wood only growing along the margin of the rivers, and in the kloofs. Near Port Natal, for 15 miles from the shore, it has, however, the appearance of a continued forest.

Coal is found at the Sand River, between the great and little Tugela Rivers, and at the Blue Krans River. We dug up some near the road between the Tugelas, of which I brought home with me a small quantity. This was taken from near the surface, and proved, on trial, to be coal of second or third rate quality. We also found a small piece of coal on the shore, about a mile east of the entrance of the Bay of Natal; but this might have been washed on shore from some vessel. However, there can be no doubt but that the country in the vicinity of Natal produces abundance of this valuable mineral.

The pasturage is extremely rich and very healthy for large cattle and sheep. The whole face of the country is thickly clothed by a great variety of grasses, growing from one to *eight* feet high. It sometimes for many miles in extent has more the resemblance of corn fields than grazing ground.

Elephants, elands, buffaloes, and wild boars, are found in this part of the country; but animals of prey are very rare. After we descended the Draakberg, we never saw so much as the footmarks of a jackal, wolf, lion, or other noxious or ferocious animal. Sheep are permitted to graze at a great distance from the camp day and night, and are uninjured.

The cattle, sheep, and horses, excepting such as have been much used, or kept close to the camp, look very healthy and are in excellent condition. The farmers state that they have had no diseases amongst either cattle or sheep all the time they have been there. The horse-sickness, however, similar to that known in the colony, is also prevalent there.

The roads are smooth and good, although the country is not level. Stones are rarely met with, except in the beds of rivers.

Since the death of Retief, and subsequently of Uys, the

form of government amongst the emigrants has undergone some changes, and they have had several meetings to discuss, alter, and mature the system. These discussions have arisen out of the differences which existed between the respective adherents of Uys and Maritz. The former presented at last a memorial to the general council, stating that for various reasons they could not submit to him as their magistrate, and praying that another individual might be appointed to preside over them. The council acceded to this, and accordingly appointed in his room a person named Badenhorst. The council consists of twenty four members, who are elected by the people. It holds supreme authority, makes laws and regulations, appoints to all offices of trust and power, such as field-commandants, field-cornets, and ward-masters, and bears and determines upon all matters of importance.

Mr. Maritz holds, in conjunction with the office of magistrate, the appointment of chief commissioner or president, and, as such, has the charge of all public moneys, regulates the receipts and expenditure, and in other respects has the same authority, and discharges similar duties as the civil commissioners within the colony. The magistrates alone have jurisdiction in petty, civil, and criminal cases; but where the interest at stake amounts (I believe) in civil cases to the value of £7 10s.; and in criminal to a fine of £5, or imprisonment for one month, he is assisted by six heemraden. From these decisions there is no appeal. This court has, however, jurisdiction, with appeal, in cases of higher value and importance. In criminal cases, however, where the offender is liable to the punishment of transportation, or whipping, and hard labour for more (I think) than six months, as also to the punishment of death,—for the trial of such offences a court is held, at which the magistrate within whose jurisdiction the crime is committed presides as judge, and a jury of 12 men, called “gezwoorenen,” is impanelled to hear and decide on the evidence given. No death warrant can be executed until it has received the *fiat* of the general council, or “volksraad,” which also decides all cases in appeal, and exercises the power to remit fines and punishments. This council holds monthly sessions, and oftener when necessary, when one of its members sits as president.

The laws of Holland, as they are recognized in this colony, are followed by them, except in matters of a purely local nature, when the general council promulgates such regulations as may be necessary, or gives instructions to the respective officers according to circumstances. The members of council, and also their present magistrates, have been elected for one year only ; and they deem this period, and the laws and regulations now in force, as sufficient to the exigency of their present circumstances ; but they contemplate making many changes when they shall be peaceably settled. They are, however, greatly in want of an efficient head—of one properly qualified in every respect to direct and guide them, and who, unconnected with any party, may acquire the confidence of all. They feel this want very much, and it is generally thought that were such a person raised up, he would soon remove all party feeling, suspicion, and jealousy from amongst them, as well as prevent ambitious men from creating dissensions, which, though frequently of a trifling nature, have too often caused much annoyance, and brought them into great difficulties. Such disputes might have been the cause of great misfortunes had it not been for the forbearance which has been very generally manifested, by which party spirit has been prevented from degenerating into personal hatred between themselves. They have exerted themselves on all sides to remove the causes of disagreement as soon as known, and to reconcile the disputants if possible. On the whole I found the people peaceably disposed, well-behaved and orderly. During our stay among them we did not hear of a single instance of quarrelling or fighting between either man or woman, although it was feared by some, that as wine and spirits had been obtained from Port Natal, such disorders would take place. Nor did I meet with an individual intoxicated, although while I was there brandy was for a few days retailed in the camp, and notwithstanding I saw some there who when in the colony were addicted to liquor, and were there very disorderly when under its influence. The emigrants in general are still decently, though some rather poorly clothed. Not a child did I see in rags, or naked ; but there are many among them, chiefly widows, who have been ruined by Dingaen, who subsist on the charity of others.

Divine service is publicly performed thrice on every Sunday, and also on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. The officiating minister in one camp is Mr. Smit, formerly missionary. He was elected to the sacred office he now fills during the time of the late P. Retief, and he still acts as the pastor of a considerable number of the emigrants, and is of great use to them. During the week days he catechises the youth, while Mrs. Smit instructs the younger children. Every day Mr. Smit is actively engaged in the duties of his calling, and he is highly esteemed by his congregation. In the other camps Messrs. Maritz, Charel Cilliers, and some others perform divine service. Every morning and evening the sound of family devotion is heard in the tents in all directions. Prayer meetings are also frequent.

There are many who will not acknowledge Mr. Smit as their pastor, he not having been ordained. Such persons marry their sons or daughters by means of a civil contract made before the magistrates. Their children they leave unbaptised, waiting in the hope that their repeated applications for a minister will be attended to ; if not by their own countrymen, at least by some foreigner of the same religious persuasion.

They have established several schools, but the parents complain that the want of accommodation prevents the teachers from receiving so many pupils as they might otherwise instruct. Others are compelled, in consequence of the paucity of servants, to take care of their parents' cattle ; and, of course, the education of these is much neglected. In some instances, parents instruct their own children.

There are not a few slave apprentices with the emigrants ; *but it has been determined by council that these shall be set at liberty on the 1st December*, the same as in the colony. The emigrants do not seem to have the slightest idea of entering into any slave trade whatever, and are even offended at a question on the subject being put to them. They say, " We are not averse to the emancipation of the slave,—*the colonists never introduced the slave trade, the European Governments forced it upon us,**—*what we complain of is that our slaves have*

* This assertion is in accordance with fact.

been emancipated by England under a promise of full compensation, whereas we have scarcely received one-third of their value."

They are most anxious to remain on friendly terms with the colony ; but if you begin to propose to them their return, or argue as to the causes of their emigration, you soon find yourself in the back-ground ; you must submit to listen to *a long catalogue of grievances*, and which they state have driven them to take the step they have done ; and they appear fully determined to run any risk, and to suffer any privation, rather than to submit again to the same annoyances.



CHAPTER XL.

JOURNAL OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS
BY J. G. BANTJES, CLERK OF THE REPRESENTATIVE
ASSEMBLY, AND COMMANDANT PRETORIUS' DESPATCH.

THE following journal of the farmers, in their expedition against and conquest of Dingaan, is of sufficient interest to find a place in these pages, in its original state, *verbatim et literatim* :—

Journal of the Expedition of the Emigrant Farmers, under their chief Commandant Andries Pretorius, (formerly of Graaff-Reinet), against Dingaan, King of the Zulus, in the months of November and December, 1838,—undertaken for the purpose of revenging the most cruel and barbarous murder of the late Chief of the Emigrants, Pieter Retief and his sixty companions, and the subsequent inhuman butchery of men, women, and children, committed by Dingaan and his men; and also for the purpose of recovering the goods and property stolen by them from the Emigrants on those occasions.—The Journal was kept by an Emigrant, Mr. J. G. Bantjes, the Clerk of the Representative Assembly, who acted during the Expedition as the Secretary to the chief Commandant, Pretorius.

Tugela's Spruit, November 26, 1838.

Whereas, Mr. Andries Pretorius has arrived at this place a few days ago, with some of his party, in order to march in war against Dingaan, Chief of the Zulus, with a Commando, for the purpose of endeavouring to recover the things which had been stolen by him from our brother Emigrants, after he had cruelly butchered them;—a general feeling of rejoicing was felt by the whole community, on account of his arrival. The appointment of said Mr. Pretorius as chief officer, or Commandant of the commando about to march, was then proposed to the Representative Assembly, who gladly

assented, and having previously taken the votes of the other Commandants, he was unanimously elected. He was therefore appointed, under the congratulations of all present, under proper instructions framed by the Representative Assembly. When he, Mr. Pretorius, now the Chief Commandant, expressed his thanks in a becoming manner, and said, that though reluctantly, yet, as the vote had fallen upon him, and in consideration of the state in which his fellow travellers were placed, shut up in their camp as in prison, he would willingly take that important task upon him, and would use all his endeavours to do all that which is requisite for the good of our interests. All this induced me to accompany the commando, for the purpose of noting down the necessary observations. being confident of a prudent command.

I therefore lost no time, and sent my wagon the next day, being the 27th November, 1838, amongst the wagons of the commando. On the day following, being the 28th, I followed, and reached the commando at the small Tugela Spruit. The Chief Commandant had already proceeded, and we went on to the other side of the Great Tugela, in the entrance under the rising ground. The camp was then pitched, and enclosed by the wagons, 57 in number, and when all preparations had been made, the sun was setting.

Here my attention was drawn to the first commencement of the government of the Chief Commandant; for he ordered that the camp should be properly enclosed, and the gates well secured, after the cattle should be within the same, and that the night patrols should be properly set out; all which was executed with the greatest activity and readiness.

After all this had been arranged, the officers met in the tent of the Chief Commandant; which officers were Carel Pieter Landman (2nd Commandant), Pieter Daniel Jacobs (2nd member of the Court Martial), Jacobus Potgieter (successor of the 2nd Commandant), and also the other Commandants, Johannes De Lange and Stephanus Erasmus, with their Field-cornets. They held an amicable conversation, for the purpose of agreeing on the measures of the Commando. The Chief Commandant then requested Mr. Cilliers to perform evening Divine Service, and the

old Evening Hymn was sung, which Mr. Cilliers concluded with a most fervent prayer. The Chief Commandant further ordered the Commandant Erasmus to go out with a patrol in the night to spy the kraals of Tobe, as he intended to make the first attack on these. This was done. Now the weather was rainy, and it rained by showers.

The next day we rose, and every one was glad. After we had enjoyed some refreshments, the Chief Commandant requested me to assist him in writing. He gave me to write a strict order or regulation for the Commando, which he had framed in a few words. After I had done this the Commandants were assembled, and their approbation thereof asked, which they gave. I then made copies of that order for each Commandant; in the meantime the patrol of Commandant Erasmus returned, but had not traced anything, on account of the unfavourable weather, and had seen nothing but smoke here and there from the kraals.

We were obliged to stay here, to wait for the men of Commandant Landman, who had sent a message that they could not be here before the 2nd of the next month.

I then resolved, with the permission of the Chief Commandant, to ride back to the great camp, where I remained until Monday, the 2nd December, when I returned to the Commando, and I overtook them while they were proceeding; and after having proceeded further on our way, we arrived at the same river, somewhat higher up, where we encamped. Here I enquired, in what manner the last Sunday had been spent, and became informed that Mr. Cilliers had performed Divine Service with all those who were present; that he had commenced Divine Service with singing the 1st and 4th verses of the 51st Psalm; that after the public prayers he had sung the 2nd Anthem from Psalm cxvi. 6, 7; and had afterwards preached about Josua, and concluded with a public prayer, and the singing of the two last verses of the 3rd Psalm. The evening was spent in prayers, which Mr. Cilliers began, by singing some appropriate verses, which was followed up by Mr. J. Vermaak, and the service was again concluded in a proper manner with prayers.

Our Commando in the meanwhile proceeded on. We

were rejoiced at the arrival of the long expected party of the Commandant Landman; the number of his men was 123, besides the English and Kafirs. Speedily a consultation took place, and Commandant De Lange was immediately sent out with three men on some further spying expedition. In the mean time Daniel Bothma was brought before the Chief Commandant for unwillingness to mount his guard, and using abusive language towards his Commandant; he also made use of improper expressions before the Chief Commandant, who was obliged severely to reprimand him for it. The Commandant Jacobs, who lodged the complaint against him, used his influence to obtain his pardon, under a severe reprimand, and a promise of better behaviour, which was granted. In the evening the Chief Commandant held a conversation with the several Commandants about his and their duties, with which they had undertaken to comply, under the instructions of the Representative Assembly, and about the steps which were necessary to be taken against the enemy, and resolved thereafter to break up the camp on the next day, and to proceed.

On the 4th December we continued our journey from the Tugela, proceeding through a plain open field—(the field is rather sour, but may be useful)—as far as the Klip River, which we passed. About a quarter of an hour on the other side thereof, the field begins to look most beautiful, dressed with sweet grass, presenting a youthful verdure, and variegated by mimosa trees. Having proceeded a little further on, we encamped; and here we had a beautiful sight of the field, but there was no running water.

The camp having been pitched, the Chief Commandant again gave me to write *An Ordinance for the prevention of improperly attacking or interfering with the free Persons of Color*, which I had finished, and then, after the evening Divine Service had been performed, I retired to sleep.

The following day, being the 5th December, all was still in good order. Every one looked out, and was anxious for the return of the spies who were sent out, as we were to remain here waiting for their report or return. In the meantime the Chief Commandant, after having assembled all his officers

and their men, began in the first place to read to them, for their encouragement and admonition, a letter of a brother and friend, Mr. Christian Hatting, which was addressed to all his emigrant brethren, and this letter was well worth the attention of the audience. The Chief Commandant then addressed himself to those under his command, which greatly roused the spirit of many, while he himself, speaking with great feeling, was much moved in his heart. He then next read another letter, addressed to him by the Reverend Mr. van der Lingen. This was also most worthy of being read, and every one felt grateful towards God for receiving such consolatory messages in such a barren wilderness. The Chief Commandant also performed the utmost of his duty, by impressing this circumstance on the minds of his men. He also communicated to them his answer thereon, which every one lauded. He then further admonished them all to begin this most important task which they had undertaken, (and which must be blessed by the Most High, should it be successful,) with supplications and prayers to the Throne of God, for to remain steadfast to the end, and to show obedience to their superiors, as otherwise we can expect no blessing, and our ruin, to the great rejoicing of our persecutors and enemies, will have been occasioned by ourselves.

He then proceeded to read the instructions, framed for himself, by the Representative Assembly, and to point out to them the great responsibility with which he was charged thereby. He then read the strict Order framed by him for the Commandants, and also the last mentioned Ordinance. He then called towards him all the inferior officers, according to rank ; the assistant commandants, the Field-cornets, down to the corporals, exhorted them to behave with courage and prudence, if necessary : reminded them how any design undertaken without God is frustrated ; how every one was to act when engaged with the enemy ; that we, as reasonable creatures, born under the light of the Gospel, should not be equal to them in destroying innocent women and children ; and that we may pray of God everything which is not contrary to his great righteousness. He admonished them further, to press on the minds of the men under them, submit every morning and evening their duties and their doing to the

Lord in prayers ; and to spend the holy Sabbath to the honour of God, and not use that great name in vain, nor calumniate the Most High. He further expressed his great joy in experiencing that peace, reasonableness, and fraternal love was still reigning amongst so many thousand souls, living together as in one and the same house,—and that this was more than he had expected ;—that he had, however, to admonish every one to join their hands together, to remove everything that might tend to give rise to disunion ; so that we, as one body, might, with the assistance of God, accomplish our intended work ; and finally, repeatedly remind us that “unity createth power.” Amongst others, *he strictly prohibited any one to interfere with the Kafir children or women during the conflict, or to take them prisoners.*

The successor of the Chief Commandant also mounted the carriage of the cannon, and said that every one should notice that which the Chief Commandant had communicated to us ; that we ought to be most grateful to God for such valuable admonitions ; that in all our doings we should give the honour to God ; how it was now our time all to kneel down, and humble ourselves before God, for that our enemies, like the wolves, were watching our destruction ; that in particular we must be grateful to God that he has provided us with such a chief, who is wise in all his doings, and who even shows himself careful as well for our spiritual as bodily welfare. The Chief Commandant again resumed, and dwelt upon everything which he considered might be ruinous to us, and that we might well acknowledge the truth of what had been stated by his successor, &c. He then requested every one to unite in prayer, requesting Mr. S. Celliers to conclude this momentous meeting with a solemn prayer, who first addressed the Chief Commandant, and in very appropriate language exhorted him to his duty, and so on all the officers according to their ranks, and all the men, and thereafter concluded with a solemn prayer. Thus was this moment properly spent ; every one was affected, and general silence and calmness prevailed.

We expected every moment the return of Commandant de Lange from his expedition.

In the meantime I proceeded to take a general return

for the Chief Commandant, of the number of men on the commando, which I found to be, including the persons of colour, 464 men, besides the Commandants. A report from the Tugela, by a Kafir, was also received, sent by an Englishman named Robert Joyce, requesting E. Parker to send him a horse, he being unable to proceed further on foot. Said Parker submitted that request to the chief Commandant, who gave his consent. In the mean time, the chief Commandant examined the Kafirs at Port Natal, and gave them the necessary orders. At last we were so unfortunate as to see Commandant de Lange return from his expedition as a spy, bringing with him a Kafir of the tribe of Tobe, as a prisoner, "*a stout man, more than six feet high.*" We, however, regretted to be informed, that having with his three followers, while riding about, unexpectedly got amongst the kraals, they were compelled to defend their lives, and to fire, so that in a moment they killed three Kafirs, and took one prisoner, while the others all escaped. They brought with them 11 sheep, and 14 head of cattle, which they had found there. This was a greater curiosity then to have seen the Kafir when he came riding on horseback ; such as no one had ever seen before, in respect of largeness and fatness. All the ewes had lambs, and even of these the tails had been cut, while the rams were obliged to drag their tails after them, to the great burthen of their bodies, on account of the size.

The Commandant de Lange, having reported to the Chief Commandant the occurrences, the Council of War resolved to break up the camp the next day, and to place it a little nearer, for the purpose of attacking the said tribes of Tobe. The Chief Commandant at the same time took the opportunity of questioning the Kafir prisoner ;—whatever we got from him was of no importance, and which it is not necessary to record.

The next day, being the 6th of the said month, we pursued our undertaking, and marched on with our commando to a similar river, where we encamped, and then forthwith a meeting was held about proceeding against the tribe of Tobe. It was resolved to do this, and only to take so many head of cattle with them as might be necessary for provisioning the Commando. For that purpose 300 men were immediately commanded, and they left in the after-

noon. I observed their departure, and saw the Chief Commandant (when a little way from the camp), dividing them in five divisions, to the number of Commandants, and issuing the necessary orders to each of the officers. All this having been done, they followed him in a regular way. The Chief Commandant also gave orders to secure the camp, immediately after his departure, with thorn branches (*mimosas*), which was done. The Kafir prisoner went with the commando.

The Commandant Jacobs having been left behind in the camp, about the evening, ordered fifty men to proceed with him that night to the Maize Gardens, in order to see what sort of kraals there were ; which was done. On the next day, being the 7th of said month, the patrols and spies were duly sent out, and shortly afterwards, the Commandant Jacobs and his men arrived, without having found out anything, whilst all the Kafirs had taken to flight.

In the afternoon, the Chief Commandant arrived with the commando ; but every place was deserted, and Tobe's Kafirs had also fled, occasioned by the alarm of Commandant de Lange on the preceeding day, so that they could not be overtaken ; they brought with them twenty-seven goats and seven sheep, not having met with anything else, and having seen only a few signals at great distance. The general conversation then taking place, was about the unpassableness of the road which they had got to go to overtake the Kafirs. I thought I might make sure to get some information from persons not residing here, and who may be relied upon, about the state of the field ; which I did, and received for answer, that all over Africa they had never yet seen such beautiful and fertile lands. Now, the horses, to our great regret, were all knocked up. It was therefore resolved at once to march towards Dingaan's residence without any further delay. We proceeded the next day, being the 8th of the month, on our undertaking, marching on through an open level field, until we arrived at the Zondags River. We had, in the meantime, also passed two rivers of the same kind, which, by the road, had no running water, but according to the statement of the patrols, had running fountains near their origin.

The fields along the Zondags River are splendid and

beautiful, overgrown on both sides with valley-shrubs of every description, and as far as we went the grass was quite sweet. We thus proceeded on, and crossed another valley, which, along the road, contained stagnant waters. We went further on between two flat heights, through a sandy passage ; a horrible bad road, large rocks, and then several deep ditches, some very muddy. Having passed all this, we got to an extensive valley, which offered a beautiful view. We went through it and continued until we came to a river with running water, named by the former commando the *Bly River*, situate under a flat mountain ; here we encamped. The next day, being the 9th, all was well, and we remained over to celebrate the Sabbath ; while the previous Saturday evening had been spent in the tent of the chief Commandant, with the singing of some appropriate hymns, and a fervent prayer delivered by Mr. Cilliers.

On Sunday morning, before Divine service commenced, the Chief Commandant called together all those who were to perform that service, and requested them to propose to the congregation, “ that they should all fervently, in spirit and in truth pray to God for his relief and assistance in their struggle with the enemy ; that he wanted to make a vow to God Almighty (if they are all willing), that should the Lord be pleased to grant us the victory, we should raise a house to the memory of His Great Name, wherever it should please Him ;” and that they should also supplicate the aid and assistance of God to enable them to fulfil their vow, and that we would note the day of the victory in the book, to make it known even to our latest posterity, in order that it might be celebrated to the honour of God.

Messrs. Celliers, Landman and Joubert were glad in their minds to hear it. They spoke to their congregations on the subject, and obtained their general concurrence. When after this, Divine service commenced,—Mr. Celliers performed that which took place in the tent of the Chief Commandant. He commenced by singing from Psalm xxxviii. v : 12-16, then delivered a prayer, and preached about the twenty-four first verses of the sixth chapter of Judges ; and thereafter delivered the prayer in which the beforementioned vow to God was made, with a fervent supplication for the Lord’s aid and assistance for the

fulfilment thereof. The 12th and 21st verses of said 38th Psalm were again sung, and the service was concluded with singing the 134th Psalm. In the afternoon the congregations met again, and several appropriate verses were sung. Mr. Celliers again made a speech and delivered prayers solemnly ; and in the same manner the evening was also spent.

The following day, being the 10th of the month, we again proceeded, crossed the river, and were much impeded by the grass being very high in the road, and dangerous to ride through. We were obliged to set fire to it ; and having done this, we passed several ditches, and ascended the mountain, which was very steep, and covered with large rocks ; and it was late in the evening before we had got over it. The field * in itself was beautiful, good, and plentifully supplied with grass, and several fountains are found along the road, which seemed to have been filled up ; and we therefore saw nothing but bubblings.

A short distance from this inaccessible mountain we came to an extensive valley, which had a beautiful sight, overgrown with clover, and valley grass and herbs of every description. Here we encamped. Several signals were seen ; but the patrols which had been out came back, having discovered nothing, but only seen in different directions smoke, which they supposed to come from the van of Dingaan's kraals. The next day, being the 11th, we continued our journey, and some wagons went out of the road for the purpose of loading some elks, which the day before had been shot by the patrols ; there were also several which had been killed that morning, which were all put on the wagons. The wagons had not all come together yet, when we received reports that Kafirs had been seen ; probably Dingaan's commando. With the greatest speed, the camp was pitched on the other side of the *Umzinyati* (the translation of which is Buffalo River). The chief commandant in the meantime sent some of his people to meet them, and remained behind himself, to make personal arrangements in the camp, not being sure himself whether it was the commando ; but a little while after, reports came back that they were merely spies. Those,

* Field, *i.e.* Veldt, meaning the surrounding herbage.

however, who were sent out on our side, crossed their places, where there were several Kafir kraals, and found nine of them, who, having engaged, were all killed. Several fresh traces were also seen. About the evening, a Kafir was seen at a distance passing the flats, but he could not be well distinguished. Two men were immediately sent off. The Kafir had, however, concealed himself in a reed bush, but Mr. Parker, who had also followed them, coming from behind was the first who found him, having with him a knapsack with maize. He was about throwing his assegai, but said Parker fired and killed him. Having thus passed the day, we remained here during the night.

The next day being the 12th Dec., the patrols went out early. As it rained we remained over here. A Kafir spy was shot by the patrols. Mr. Parker, having been out with his Kafir spies, had also taken one prisoner, besides some women and children, which latter he left under the protection of his comrades, while he himself went before them to the camp with the Kafir prisoner; but the Kafir being fastened to the riem of Parker's horse, on the way got hold of Parker by his gun, and pulled him from his horse on the ground; he had but his knobkerrie, and could not do much as his arms were tied; so Parker had the good fortune, as the Kafir was lying upon his gun, which was a short double barrel, to fire both charges into the arm and shoulder of the Kafir. He thus escaped, and leaving one of his companions with the wounded Kafir, reported the circumstance to the Chief Commandant, who himself repaired thither to speak to the wounded Kafir, but whom he found dying on the spot. The women and children having arrived, the Chief Commandant gave them liberty to return; but gave them a sign, being a white flag, to show to their king that they had been set at liberty, and to announce to him that we were now come to wage war with him, and that, if he were willing, we were ready to conclude peace with him, if he will deliver up the horses and guns of our butchered brethren, leaving it, however, to his option; or, if he were otherwise inclined, that we were prepared to wage war with him even for ten years running.—The name of the Chief Commandant was written on the said flag.

The women were very grateful for their merciful release by the Chief Commandant, and praised him above their king; for, said they, he never pardons any defenceless woman or harmless child, but causes them often, for pleasure sake, to be put to death. They thanked him a thousand times for their lives. The Chief Commandant further assured them that they, and even their husbands, might safely bring back a message; that if they only had the sign with them, which was now given, no harm would be done to them; and moreover told them that no woman or child would be killed by us. They continued to express their thanks, and went to deliver the message.

On the 13th December we proceeded on, the weather being bad, for some time along the river, which runs eastward, to get nearer to the wood. While we were departing, the Kafir spies again reported having seen some Kafirs, three in number, which were found by the patrols, and they were all killed. In the afternoon another patrol returned, making report that they had met a great number of Kafirs, in a certain place on a mountain, who had many head of cattle with them; but being only four men together, they dared not hazard themselves any further, after they had killed three of the Kafirs, and the gun of one of them had become useless.

We stayed here during the night, and on the next day, being the 14th December, 120 men, who had been commanded on the previous evening, went out by dawn of day to attack said Kafirs. I now made enquires after the number of Kafirs who had been killed up to this morning, which I found to be "Twenty-three." In the evening the patrols returned, and had again killed eight Kafirs in a skirmish. The next day, being the 15th December, we went on further, to a spruit, where we encamped, and where instantly reports arrived from one of the patrols, that they had fallen upon five of the Zulus, and had killed one of them, while the others had made away, by means of the impassableness of high banks and ditches. From another patrol there also arrived a report that they had seen an equally great number, and, continuing their way, had discovered a great number who were in a very dangerous and inaccessible place. This last report was made on Saturday, the 15th, while we were just encamped at another spruit.

Having well secured the camp, the Chief Commandant repaired to said place with part of his men, having also received reports of the Commandant de Lange of its being the Commando of the Kafirs which was approaching.

The Chief Commandant, having arrived at the place, thought it advisable (as it was about the evening, and several men were out on patrols in different directions, so that he had too few with him to make an attack at so inaccessible a place; the more so as the Sabbath was at hand), to postpone the attack till the next Monday (even if they were to approach nearer), in order not to profane the Sabbath. The Chief Commandant ordered the barriers and gates to be properly secured, and that all men should be up about two hours before daylight. Every thing was complied with; at the appointed time all men roused, and we held ourselves in readiness. Sunday, the 16th, was a day as if ordained for us. The sky was open, the weather clear and bright. Scarcely was the dawn of day perceivable when the guards, who were still on their posts, and could scarcely see, perceived that the Zulus were approaching. Now the patrols were all together in the camp, having been called in the day previous by alarm signals of the cannon. The enemy then approached at full speed, and in a moment they had surrounded the camp on all sides. In the meantime the day began to dawn, so that they might be seen approaching, while their advanced lines had already been repulsed by the firing from the camp. Their approach, although frightful on account of the great number, yet presented a beautiful appearance. They approached in regiments, each captain with his men following him. In the same way the patrols had seen them come up the day previous, until they had all surrounded us. I could not count them, but it is said that a Kafir prisoner had given the number of thirty-six regiments, which regiments may be calculated at from nine to 10,000 men. The battle now commenced, and the cannons were discharged from every gate of the camp; the battle then became violent, even the firing from the muskets from our side as well as from theirs. After this had been kept up for full two hours by the watch, the Chief Commandant (as the enemy was continually bestorming the camp, and he was afraid that we would get short

of ammunition), ordered *that all the gates of the camp should be opened, and fighting with the Kafirs take place on horseback*. This was done, and to our regret, they took to flight so hastily that we were obliged to hunt after them. Few remained in the camp, and the Chief Commandant in person, after having given the necessary directions, also followed them. His shooting horses had been taken by others, and he himself was obliged to mount a wild horse ; he pursued a large party, and, riding in full speed, he got upon them. One of the Zulus rushed upon him, he however discharged one of the barrels of his gun to kill the Kafir, but the horse whereon he was mounted was so frightened that he missed, and wishing to discharge the other shot, did not know that the stopper of the lock had been closed, so that he could not cock his gun ! Now, no time was to be lost ; he jumped from his horse—the Kafir at once rushes upon, stabs at him with his assegai, which he parried off twice with his gun ; but the third time, unable to do otherwise, he parried it off with his left hand, in which the Kafir then stuck his assegai. He now falls upon the Kafir, lays hold of him, and throws him on the ground, and holds him fast, though he struggled terribly, until P. Roedeloff came to his assistance ; he then forced the assegai out of his hand, and stabs the Kafir under him, so that he died. He then returned to the camp to have the wound dressed, which was done. He, however, said that he hoped no one would be terrified, that this wound could do him no harm, and that he was glad of having been the only man, in such a serious conflict, who had been slightly wounded ; the wound, however, was bad. We also ascertained, with regret, that Gerrit Raath had met with a similar accident, in the same manner as with the Chief Commandant, but he was dangerously wounded in his side ; as also Philip Fourie, who had been dangerously wounded with an assegai during the battle in the camp, which was also dangerous. G. Raath remained in the field, and was fetched away, and brought to the camp on a stretcher. Thus the Zulu commando was pursued for more than three hours, and we returned, as we were all short of ammunition. The Chief Commandant ordered the cleaning of the guns, and that every man should provide himself with ammunition. This was complied with, and balls were

also cast. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered to God, and after Divine Service had been performed, the Chief Commandant again sent a strong party to pursue the Zulus as far on as they could ; but they returned in the evening, not having been able to come up with them. The next day we counted the number of the slain ; those who had been killed about and near the camp, of which some have not been counted, with those who had been overtaken and killed, we found amounted to, the lowest certain number, more than 3,000, besides the wounded.

We proceeded on our journey, and got to the *Umhlatusi* on the 19th. In the meanwhile several spies and Kafirs were killed. I should also mention that *Dingaan's servant*, in his *full dress*, was also killed during the conflict near the camp !—Being encamped at the Umhlatusi, the patrols, while spying, saw Dingaan's Town covered with clouds of smoke. We could form no conception of what it meant ; meanwhile we broke up the next day, and marched on towards it.—N. B. Two Kafirs were caught after the battle had ended, and these also the Chief Commandant sent to Dingaan, with the same message which he had given to the women and children before mentioned ; another was again caught, and this he also sent to Dingaan. One of the prisoners is now our guide. We went on, and encamped near to his town on the 20th, at a distance of about a quarter of an hour. No sooner had the camp been formed but a commando was ordered towards the town.

We went with about 900 men, and found the town deserted, and the palace of the King totally burnt down, together with the whole upper part of his town. The Chief Commandant ordered all that was found to be brought together, and whatever was in the fire, such as iron and copper, to be taken out and taken care of. We went back again, and the next day, being the 21st, we fixed our camp on the very hill “where the unfortunate Mr. Retief and company had been butchered.” *The sight of the cruel martyring, whereof the dead bones still gave proofs, was indeed horrible to be looked at ; while the raw straps with which they had been tied were still fastened to the bones of several of them ; and the sticks and spokes with which they had been beaten were found by thousands, and in pieces, along the road on which they had been dragged. Of*

those sticks some were those with which they danced, and some were poles whereon they build their houses, or where-with they plant their fortifications. While other skeletons or dead bones laid there, these were recognised by us by their skulls, which were all broken, and by the heap of stones lying by each of their corpses, wherewith they had received their last sufferings. Oh, horrible martyrdom !!!

The late worthy Mr. Retief we recognised by his clothes, which, although nearly consumed, yet small rags were still attached to his bones, added to which there were other tokens, such as his portmanteau, which was almost also consumed, in which there were several papers, of which some were damaged and rained to pieces ; but some were found therein in as perfect a state as if they had never been exposed to the air ; amongst which was also the contract between him and Dingaan, respecting the cession of the land, so clean and uninjured as if it had been written to-day, besides a couple of sheets of clean paper, on one of which the Chief Commandant wrote a letter to Mr. J. Boshoff the following day. Every exertion was used for the gathering of the bones, and we buried them. This having been done, the Chief Commandant questioned the Kafir prisoner ; and as he pretended to have been but a spectator of this martyrdom, being sick at the time, he related the whole circumstance just in the same manner as the appearance of the bones vouched to be correct ; but amongst others, that the King, after the treaty had been concluded, had invited Retief and his company to come to his town, that his people might dance in honour of them ; and while dancing, he caused them to be attacked, and though the farmers were without their arms, they, however, defended themselves with their pocket knives, in such a manner that when they had already fought their way through *one* regiment, another had to resume it. One man, says he, of a tall stature, could run very fast, and escaped, after fighting hard, from the town to the other side of the river, which I believe, is about 2,500 paces ; but by their great numbers they outran him from all sides, and overtook him before he got as far as where his horses were ; he then defended himself with stones, until he could no longer. He further states, that twenty of them had died from

severe cuts which they had received by the pocket knives, and several were wounded.

Several articles were also found, which had been buried under ground ; and the following day, being the 24th Dec., it was resolved to sell the same by public auction, and to distribute the money arising therefrom among the commando,—which was done. The next day, being the 25th, one of Dingaan's Captains was caught by the Kafir spies, and brought up. He related a great deal, but little reliance could be placed on what he said. However, he related as to what occurred about the martyring of the farmers in the same manner as the former. The next day we broke up the camp, and replaced it on a hill towards the sea side, under which place there are wide and rough cliffs, and in these very places the whole Zulu army was assembled. We encamped, and secured the camp. The next day about 300 men were ordered to descend. We saw from our camp the Kafirs going backwards and forwards. The commando descended, and the Chief Commandant went with them, but before they met the Kafirs, he was obliged to return on account of the pain of the wound in his hand ; for the weather was stormy. The cannon which they had taken with them could not be taken further, and was also sent back. No sooner had the Chief Commandant arrived at the camp when we heard the attack commencing violently, and there was a continuing noise of the firing. I was immediately sent off with some others to the point of the mountain, to spy the battle with a telescope, which I did ; and as long as I could see, the firing continued without intermission.

The Chief Commandant had, on his leaving them, given the necessary orders to be prudent, but they had, notwithstanding, descended into the clift, and without any precaution been riding amongst the Kafirs in the caves and dens, so that they could neither advance nor retreat, and were obliged to fight their way clear through the Kafirs, by whom they were surrounded as so many ants ; and not daring to venture to continue fighting, for fear of getting short of ammunition, they retreated until they came to a very bad road, where the river was swollen, when the Kafirs had an opportunity of getting amongst them, and they then killed another five of us, named Jan Oosthuysen, formerly of

Nieuwveld, Marthinus Gous of Zwarteberg, Gerrit van Stade, Barend Bester and Nicolaas le Roux, besides Alexander Biggar, with five of his Kafirs. They returned to the camp as their horses were all knocked up. The Kafirs pursued them to the open field, when they returned to the same caves.*

We remained here for two days, to see whether they would still venture to come to the field, which they dared not, and we were necessitated to return on account of the horses. The Chief Commandant then caused the town to be further destroyed by fire, and we returned, halting now and then, for the purpose of seeing whether they would not follow us. Having again arrived at the "Umzin-yati," two hundred men were sent out, to see whether they could not get any cattle, and they returned with about 5,000 head of cattle, which were herded by 100 Caffers, who were all killed. Thus we returned to the Tugela River, where the Chief Commandant divided the booty, and the commando separated.

The news of this victory was received, as might be expected, in the Colony with rapture, especially by those who had lost their dearest and nearest relatives in the cold-blooded butcheries of the 6th and 17th of February. The town of Graaff-Reinet was specially illuminated, and a new spur given to the migration.

Commandant Pretorius' Despatches of these events here follow :—

King Dingaan's City, called
Umgungunhloos, Dec. 22, 1838.

GENTLEMEN,—I send you this to inform you of the particulars of our commando against the Zulus. After the people had, by general election, chosen me as the Commander-in-chief, we marched out against that formidable foe not trusting in our own strength in the least, as we could muster no more than 460 men ; but we had full confidence

* On this occasion one of the Zulus showed extraordinary determination. A horse on which he rode, alarmed at the noise of the contest which was raging around him, broke loose, and ran in amongst the farmers with his rider on his back, who then stabbed himself to the heart.

in the *justice* of our cause. Our only hope was in God, and the issue has proved that

“Die op den hoogen God vertrouwd,
Heeft zeker op geen sand gebouwd.”

[He who places his trust in the great God will find he has not built on a sandy foundation.]

We marched in five divisions, each under the command of its proper officer. Our object was only to recover the property which the enemy had taken from our people. During the next few days we took prisoners several men of the Zulu nation, to whom I gave a white flag as a proof of our amity, and desired them to proceed to their king, and to inform him that if he would return to us the horses and guns which he had taken from our people, we should be willing to enter into negotiations for peace. I sent this message to him twice, but received no answer. In the meantime our patrols were out in all directions, and on Saturday, the 15th of December, the Zulu army was discovered posted on a very difficult mountain.

On receiving this information, I immediately proceeded there with 200 men, but finding it unadvisable to attempt anything with so small a force, and in such a place, I returned to the camp. The next day, being Sunday, we intended to remain quiet; but as soon as day broke upon us we discovered that our camp was surrounded by, as we thought, the whole of the Zulu forces. The engagement instantly commenced on both sides. The Zulus *fired* upon us, and made several attempts to storm our encampments, and on being repulsed, they only retreated for short distances. They stood their ground firmly for two hours, and then were reinforced by five more divisions.

At this juncture you will scarcely be able to form an idea of the sight presented around us. It was such as to require some nerve not to betray uneasiness in the countenance. Seeing that it was necessary to display the most desperate determination I caused four gates of our enclosed camp to be simultaneously thrown open, from whence some mounted men were to charge the enemy, at the same time keeping up a heavy fire upon them. The Zulus stood our assault firmly for some time, but at last finding their number rapidly decreasing, they fled,

scattering themselves in all directions. They were pursued on horseback by as many of our men as could be spared from the camp. Having made some necessary arrangements I started off myself, and shortly overtook a Zulu warrior. At the distance of about fifteen yards, I made signs of peace to him, and called to him to surrender, intending to send him with a message to his King ; but as he refused to submit and threatened me I at length fired but missed. My horse being restive, I dismounted and attempted to fire the second time, but the lock of my gun had got out of order. At this instant the Zulu made a furious rush upon me, stabbing at me with his assegai, and which I parried repeatedly with my gun. At last he closed in with me and attempted to stab me through the breast. I averted this by grasping at the weapon with my left hand, but in doing so received it through the hand. Before he could extricate it I seized him and threw him to the ground, but as the assegai remained pierced through my hand, and which was under him, as I lay upon him, I had but one hand with which to hold him and use my dagger whilst he attempted to strangle me. At this crisis one of my men came to my assistance, pulled the assegai out of my hand and stabbed the Zulu on the spot. My hand bleeding very much I was obliged to return to the camp, and it was apprehended some of our men had fallen—however it pleased the Almighty to give us this victory without the loss of a single life on our part, only three of us wounded, viz., myself, Gerrit Raats, and Philip Fourie.

The following day we resumed our march, and arrived here this day. Yesterday, when we were seen to approach, Dingaan set his capital on fire, and his own palace was destroyed by the conflagration.

We learn from two Zulu women that one Captain who had not been in the engagement wanted to renew the attack, but all the others refused, stating that they had lost nearly all of their men. The result was a precipitate retreat.

After the battle I caused returns to be made of the number of the enemy killed, and found it to be 3,000 and some hundreds, but that we may make every allowance for inaccuracies we have stated it at 3,000.

We are now encamped at Dingaan's capital. Here we found the bones of our unfortunate countrymen Retief and his men, and which we interred. They bear the marks of having been cruelly murdered. The sight of them must have moved the most unfeeling heart, and the account which the Zulu prisoners gave of the affair shows that they must have fought desperately, though without any other weapons than their knives, and some sticks which they wrested from the Zulus. Before they were overpowered they say that twenty Zulus were killed and several wounded. The Zulus took nothing from them except their arms and horses. We found among their bones, independent of several other things, Mr. Retief's portmanteau containing his papers, some of them very much defaced, but his treaty with Dingaan is still legible."

On the 27th January, 1841, Sir G. Napier, Governor of Cape, wrote to the President Boer Council at Pietermaritzburg about Nepai, and sent troops to the Umgazi to protect Faku.

CHAPTER LXI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IN NATAL.— BATTLES BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE BOERS.

THE Rev. W. C. Holden in his History of Natal says : —“ About this time the Home Government were most anxious to give to Natal an enlightened, liberal, and efficient Government, and for this purpose persons of acknowledged skill and ability in colonial matters were selected. Martin West, who had been Magistrate of Graham's Town, was appointed to the onerous position of Governor, and Mr. Moodie, late of the Royal Navy (the father of the present writer), who had displayed deep acquaintance with colonial affairs, and especially those relating to South Africa by the publication of the ‘Records of the Cape of Good Hope,’ was chosen as the first Colonial Secretary. Mr. (now Sir Theophilus) Shepstone, late diplomatic agent at Fort Peddie, was placed in charge of the native department, and Major Smith of the 27th Regiment was Military Commandant, but was shortly afterwards succeeded by Col. E. F. Boys of the 45th Regiment. Henry Cloete, Esq., LL.D., was Recorder, W. P. Field, Esq., Collector of Customs, and Walter Harding, Esq., filled the position of Crown Prosecutor ; whilst Dr. Stanger, who from his connexion with the Niger Expedition, his scientific attainments, and unswerving integrity, was adjudged a very suitable person to fill the post of Surveyor-General.” Since Mr. Holden's time Natal has in turn been governed by Sir Benjamin Chilley Campbell Pine, John Scott, Robert Keate, Col. Maclean, of British Kaffraria celebrity, and Col. Bisset (now Major-General). He joined as a volunteer in the first Kaffir war and afterwards gained an ensigncy in the Cape Mounted Riflemen, and after a long series of engagements lasting through the Kaffir wars up to 1853, in one of which he was severely wounded, went home and published his book entitled “Sport and War in South Africa.” A volume full of incident and very interesting ;

and although not overladen with the doubtful art of the wordy literary florist and perhaps sophist, but couched in blunt, honest, soldierlike language, bears the stamp of genuine truth to the minutest detail. Mr. (now Sir Anthony) Musgrave was the next Governor, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Bulwer, and Sir Arthur Havelock is the present (February 1888) Governor.

We have now brought the account of the battles between the British and the Boers nearly to an end as far as they are concerned as opposed to each other, and now, in dismissing this part of our subject, it only remains to give a short account of their next collision, which occurred at Boom Plaats in the Orange River Free State, and which was brought about by the vacillation of the English home policy regarding the Boers in South Africa, and owing probably to the conflicting opinions of successive leaders of British Cabinets. The unfortunate Boers, leaving the Cape as we have seen, trekked through strange wildernesses, fighting a series of battles with Zulus, wild beasts, &c., which were accompanied with great suffering, privation, and bloodshed, force their way into Natal, and are no sooner comfortably settled down than Britain says, "I can't allow you to erect a republic and threaten me, as you do, with the arms of Holland," and steps in and takes the land. They then trek over the Orange River and set up a Free State. Before crossing the river an "influential deputation" of Boers waited upon Governor Stockenström in 1835 and inquired as to the legality of their proceeding, and the Governor said "I am not aware of any law which prevents any of His Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive." Sir Harry Smith, however, directed by his orders, claimed all the land between the Orange and Vaal Rivers for England, and announced his intention of supporting his claim by force of arms. Andreas Pretorius was again selected by the Dutch as a leader, and he at once collected a "com-mando," or army, of about one thousand men, and on the 29th of August, 1848, was fought the "Battle of Boom Plaats," which latter place is situated a little above the 30° of latitude, near where it is cut by the 26° of

longitude. Sir Harry's forces numbered about seven hundred, supported by a small body of Griquas. More English were killed than Dutch. "About a dozen Boers" (says one writer) "fell, and about four times that number of English. But the English beat the Dutch, and Pretorius and his friends again resumed their wandering, and trekked across the Vaal River, and there founded the Transvaal Republic," where, as we are aware, the pertinacious John Bull again followed them and again took their land from them, when (to refer to recent times) they yet once again "inspanned" their wagons, and gathering their relations and flocks and herds about them, penetrated the remote interior towards the Great Lake—anywhere to get rid of contact with the hated British. The South African papers of 1879 say that many of these unhappy wanderers had to abandon their wagons and all their goods, and make the best of their way back to the Transvaal, through hostile blacks and wild beasts, owing to their cattle and draught oxen having perished for want of water. But of these matters ample details will be found further on, as well as of the battle of Boomplaats.

It is truly a sad subject to contemplate—the repeated expatriation, wanderings, sufferings, and hardships of these peculiar people, whose rustic peculiarities would never permit them to dwell in harmony with the English. They simply said, "We thoroughly dislike you and yours, we all wish to go anywhere where there is game to be had, water to drink, and grass for our cattle." But the exigencies of British rule did not somehow seem to admit of this, and so, as before said, they resumed their wanderings again and again. As an instance of their antipathy to the British, we may mention the following:—An English gentleman of considerable attainments, during a journey with a friend, dismounted for a moment and called at a Boer's house for some little refreshment. The friend was told, by some one who was in the house at the time, that when the gentleman of attainments rose from his chair and departed on his journey, the "vrouw" got up and fetched a damp cloth and wiped the seat of the chair. The friend she could tolerate, as, although an Englishman, he had been in the country a long time, and spoke Dutch, or

rather the *patois* composed of Dutch, Malay, Portuguese, &c., spoken by these people in South Africa ; but the raw “Engelsman” she couldn’t stand, as she said he reminded her of the abominated red-jackets, who followed her nation about like a lot of fiery-eyed stoats or weasels.

As I was once coming southward from a trip into the far interior, we bivouacked under the bright moon by some giant trees, which threw their great arms more than half across a deep dark stream which passed silently away eastward, and near the abode of one of these Dutch wanderers of the wilds ; and it sounded passing strange, and rather feelingly deepened the interest in the lovely scene, to hear the solemn strains of the Hymns of David borne upon the night air, and emanating from the old Boer’s residence. Where’er these poor people wander, there is the old-fashioned and ponderous Bible, with clasps fit for the Gates of Gaza, with them, and when the groaning board has been cleared, all sit round the room, and the black folk are called in, and the venerable volume is produced, and the farmer puts on his spectacles, and shading his eyes with his hand from the flare of the mould candle, reverently reads aloud a chapter from the good old Book ; after which the most plethoric-looking stumps of clasp-bound hymn-books (which look as if they might be wielded with affect against British troops) are brought in, and a hymn concludes the proceedings of the evening.

It was the followers and relations of these men that trekked away northwards and eastwards, till after many a bloody battle they arrived at Natal. And long afterwards Sir Harry Smith shot a Boer rebel of the name of Dryer at or near Boom Plaats, in the Orange Free State, in 1848. The Boers at the time were very indignant at what they called a most wanton outrage to their dignity. They handed the deed down to posterity by setting to music a song beginning—

“Engelsman, des lands verayer,
Gedinkt ú oor de dood van Dryer.”

Or,

“Englishman, the land’s betrayer,
Bethink you on the death of Dryer.”

“Verader” is, I believe, the proper Dutch word for “betrayer,” but it wouldn’t rhyme.

In 1853, the War Minister at home (who, I see by a late writer, was also Colonial Secretary) had quite enough of fighting in hand without having to fight the Basutos in defence of the Dutch, or the Dutch in defence of the Basutos ; and it was decided that the "Free State" should be abandoned. We had claimed the Dutch as our subjects when they attempted to start for themselves in Natal, and had subjugated them by force of arms. Then we repudiated them in the nearer region across the Orange. Then again we claimed them, and again subjugated them by force of arms. Now we again repudiated them. In 1854 we executed, and forced them to accept a convention by which we handed over the government of the country to them—to be carried on after their own fashion. But yet, even then, it was not to be carried on exactly as they pleased. There was to be no slavery, and the natives were not to be forced by labour. Then came terrible days of fighting between the Basutos and the Boers, and of renewed fighting between the Basutos and other tribes ; during which time the Basutos were so famine-stricken as to resort to cannibalism. Then they asked for British intervention, and at last, in 1868, Sir Philip Wodehouse issued a proclamation, in which he declared them to be British subjects, and a line of boundary was made between them and the Orange Republic. The Boers did not like this, but the matter was ultimately arranged, and the Basutos, under a son of the old chief Moshesh, or Umtywetywe, as they pronounce it, are now a happy and flourishing people.

In concluding the subject of the battles between these people we will go back to October, 1854, and describe a slaughter of Boers by the "Makatese" under "Makapan," or "Umgebana" as his own Kafirs pronounce the name, and the terrible retaliation upon them by the Boers under Commandant Potgieter and young Pretorius (as he was then, but now President of the Transvaal Republic, and son of the old General before alluded to). I have been at Makapan's kraal. (I may here parenthetically explain that the term "Kafir" is of Arabian origin and means "infidel," and is a *generic* appellation ; the Zulu—who is the highest by far in the scale of Kafir worth—the Basutos, also called Makatese ; the Korannas,

the Bechuanas, the Fingoes, the Gcalekas, and the Ngqikas, and such like, being *specific* terms.)*

It appears that the Kafirs had given the Boers most dreadful offence. They had murdered seven or eight of the latter, including a "field-cornet," or officer of colonial levies, and had put to death several Dutch women, with circumstances of the most frightful barbarity. Accordingly, General Pretorius, accompanied by Commandant-General Potgieter—a brother of the slain "veldt-kornet"—proceeded on an expedition to avenge the blood which had been shed by the Kafirs. The force altogether was about five hundred strong, the greater part being mounted; and they had one hundred and sixteen wagons and two field pieces. Towards the end of the month they reached certain subterranean caverns of vast extent, in which the offending Kafirs, under their chief Makapan, were known to have entrenched themselves. These extraordinary caves are described as being upwards of two thousand feet in length, and from three to five hundred in width, intersected by several walls—we presume of natural construction—and so dark that no eye could penetrate the gloom. Arrived at this retreat, General Pretorius appears to have debated, without scruple or hesitation, how he could exterminate the enemies with the greatest facility, and at a council of war it was resolved to blast the rocks above the caverns, and thus crush and bury the savages alive under the ruins. This scheme failed, in consequence of the stone proving unfavourable to the operation. The caves were then surrounded and rigorously watched day and night, to prevent the entrance of any supplies; so that the wretches within, who seem by the accounts to have represented the whole population of a large Kafir village, wives and children included, might be reduced to the extremities of famine. At first fences or barriers were constructed round the rocks, behind which the Boers maintained incessant watch; but as the work proceeded enormous loads of

* Apropos of the foregoing parenthesis. I see that it is the fashion with many eminent ethnologists to call this collection of tribes the "Bantu" tribes. As a Zulu linguist, I respectfully object to this. Bantu, or "Abantu." Abantu simply means "people" in Zulu, and is used in this sense "Abantu bamhlope" *i.e.*, white people—and "Abantu bamnyama"—*videlicet*—black people.

timber and stone were brought up and thrown into the openings of the caverns. Fifty "spans" of oxen (teams of twelve or fourteen), with an adequate number of labourers were employed upon the work the first day. During the next five days 1,500 drags of trees and stones were thrown down the caverns by 300 Kafir allies ; it was here that the handsome, tall, and gallant Commandant Potgieter was shot. Pretorius says in his account of the affair that his colleague was standing at the top of a small precipice, urging on the friendly Kafirs, when a shot from the caves entered his right shoulder, and came out between the left shoulder and the neck and he fell down the "krantz" right in front of the enemy's fence. Pretorius, however, and those with him stormed the fence and recovered the body. The pangs of thirst soon forced through the obstacles thrown in their way. Some of the miserable creatures within, and a large number of women and children, suffering for want of water, sallied forth, but died after they drank a little. Meantime patrols kept ward night and day, and with their rifles laid every Kafir dead who showed himself in his exhaustion or misery at the cavern's mouth. As this dreadful siege was protracted through the greater part of three weeks, it is plain that the savages must have had some small amount of provisions with them ; but the work at last came to an end. On the 17th of November the besiegers, as they advanced towards the rocks, encountered little opposition, and the silence of the caves, together with the horrible smell of the dead, told them how effectually their object had been accomplished. The miserable savages had perished in their holes, and the estimate of their losses gives a frightful idea of the tragedy. Women and children in considerable numbers appear to have escaped, but upwards of nine hundred Kafirs had been shot down at the openings of the caves, and the number of those who had died by inches within was, the Boers themselves say, "much greater."

The above account points to the difference between our mode of procedure with natives and that of the Boers. Judging from experience, we could not have done as much to curb the Kafirs in a long and tedious campaign as General Pretorius did in two short months with a handful of volunteers, at little or no cost to his countrymen, and

with a loss of only two killed and five wounded. The whole expedition was contrived with a rude simplicity which, though barbarous enough in its results, was successfully adapted to the purpose in view. The settlers of the Transvaal Republic simply turned out to hunt savages after a savage fashion. The Kafirs had not only barbarously butchered their countrymen, but pots were found containing the roasted limbs of the victims. To such offenders no more mercy was shown than to so many wolves ; and when they had been tracked to their dens they were starved and shot without respect to the usages of more civilised warfare.

We English, it is plain, do not fight with savages on fair terms. All Kafirs, in passing from peace to war with us, forego little, sacrifice little, and hazard to a small extent their own savage lives. We export thousands of soldiers thousands of miles, every man of whom has cost us the worth of a Kafir province in training, and who are expected to encounter treacherous and sanguinary barbarians in their own wilds according to the punctilios of regular war. The result is that the losses are almost exclusively our own. The Treasury is drained of million after million ; our best officers and men are surprised, surrounded, and killed ; and after the lapse of a year or two the "Kafir War" is concluded, to be followed in a few months by another. Not near as many Zulus have been killed in Zululand by all the thousand bayonets, bullets, and swords of our thousands of regular troops in that country as were destroyed in this single expedition by Pretorius. It would be hard indeed to argue that such an example should be followed ; but of this we are convinced—that if the colonization of South Africa is to be continued, the savage tribes can only successfully be encountered like the savages of all other regions—by acts resembling their own. The backwoodsmen of Kentucky pursued the red Indians as the red Indians pursued them, and victory in the end fell to the superior race. It would probably be the same in South Africa ; but to expect that the contest should be conducted without offence to civilised feelings is altogether vain. We simply put the case by aid of this illustration before the eyes of the reader. Handled as those on the spot could handle them, the Kafirs—those bugbears of our

statesmen and economists—could be kept down with comparatively little outlay or trouble ; but the system would be only too sure to involve shocks and scandals to the humanity of the nation. This, however, we must needs add—that if such an alternative be rejected, the border provinces ought to be relinquished altogether ; for the country can no longer afford or tolerate these periodical wars, of which the cost is found so great and the fruit so little.



CHAPTER XLII.

THE BATTLE OF BOOMPLAATS, BY THE HON. R.
SOUTHEY, C.M.G.

FOR some years prior to the arrival of Sir Harry Smith, as Governor and High Commissioner, in November, 1847, there had been feuds and fighting between the emigrant farmers—British subjects who had migrated from the Colony into the country north of the Orange River, and the native tribes to whom the territory belonged—notably the Griquas under Adam Kok, and the Basutos under Moshesh—and these chiefs had called upon Her Majesty's representatives, in accordance with the treaty arrangements at the time existing between them and Her Majesty's Government, to put a stop to the encroachments of Her said subjects, and on one or two occasions armed interference had been resorted to. There had also been fighting in Natal between a portion of said emigrants who had penetrated into that part and a detachment of Her Majesty's troops sent thither from the Cape Colony, to prevent them from carrying out their intention of seizing and keeping possession of the British territory there and establishing an independent Republic. Several attempts had been made by previous Governors to settle amicably the difficulties that had arisen, but without success, and Sir Harry determined to try his hand at it. Very soon after arrival, he with this view—after visiting Graham's Town and King William's Town—crossed the Orange River, saw Adam Kok and his councillors at Philippolis, who, on the invitation followed him to Bloemfontein, where also he met many of the leading emigrants. He afterwards met Moshesh and his councillors and a considerable number of followers at Winburg. Proceeding thence to Natal he met and had palavers with many emigrant farmers, one of them being the late Andreas Wilhelmus Pretorius, at that time recognised as Commandant-General among them, who at the head of a considerable party was on the move from Natal with the intention of joining those who had.

taken up their abode beyond the Vaal River. Sir Harry did his best to dissuade them from this move, and promised, if they settled down quietly in Natal, they and all who remained between the Orange and Vaal Rivers should have titles to the lands they occupied at moderate quitrents, and that he would do all in his power to rectify their grievances, &c., Sir Harry's idea was that their chief, and almost only, complaint or grievance was their inability to obtain titles to land, and that was so with some of them—but not with Pretorius and a large number of his followers. Their ambition was to shake off the British yoke and to form themselves into an independent republic. These crossed the Vaal River and joined their brethren who had previously done so. Sir Harry, however, proceeded with his plans, and in accordance with new treaty arrangements made by him proclaimed Her Majesty's Sovereignty over all the territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, appointed needful officers for its government, and surveyors to survey and prepare titles to the farms occupied by the emigrants; also made similar arrangements for surveys and issue of titles to lands occupied in Natal, and returned to Cape Town, believing that the measures he had adopted would satisfy the main body of the emigrants—and that all would settle down quietly—in this, however, he was doomed to be disappointed. There was a strong party among them whom nothing would satisfy short of being allowed to throw off their allegiance to the British crown and establish an independent republic. This party, feeling, no doubt, that if they wished to be successful no time was to be lost, organised a large field force, with which they proceeded to the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein, where the British Resident, with a small garrison of British troops was stationed, and demanded that he and they, and all other British officials, should quit the territory over which Her Majesty's Sovereignty had been proclaimed and cross the Orange River into the colony. The British Resident considering that the force at his disposal was inadequate to cope with the insurgents, complied with the demand, and retired, crossing the Orange River at the ford nearest to Colesberg. Upon intelligence of these doings reaching the Governor at Cape Town

he at once ordered up reinforcements of troops from the Eastern frontier to join the detachment that had retired from Bloemfontein, on the banks of the Orange River, whither he determined also to proceed and personally to superintend needful operations. With this object in view he left Cape Town on the 29th July, 1848, attended by his private secretary, his secretary as High Commissioner and two A.D.C.'s and arrived at Colesberg on the 8th August where he remained two or three days awaiting the arrival of the reinforcements from the frontier at the Orange River. As soon as that was accomplished he joined them, and here his first difficulty occurred—the river was flooded and some two hundred yards wide, and the stream terribly strong. The force to be got across, consisted of two six-pounder field pieces and their needful complement of Artillerymen, two troops of Cape Mounted Rifles, two companies of the Rifle Brigade, and two companies of the 91st Regiment, in all about 600 rank and file, with the needful number of commissariat and baggage wagons, some 150 in all. Sir Harry had provided himself with two cañutchöue (India-rubber) pontoons. Then a recent invention, but before they could be worked it was necessary to stretch ropes of sufficient thickness and strength across the stream along which to work them, hence arose the difficulty. There was a small boat worked by two oars into the stern of which one of the ropes was coiled, and the secretary to the High Commissioner volunteered to go in her and pay out the rope as the two men at the oars rowed. In this way they started, but before they got into mid-stream the weight of the rope behind was too powerful for the two men at the oars, the boat swung round, and was dragged back to the site from whence they started, but some distance lower down the river. The attempt to cross was made over and over again, with the same result, and it almost looked as if the attempt to cross in that way must be abandoned when he who had been paying out the rope suggested that they should send back to Colesberg for lighter ropes—in the shape of sash lines. So said so done, and on the following day all the sash line or other lines of similar lightness obtainable in the village was brought out, work recommenced and was successful, the sash line was carried

across, and by its means the stronger ropes were drawn over and fastened to trees on the bank. The pontoons set to work and they worked well; the troops and their commissariat and baggage waggons were got across a very formidable river without accident worthy of mention, and the troops moved forward *via* Philippolis towards Bloemfontein. During the march information was received daily or at shorter intervals that the insurgents were being massed behind the hills on the farm known by the name of "Boomplaats" (Tree place) so named because it had two or three trees growing on it and the surrounding country being bare of wood. On the morning of the 29th August, exactly a month after leaving Cape Town, the troops halted for breakfast at a distance of four or five miles from the hills above mentioned, and moved on again about 11 o'clock. After marching a short distance, information was received that the insurgents were getting into position for attack, on which a halt was called, and an officer of the Cape Mounted Rifles sent on to high ground in front to reconnoitre. He returned and confirmed the report previously received, viz :—that the insurgents were in force behind the hills and ready for action. Still the Governor could not bring himself to believe that the Boers would fire on him, an old, and always a true friend of theirs. He, however, prepared for the worst; a portion of the small force under his command was told off to guard the waggons and the remainder moved to the front of these, fifty C.M.R. formed the advance guard, and strict orders were given that no shot should be fired on our side unless we were first fired upon, and to avoid any possible disregard of these orders all caps were removed from the nipples of the advance guard's carbines. These things having been carefully attended to the order to march forward was given. Sir Harry had that morning dressed himself in a costume worn by him when travelling through the country six months before, and by which he thought he would be recognised by many of the people—still in the belief that they would not fire on *him*. The advance forward had scarcely covered a hundred yards of ground before Sir H. putting spurs to his horse, and followed by his staff, galloped forward, joined the advance guard, and took up a conspicuous position with it. Thus formed, the

troops moved onward along the road, which skirted the hill behind which the insurgents were in force. The position occupied by them was an exceedingly strong one. There were two ranges of hills, covered with large boulders, rocks and stones, one range running parallel to the road, on the right of the forward march, the other running out at right angles on the left side, the road passing through between these and going down into a valley, along which ran a small river, with some wide, and deep pools of water impassable for troops, except at the drifts (fords). Beyond this river, on a somewhat elevated position, stood the Boomplaats homestead with kraals, gardens, &c., enclosed by high stone walls, behind which there was good shelter to resist the advance of the troops. Beyond this again there was a much higher range of hills, also very rocky, through a gorge in which the road passed up, and on towards Bloemfontein. As soon as the advance guard got well in under the hills on their right, the insurgents showed themselves on the top in force, and opened fire on it, which forced it to swerve round on the left and retire on the main body, leaving about a dozen of its number dead or wounded behind, on this a considerable number of the Boers came out from behind the hills on the left, apparently with the object of taking the troops in flank or capturing the commissariat and baggage waggons, but on fire being opened on them by the two six-pounders and the Cape Mounted Rifles advancing towards them they retired in the direction from which they came. Simultaneously with the opening fire by the two field pieces and movement of C.M.R., the two companies of the Rifle Brigade stormed the Boer position on the right, and after a brief resistance drove them out of it, not, however, without severe loss to the troops. Captain Murray, who led the attack, riding in front with Lient. Glyn, acting as Adjutant, also on horseback, was so severely wounded that he died the same evening and the Adjutant's horse was shot under him, while several of the men were killed or wounded. During this operation the two companies of the 91st Regiment moved along the road into the opening between the hills, and on towards the homestead, driving out those of the insurgents who had taken shelter behind the stone walls, these retired along the road towards the

higher range of hills, and were soon joined by those who had been driven from their position by the detachment of Rifle Brigade, while those on the left also retired, crossed the river, and ascended about half-way up the higher range of hills where they made a short stand, but finding that they were within range of the six-pounders, and that their comrades were in full retreat, they gave it up as a bad job, made for the road in the hills, and accompanied their retreating friends. At one time, when this large number of horsemen were retiring huddled together in the road up the gorge in the hills, great havoc might have been made among them by the six-pounders, but Sir Harry, whose attention was drawn to it, declined to take advantage of the opportunity.

The whole affair lasted about three hours, and the first hour was a very hot one. Sir Harry, who was a Waterloo man, said it was as hot as any portion of the great battle of that name. The number of killed and wounded on our side amounted to fifty, and when we consider that the whole force present was but 600, and that a number of them were detailed to guard the waggons, &c., probably not more than about 400 were under fire, no one will deny that it must have been rather hot work. How many of the insurgents were killed or wounded is not known, but it is believed very few. They fought at great advantage, sheltered by rocks, stones, walls, &c. The general orders issued early next day, however, gave the number at 300—twelve, they said, had been seen lying dead on one spot, killed by the bursting of a single shell, &c., &c., but this was a *little* exaggeration, the usual thing on such occasions. It is pretty generally believed that the loss was but small not ten in all both killed or afterwards died of their wounds.

The insurgents having retreated up the gorge in the hills and disappeared, it was needful to ascertain whether they intended to dispute the advance of the troops in the same direction, and while it was still light a reconnoitering party was sent forward to ascertain, and sent back to say that the road was clear, all had disappeared. So arrangements having been made for a temporary hospital at the homestead and for leaving the wounded there in care of needful medical officers, and a detachment of troops, the

main body moved on again and continued its march until near midnight, halted a couple of hours, and then moved on again. Before daylight scouts were sent out in directions where it was supposed the insurgents might congregate again and offer further opposition but none were found ; and the information received during the following day left no doubt that they had dispersed and gone to their homes.



CHAPTER XLIII.

BATTLE OF BOOMPLAATS.

EXTRACT from "The Zuid Afrikaan" of Sept. 11th, 1848.

THE Boers beyond the Orange River.—By an extra post which arrived on Saturday last, information was received that contrary to expectation the disaffected farmers had given battle to the troops. The particulars of this truly deplorable event were a few hours after the arrival of the post communicated to the public in the shape of a *Gazette Extraordinary*, of which the following is a transcript.

Private accounts received by the same opportunity only state a few particulars. The Boers, it is said, fought bravely and displayed great tact. Sir Harry was always seen in the thickest of the fight, was grazed in the leg and his horse hit on the nose, so that he had a narrow escape.

The official account is as follows :—

Government Notice.

Colonial Office, Cape Town.
9th September, 1848.

His Excellency the Governor has directed the publication of the following account of an action which took place on the 29th ultimo, at Boomplaats, between the troops under his command and the rebel Boers beyond the Orange River, and which ended in the total rout of the rebels.

The notice published on the 30th ult. gave information of the passage of the Orange River by nearly all the troops on the 23rd of that month, whereupon Pretorius, the rebel chief, together with those under his command, in number exceeding 1,000 men, had fallen back towards Winburg, with a degree of precipitation which rendered the prospect of an action improbable. All the troops had arrived on the 25th, when His Excellency crossed the river, and by in-

credible exertions the passage was completed by them on the 26th ult. His Excellency then moved the troops with the greatest rapidity in the direction of Bloemfontien in pursuit of the rebels, whom on the 29th ult., he found posted in a very strong position at Boomplaats on the Krom Ellenboog River, where is a succession of ridges of low hills, backed by a higher range, through a pass in which the road runs.

On a reconnoitering party, accompanied by His Excellency, approaching the first ridge, the rebels suddenly sprung up, and opened a heavy fire upon them. The left of their position was, however, quickly carried by the Rifle Brigade, 45th and 91st Regiments, the Artillery 6-pounders opening at the same time a very effective fire. The rebels' right having been considerably thrown forward, was gallantly attacked by the Rifles, under the orders of Lieut.-Col. Butler, and driven back towards the pass in the direction of which the rebels were at every point hurrying, pursued from ridge to ridge of the low hills by H.M.'s. troops, and suffering great loss as they retired from the guns, which opened upon them wherever they could be brought to bear. It was afterwards found that twelve men had been killed by one well directed round shot. On reaching the summit of the pass, the enemy made a bold, though fruitless effort to maintain their position, but, by a combined attack of the C.M.R., with a body of the Griqua auxiliaries they were at length driven from this their last position, on abandoning which they fled in the utmost disorder in all directions over the plain beyond, leaving behind them many horses, arms, and various articles of dress, &c. His Excellency continued the pursuit for several miles, and until dark, but it being evident that the rebels were completely broken, halted for the night at "Calver Fontein." In the hope of overtaking and capturing the train of wagons, he started the next morning, the 30th ult., at 2 o'clock for Bethany, which he reached early in the day, and then ascertained that the enemy's camp no longer existed, they having fled in parties of two or three with their wagons in all directions. On the march evidence was everywhere afforded of the precipitate retreat of the rebels, numbers of horses, &c., having been left in the road. Forty-nine of the enemy were counted dead

upon the field ; their wounded may be considered upwards of 150. Owing to the nature of the ground, which afforded great advantage to the rebels, the loss on the part of H.M. troops is unfortunately rather heavy, as will be seen by the following return.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU,
Secretary to Government.

CONFISCATION OF LAND.—A REMINISCENCE OF
BOOMPLAATS.

January 17, 1881.

To the Editor of the Cape Times :

SIR,—It is as well to be accurate about historical matters when we can. A correspondent, signing himself "C," in your issue of Friday, the 14th, draws attention to the Roman-Dutch law as bearing upon confiscation of land for rebellion, and mentions a case in point tried at Natal before Mr. Recorder Cloete, and you have made some remarks thereon in the leading article. Both you and your correspondent speak of the case as having occurred when Natal was formally re-annexed to this colony. I don't know when Natal was *re-annexed* to this colony. My impressions of the history of Natal are, that the port and a certain extent of land around it belonged to this colony when England took possession of it in 1806, and that it never ceased to be a part of this colony until separated from it by Her Majesty and formed into a distinct colony. At an early date a small party of Englishmen, under Lieut. Farewell, R.N., formed a settlement at the port, and after a while obtained a cession from the Zulu Chief Tshaka, of a much larger extent of land than was considered to belong to the Crown of England. That cession, if worth anything, must, I presume, be held—as far as the sovereignty over it is concerned—to have been a cession to the British Government, the persons to whom it was made being British subjects. Later on, a number

of emigrants from this colony (commonly designated "Boers"), under the leadership of Pieter Retief and Gert Maritz, found their way into Natal, and obtained from Dingaan (Tshaka's successor) a cession of a considerable extent of territory, including that previously ceded to Farewell, and that around the port which belonged to the British Government. These emigrants being British subjects, that cession also, if I am right as to the law, was a cession to the Crown of England, in so far as the sovereignty over it was concerned. But the Boer emigrants proclaimed themselves to be an independent people, and proceeded to act as if they were, upon which Governor Sir George Napier sent a small military force—much too small for the work to be done—to prevent them from so acting. This small force was attacked by the emigrants during a night march, and a number of them killed, and others wounded. The soldiers formed an entrenched camp, and held their position in it until assistance could be sent from here. The relief was sent by sea, under command of Colonel (now General) Sir Josias Cloete, whose brother, Mr. Advocate Cloete, afterwards Recorder of Natal, and subsequently a judge of the Supreme Court of this colony, accompanied him as a Special Commissioner. Shortly afterwards Martin West was sent there as Lieut.-Governor, and a system of government was established, but I am not aware that any case arose out of these proceedings so far as to test the Roman-Dutch law in regard to the confiscation of land for rebellion. Later on, however, a case did arise which was so tested. This was during the administration of the Government of this colony, and of Natal as a portion of it, by Sir Harry Smith, and after the battle of Boomplaats in 1848. Andries Pretorius, the chief organizer of the rebellion of that period, and Commandant-General of the Boers who joined in the rebellion, possessed land in Natal, which land was proclaimed by Sir H. Smith as forfeited, or confiscated, because of his rebellion. Pretorius, or some one on his behalf, got the case tried in the Recorder's Court, where it was decided that under the Roman-Dutch Law land could not be so confiscated. This decision was, I fancy, acquiesced in by the Governor and his Executive Council, of which the late Attorney-General

Porter was a member, and I make no doubt that the then judges of the Supreme Court, Sir John Wylde, Mr. Menzies, and Mr. Musgrave, concurred. The present time is not favourable for letter writing on such subjects, but having written the above, I shall perhaps do no harm by noticing the following paragraph contained in the *Eastern Star* of the 11th instant, taken over from the *Du Toit's Pan Herald*:—"At the battle of Boomplaats, a Dutchman was being attacked by an English officer, and threw down his gun and begged for mercy. Of course quarter was granted to him, and the officer rode past, when the treacherous and ungrateful scoundrel seized the gun and shot the officer through the back, and then jumping on his horse made his escape. This cowardly murder has been openly justified by some of the Boers." If this statement were true, it would, in my opinion, have been better not to have given publicity to it now, but being, as I believe, not true, I feel myself called upon to say so. I was present at the battle, and had the best possible opportunity for hearing what took place; and certainly no such case of treachery was mentioned in my hearing, and, in my opinion, it could not have occurred, for had any Boer thrown down his gun and begged for mercy, he would at once have been taken prisoner. The only noteworthy occurrence between one of the rebel Boers and a British officer on the battle-field that came to my knowledge was a very different one. When the Boers opened fire with some two or three hundred rifles from their concealed position on and behind the stone-covered hill, upon the advance guard of fifty Cape Mounted Rifles, and the Governor and his staff, this small number of men swerved round to the left and back to the head of the column, leaving something like half their number killed and wounded on the ground. One of the wounded was the officer commanding the advance guard. During the brief interval between this and the advance of the column upon the Boer position, some of the Boers rode in among the killed and wounded, and one of the young fellows raised his gun to shoot the wounded officer, but desisted from so doing upon the officer saying in Dutch that he had a wife and children at home. This was the officer's own account of it, and afterwards, when sitting at Winburg as president

of the War Tribute Commission, a young fellow was pointed out to me as one who had spared the life of an officer on the field, and I then heard from himself the same account as the officer had given of the affair. I do not think that any of the wounded were killed by the Boers during the short interval of time above mentioned, nor can I think that they would have killed the wounded if they had had more time at their disposal, though the young fellow did not deny that he might have done it in the one instance if the officer had not appealed to him as he did.

R. SOUTHEY.



CHAPTER XLIV.

ENGAGEMENT AT ZWART KOPPIES.

WITH the following account of the battle of Zwart Koppies, which place is close to Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State, we conclude the accounts of the battles between the British and Boers. I have not as yet seen any writer of South African works touch upon this engagement, and the following short notice I glean from a diary kept by Sergt. Williams, late of the 15th Hussars, 7th Dragoon Guards, and also of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, who was present in this action, as well as in most of the engagements during the 1850-1-2-3 Kafir wars in and about British Kaffraria. He bears the good conduct and Kafir Wars medals. This sergeant is now in Adelaide, South Australia, seeking the means of an honest livelihood. The sergeant, who was then quite a stripling, says, after an allusion to some family matters :—"I accompanied a friend of my brother's to Maidstone, where we attended some theatrical benefit, during which I made the acquaintance of Cornet Sleigh, of the 15th Hussars, the son of an old brother officer of my father's who had been together for many years in the same regiment. After the performance was over we retired to have refreshment together, and then took leave of each other, promising to meet again the following day. Soon after rising the next morning I ventured for a walk through the town, when I soon found myself in proximity with the cavalry depôt, and the dashing dragoons who paraded through the square, mounted and dismounted. I had not long been looking on when I was addressed by a smart sergeant of the 15th Hussars, who soon enticed me to retire with him to a small parlour, where, after partaking of sundry refreshments and being well washed over with "soft soap," he gave me to understand that I belonged to his noble and gallant corps, the 15th Hussars, and he took good care to keep me in liquor till I was properly attested and sworn in, lest a friend should get hold of me, pay the "smart," and release me. In those days recruits were

marched to the hospital and put into the itch ward ; their own clothes were taken from them, and hospital garments were served out instead. After the lapse of forty-eight hours they were put into other wards, and kept there until their military uniform was ready, when they would be marched to the tailor's shop, and from thence to their respective corps. Little did I know, or even guess, of the new career I had bound myself to for twenty-eight years to serve Her Majesty ! With many a heaving sigh and sore heart did I often retire to my barrack room and bed, pondering over my fate. However, as time rolled on I got used to my new pursuits, and bore up with them. After spending six months at the cavalry depôt at Maidstone, volunteers were called for to make up the 7th Dragoon Guards to their full strength, that corps having been ordered to the Cape of Good Hope for service in that country, being the first heavy cavalry regiment that had been ordered abroad for foreign service for many years, and the first European cavalry that had ever been seen in the Cape. Being desirous of a change, and wishing to travel and see a part of the world I had read so much about, I volunteered my services from the depôt of the 15th Hussars (which regiment was in India at the time), together with others from the several regiments stationed at Maidstone. We left *en route* for Gosport Barracks, to join the 7th Dragoon Guards, on or about the 2nd of April, 1843, which corps embarked on board H.M. ship *Rodney*, at Spithead on the 6th of April, 1843, and sailed on the 10th, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, with 1,617 souls on board, comprising 7th Dragoon Guards, detachment of Artillery, Sappers and Miners, women and children, ship's crew, and marines. On our way we put into Madeira and Rio de Janiero harbours. On our arrival at the Cape one division of the 7th were disembarked and sent to Cape Town to take up the horses purchased by Capt. Le Merchant, who was sent on before the regiment for that purpose. They proceeded overland to the frontiers, a distance of 500 miles, whilst the remainder of the troops, who were transhipped to the *Isis*, frigate and a transport ship, proceeded by water to Algoa Bay, from whence they marched to Graham's Town, on the frontiers, being played in by the band of the Cape Mounted Riflemen. The party

sent to bring the horses overland arrived almost as soon as we did, and a fresh lot were brought down the country by Capt. Le Merchant. The whole of them were very young and wild, and having the habit of "bucking," they surprised many of our best riders. After a short stay in Graham's Town, head quarters proceeded to Fort Beaufort, leaving one troop behind. After getting our appointments and accoutrements cleaned up, we assumed our regular duties of drill and training the young horses. It may be as well to remark that our arms formerly belonged to the 60th Rifles, an infantry corps, so that we had to learn the infantry drill—fixing bayonets, &c., &c. We found these arms very awkward to load when mounted; when dismounted, we had to place the rifle between our two knees to insert the ball, which most of us found very tedious after firing some fifty or sixty rounds of ammunition during the Kafir warfare, the barrel becoming so heated that the ball would often melt and become so soft that it could not be rammed down. This occurred to me after firing sixty-three rounds when in the rear guard of the regiment, coming through the Fish River Bush about the month of July, 1846. The regiment being too conspicuous owing to the brightness of their clothing, accoutrements, &c., &c., were dismounted, the rear guard giving up their horses to the main body to lead with their own. Having dwelt sufficiently long on the arms, I must now say that before we could get the horses properly trained the regiment was ordered up the country, a distance of 300 miles, against the Dutch Boers, to protect the Griqua tribe, who were under British protection. The 2nd division of the 91st Regiment and the Griquas were engaged with them when we made our appearance. The Boers had much the advantage through their being all mounted, and having guns that reached further than those in possession of our troops. They much annoyed and harassed the infantry by dismounting, laying their "Snelders" (long guns with hair triggers) across the saddles on their horses, firing, reloading and remounting, to gallop out of range of our Brown Besses; and our troops kept patiently following them up until they took to the entrenchments of their camps, and posting themselves in the rocks, prepared to receive the "bloodhounds," as they termed us, when they

beheld us charging over the plain. On our approach they poured in a volley from all their places of concealment, which had but little effect at the pace at which we were going. After returning them the compliment, a portion of the regiment was sent round both sides of their ambuscade, while the main body stormed the hill they occupied. All those of the Boers who could get to their horses in time made their escape, taking with them all their vans, laden with brandy and other provisions. Two field pieces were left in our hands, at which were captured two deserters from our army, who had been with the Boers some time. These men were afterwards sentenced to death, but the Governor changed the sentence to transportation for life, but they escaped out of gaol, and have never been heard of since. Many fell victims in this encounter, especially the infantry, who fell fast from the well-directed fire from the rocks. Many also fell among the Boers, and several prisoners were taken, together with several horse-vans laden with provisions, clothing, &c., &c. The following morning we followed them up to their chief encampment, when they hoisted the flag of truce and surrendered. Many of the tents and houses were found full of dead bodies, which they covered up on our approach. Many of those who had been wounded and died were found among the hills some time after. Thus ended the battle of Zwaart Koppies in 1844. This was my first appearance on a field of action, at the age of twenty."

The above, I hope, will be found interesting and amusing, especially the fact of the Dragoon Guards loading long infantry rifles on wild young bucking horses.

Cavalry are very useful against South African natives, especially against people like the Zulus who come out into the open, but it is hardly advisable to take the course so often adopted in sending cavalry to South Africa, namely that of sending out stalwart dragoons who, with all their heavy trappings, are much too heavy for the little Cape horses. English horses, imported with the men, would do well, especially if landed after the "horse sickness" months, viz., January and February.



SOUTH AFRICA

Brit. Stat. Miles, 69.1-1

In the above Map the districts coloured green show where the wars alluded to in this work have occurred; the exact position of each engagement is distinguished by a red circle.





